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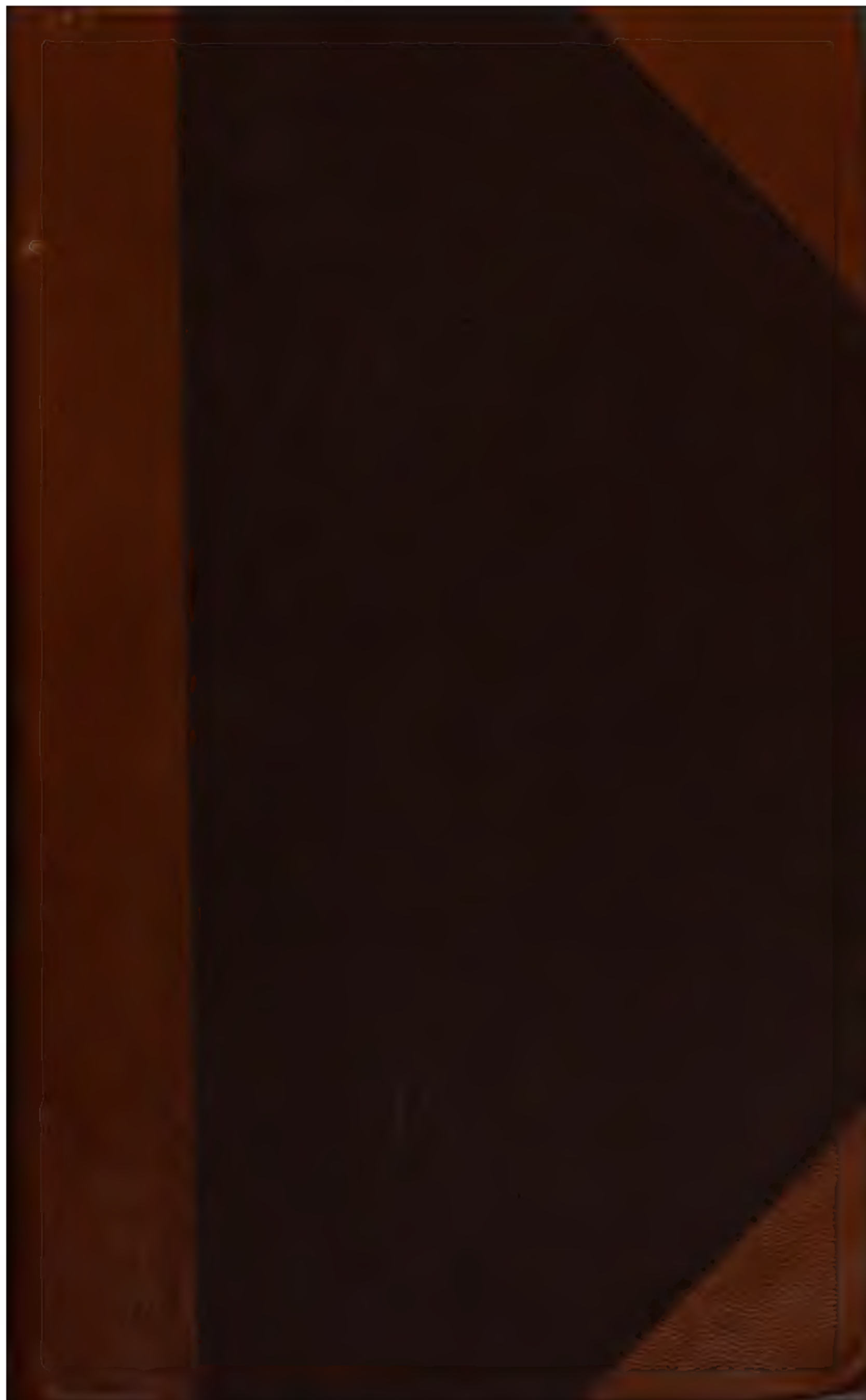
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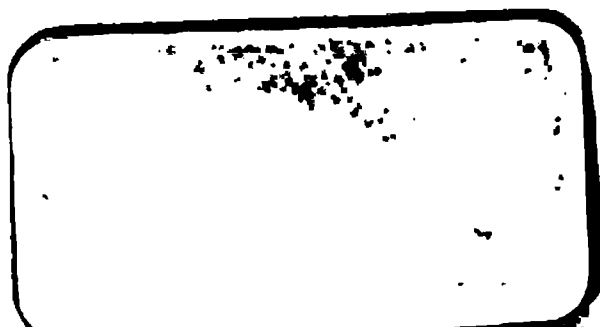
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**THE  
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

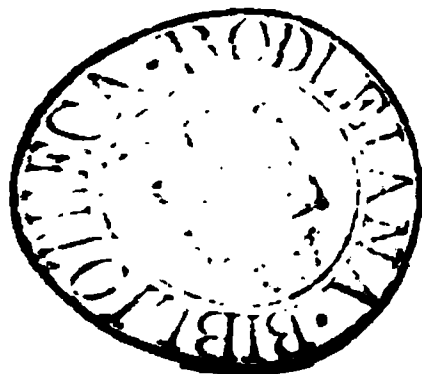


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## 2 *The Plymouth Brethren and Lay Preaching in Ireland.*

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19. *A Letter to the Plymouth Brethren on the Recognition of Pastors.* By H. GRATTAN GUINNESS. London : Nisbet.

It will be admitted by all competent to form an opinion on the subject, that a vast change for the better has passed over the various sections of the Protestant Church in Ireland since the introduction of Methodism about the middle of the last century. At that time the Church of England had scarcely a minister deserving the name throughout the length and breadth of the land. The parish clergyman was generally known as the best fox-hunter, or "shot," or card-player, or toper, or dancer, within the bounds of the parish. Presbyterianism was little, if at all, better, and the minor sections of Protestantism, while they had a name to live, were spiritually powerless; not a cathedral, or parish church, or Presbyterian meeting-house, or Baptist, or Independent chapel was open on Sabbath evening in town or country; and there was not a single lay preacher or Sabbath-school teacher in Ireland. What a marvellous change now in the good providence of God !

Without claiming for Methodism in Ireland the entire credit of the altered state of things which happily characterises our day, we think it cannot be denied that the change may be traced directly or indirectly to its influence. Its simple, pungent, glowing, ministration of the Word of Life drew vast crowds,

to thousands of whom the Gospel proved the power of God unto salvation. It studded the land with humble buildings, which, if destitute of architectural pretensions, were honoured in the conversion and edification of multitudes. Its itinerancy gave it a kind of ubiquity. It instituted Sabbath-evening preaching and Sabbath-schools; it originated lay agency and lay preaching in Ireland; its agents, lay or itinerant, were speedily known and felt everywhere; and hence it is literally impossible to overrate its influence, direct and indirect, on other churches, or the debt which the cause of Protestantism in Ireland owes to it. In the principal towns of the South and West of Ireland it has created a taste for evangelical preaching, which has rendered necessary a new style of preacher and of preaching in the parish church as the only hope of retaining the congregation. In the province of Ulster it has been, if possible, still more influential upon Presbyterianism, in moderating the violence of its Calvinism, and saving thousands from Unitarianism and cognate forms of heresy.

For many years Methodism in Ireland stood alone in its advocacy of lay preaching, and as the result of that advocacy drew upon itself opposition and violent abuse from both Churchmen and Presbyterians. Churchmen and Presbyterians, one and all, ridiculed lay preachers as a class, and poured contempt upon all preachers not in "holy orders." A book now lies before us, published so late as 1815, in which a Methodist minister, the late Rev. Matthew Lanktree, replies in full to the aspersions cast upon lay preaching in a published discourse by a Presbyterian minister, the late Rev. James Huey, of Ballywillan, near Coleraine.\* In his discourse Mr. Huey contends against lay preachers as a class, just as Dr. Bailey does in No. 13 of the above list. No High Churchman could attempt to make out a stronger case. The change in relation to this point which has passed upon many Churchmen, like the Rev. Edward Nangle, and upon Presbyterianism generally, of late years, affords no slender proof of the liberalising influence of Methodism on both systems.

During the Ulster Revival of 1859—60, lay agency became for the time the order of the day, and lay preaching was not only tolerated but popular. Any man who could speak could command a congregation, and a patient and respectful hear-

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\* *An Apology for what is called Lay Preaching: in a Series of Letters addressed to the Rev. James Huey, Presbyterian Minister of Ballywillan, near Coleraine. occasioned by his Sermon on the Divine Appointment of a Gospel Minister.* Matthew Lanktree. Newry. Pp. 94. 1815.

#### 4 *The Plymouth Brethren and Lay Preaching in Ireland.*

ing. The masses of the population, now awaking simultaneously from their long sleep of spiritual insensibility, cried aloud, "What must we do to be saved?" and thankfully embraced the message from either minister or layman which brought balm to their wounded spirits. The Plymouth party, hitherto almost unknown in Ireland, seized the passing opportunity, and dexterously turned the newly-awakened feeling in favour of lay preaching to good account in the diffusion of their peculiar principles. Mr. Mackintosh (the C. H. M. of tract notoriety), formerly a schoolmaster at Westport, Mayo, one of their best men, was then in Coleraine, in the very centre of the movement, and with a choice band of assistants itinerated through the neighbourhood, letting no opportunity slip for inoculating the public mind with the Plymouth leaven. As speedily and noiselessly as possible churches were formed in an "upper room," wherever it was found practicable, and no pains were spared to poison the minds of the new "converts" against all existing churches. Presently the ministers of all denominations awoke to the real character of this new system, and "warned off" their people. Thus the Plymouth project was but partially successful. Those who came under its influence were, without a single exception, so far as we know, rendered practically worthless to the cause of Christ, and we scarcely remember a single case of an abandoned sinner who was converted through their instrumentality.

But though the project failed in the main, it was to some extent successful. Small centres, called "churches," were formed in many important towns and districts, and several skilful agents raised up, who were trained to the work of unsettling the minds of many youthful members of the various churches. The leaven silently spread. A wealthy Plymouth brother from England, or elsewhere, settled in a promising neighbourhood, opened his house for preaching the Gospel, scattering the D'Olier Street and similar tracts in tens of thousands. One after another became first unsettled, then alienated from the church of his former choice, and then within an incredibly brief period expanded into a preacher, or, as he called himself, an "Evangelist" of this new system. Within a few years, fifty, or perhaps more, such preachers, principally gentlemen (and ladies) of position, seem to have given themselves to promote the interests of this new organisation, and, as is evident from the list of pamphlets at the head of this article, have provoked considerable attention and not a little controversy.

The state of things in Ireland at present is summarily as follows:—A number of gentlemen, say fifty or more, lawyers, engineers, agents, and military men, are itinerating, principally through the South and West, preaching what they call “the Gospel.” They are for the most part young, from twenty-five to forty, unmarried, with a fashionable moustache, and a gentlemanly appearance and bearing. They travel generally two and two, and on coming to a town perhaps bring an introduction to some “liberal” minister, and obtain the use of his school-house or chapel, as the case may be. They profess no connection with any of the sections of the Church, but wish merely to preach “the Gospel.” If asked for their peculiar creed, they have no creed but the Bible, and immediately cite passage after passage with marvellous fluency and readiness. Several “unctuous” phrases are thrown in, with some not obscure hints as to the inefficiency of clergymen as a class, and the wonderful success of their own gospel. All reference to their peculiar opinions is carefully suppressed, and the “liberal” minister is taken with guile. Hundreds of handbills are sent out, and the walls duly placarded to the following effect:—“The Gospel will be preached at seven o’clock, in — School-house, by A. B., Esq., and C. D., Esq. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life. Come! come!! come!!! All are invited.”

Of course, such a sensational bill produces the effect, and the place is crowded. The meeting is opened with a hymn from the Merrion Hall (or Plymouth) collection, to which one of the preachers sets a lively taking tune. Many ladies join, and the singing is admirable. Prayer follows; but the less that is said about it the better. A chapter is read, generally the third of St. John, and a loose, rambling, ill-digested exhortation given, which, so far as it is intelligible, aims to show the simplicity of the plan of salvation; “that a man has no more to do with the salvation of his soul than with the creation of the world,”\* that he has “merely to believe what God has said about Jesus, and he is saved on the spot, and saved for ever.” The second brother again sings; reads another portion, perhaps the fifteenth of Luke, and discourses from it in a similar light, flippant, chatty style, leaving the impression of remarkable ease and self-possession on the part of the preacher. They never repeat the Lord’s Prayer, but do not choose to say why.

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\* “‘What must I do to be saved?’ ‘Nothing whatever,’ replied the Apostle. ‘You have as much to do with the salvation of your soul, as you had with the creation of the world; believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.’”  
—*Sinclair’s Letter to Rev. J. J. Black*, p. 20.

## 6 *The Plymouth Brethren and Lay Preaching in Ireland.*

At the close, enquirers are invited to remain, to be taught the way of the Lord more perfectly; many generally accept the invitation. The preacher goes from seat to seat, asking each person, "Are you saved?" Suppose the person to reply, "No," the preacher asks, "Don't you believe that Jesus came into the world to save sinners?" "Oh, yes," the enquirer rejoins, "I believe that." "Well, then, you are saved, now and for ever," responds the preacher; "and you have God's word for it, for He has said, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death into life.'" "Oh, but I don't feel aright." "Feel!" responds the preacher, "feeling has nothing to do with salvation; God has not said, 'He that feels so-and-so, shall be saved,' but 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.'" This puts an end to controversy, and believers are multiplied to any amount. Hence we are not surprised to read in the *British Herald* of 1,200 converts to this new system in the West of Ireland within a few months; the wonder is that there not as many thousands.

That there is not the slightest exaggeration in the above statements is placed beyond all controversy by several of the pamphlets now before us, particularly those by the Rev. F. F. Trench and the Rev. William Crook, of Sligo. Mr. Crook says—

"The following extracts are from a letter by the Rev. Mr. Branigan, Presbyterian minister, Ballinglen, Mayo, giving an account of the revival (?) in his congregation, through the instrumentality of these gentlemen. They are of a peculiar value, inasmuch as they place beyond dispute the real doctrine of these gentlemen, and the consequent truthfulness of our preceding charges against them, as to the doctrines of repentance, prayer, &c. Mr. Branigan's testimony is of all the more value, as he announces himself as a convert to their new gospel:—

" 'It is true I did not at first approve of the bomb-shell so suddenly shot into our midst by Mr. G——, when he told us "*not to pray, or sing, or ask* until we first *believed*." The shock was too great not to be stunned by it. It roused the fire of the "old man" in us all. The people elbowed each other to attend to this strange doctrine, and most, if not all, determined to resist the innovation. The shock being over, I fell back on my Bible and saw, as did my people, that the preacher uttered only what was true (?); but, notwithstanding, I was opposed to the way in which he stated it, or rather knocked us down by it, *with a furious onslaught* [and this is preaching the Gospel!].

" 'I besought Mr. G—— to preach the truth more mildly and more palatably at the next meetings, but in vain; *down he pounced upon us again and again*. . . . After a hard and protracted *fight of argument*, a

few of the young people found peace in Jesus, and these being well instructed in the Bible and Catechism [?], I could not doubt that the Spirit [!] had blessed the conversation [or argument] to them, *the very people who had remained unimpressed by the preaching.*

“ ‘ The turning-point evidently is faith in the promise of eternal life, a *firm and unshaken belief* that we are saved, and *have* eternal life, *not because we feel or experience it*, but just because God, the Im-mutable One, says it. Believing the promise *there is instantaneous peace*, and by ever keeping the eye of faith fastened on the promise, the enjoyment of that peace cannot be lost.’ ”\*

Mr. Crook's handling of Mr. Branigan some will think rather severe. But, if sharp and pungent, it was salutary ; and we are happy to observe that, in the last edition of his pamphlet, Mr. Crook congratulates Mr. Branigan on his abandonment of these new notions, and his return to the more orthodox teaching of the Westminster Confession of Faith on the way of salvation.

No one who is acquainted with the Irish character will be surprised to learn that these young gentlemen are remarkably popular. On the occasion of their first appearance in a town, and perhaps for a few subsequent visits, great numbers attend. When the interest begins to flag, the name of some new esquire from London, Bristol, or Manchester is duly placarded ; and thus the appearance of vigorous health is kept up. But after making due allowance for this high-pressure system, it would be idle to deny their popularity, more particularly with the gentler sex. About three-fourths of all their congregations are young ladies, and not a few of their most valuable and successful coadjutors are supplied from the same influential quarter. Moreover, we find no difficulty in understanding their popularity on other grounds. They are young men of position, and education, and, in some instances, of wealth ; their manner is free, *dégagé*, and taking ; there is an air of great disinterestedness thrown over the entire movement ; the system is cheap, without money or price, and this to many is no trifling element of attraction (forgetting the common-sense maxim that what costs nothing is nothing worth) ; and last, and not least, the system is emphatically “ Religion made easy ”—a new and improved method of going to heaven, without the delay and annoyance of going in at the strait gate ; in short, like the railway in travelling as compared with the wagon or machine of bygone days. In addi-

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\* From Branigan's Letter in *British Herald* for February, 1865, as quoted in *Lay Preaching in Ireland and the New Gospel*, p. 39.



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tion to all these sources of popularity to the average mind, there is great apparent zeal for the conversion of sinners, together with remarkable earnestness in not a few instances ;—indeed we have not the slightest wish to reflect upon the Christian character and worth of any of the agents of this remarkable movement.

In addition to these public meetings for preaching the Gospel to sinners, the “believers,” or the church, meet on Sabbath mornings in a more select way, “in an upper room” where practicable, for the “breaking of bread,” in imitation, as they think, of the Apostolic Church. No efforts are spared to induce the professed “believers” to withdraw from their former associates in Church fellowship, whom they are now taught to regard as “the world,” and to unite with “the people of God.” Thus many small centres, like those in Ulster to which we have referred, have been formed in the West and South of Ireland composed principally of pious, well-meaning people, not particularly remarkable for good sense, or vigour of intellect, drawn off by fair speeches from the various churches, more particularly from the Church of England. They have, moreover, at stated intervals, what are called “Believers’ Meetings,” or large aggregate assemblies of “believers” in some central place—like the Friends’ Yearly Meeting—when several days are devoted to conversation and the delivery of addresses by prominent members.

Perhaps we should add that in Ballina, Coollany, and other places in the West, some of these gentlemen whose names are now before us baptized the converts publicly, by immersion, and this *in the name of Jesus only, and with reference to His human nature*. Mr. Nangle’s first pamphlet, No. 15 in above list, was strongly in favour of the entire movement, and was written prior to the formation of these churches and these cases of baptism. His second and third tracts, Nos. 16 and 17, originated in these cases of baptism, and are as decidedly against the movement.

Such, then, is an outline of the remarkable lay preaching movement now in progress in the West and South of Ireland, and which is sympathetically affecting also the watering-places and fashionable resorts of England and Scotland. When we bear in mind the number, devotedness, and wealth of its adherents ; the fact that its press in D’Olier Street, Dublin, is scattering tracts of the most captivating external appearance in millions annually, together with considerable sums granted by Müller (of Orphan House fame) and other prominent members of the Plymouth Brotherhood, for purposes of

evangelization in Ireland ; we must be sensible of the existence of a wide-spread organization which is far too serious to trifle with, and which it behoves the churches, both in England and Ireland, thoroughly to understand. Once for all, we beg to say we pronounce no opinion on individual representatives of the system ; we deal only with the system itself. We proceed to lay before our readers in as condensed a form as possible our impressions of the origin, character, and tenets of the Plymouth sect.

With respect to its origin, there is considerable diversity of opinion. The anonymous author of the able tract, No. 12 on our list, says—

“ About the year 1828, or perhaps somewhat earlier, a general feeling of discontent with the existing state of the religious world was manifested by many Christians, who simultaneously, though without knowledge of what was going on elsewhere, had given themselves to the diligent study of the Scriptures, with the hope of discovering something better than had been furnished by the various forms of sect around them. The search, attended with much prayer, deep anxiety of spirit, many conferences of friends in Scripture-reading, and in some places with days set apart for prayer and fasting to ask for a blessing on their inquiries, gradually led to the adoption of those views which are understood to be distinctive of the Plymouth Brethren. It is now known that these deductions of Scriptural study were obtained in different places, and much about the same period—that is, within about a space of three years ; and, as far as research can ascertain, it seems that in Ireland the movement first took place, and that the Christians in Plymouth adopted, by their own independent research, views to which others before them had arrived, and which others will hereafter from time to time embrace, ignorant of similar deductions either of their predecessors or contemporaries.”\*

This gentleman is correct as to Ireland having been the birthplace of this system, and, for aught we know, he may be correct also as to the date of the rise of Darbyism as a branch of the Plymouth stock ; but the system in all its essential features was known in Ireland, and had attracted considerable attention, many years previously. So far as we can ascertain, the true date of the origin of this system is 1803 ; its birthplace, Trinity College, Dublin ; and its real parent, one of the Fellows, the Rev. John Walker, B.D., author of a well-known work on logic, and several other scholastic works once in high repute in Ireland. He was a decided Calvinist and a truly able man, with an acute rather than a comprehensive mind, in which the destructive rather than the constructive element

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\* *An Address to the Plymouth Brethren*, pp. 3, 4.



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predominated. He ultimately went to strange extremes, and, after thirteen years' honourable connection with the College, was expelled for his peculiar opinions in 1804. He subsequently founded a sect whom he denominated the "Separatists," popularly known in Ireland as the "Walkerites." Several small, troublesome churches holding his views lingered in various towns in Ireland till within the last few years, when they became merged in the Plymouth sect. The careful reader of the following document, containing a statement of his principles from under his own hand, will see that he was the parent of the modern Plymouth system, and that in the main features both systems are identical:—

"About eighteen years ago\* a few Christians in Dublin, most of them at that time connected with the religious establishment of the country, had their attention strongly directed to the principles of Christian fellowship as it appears to have subsisted among the first disciples in the Apostolic Churches. They perceived from the Scriptures of the New Testament that all the first Christians in any place were connected together in the closest brotherhood; and that, as their connection was grounded on the one Apostolic Gospel which they believed, so it was altogether regulated by the precepts delivered to them by the Apostles, as the divinely commissioned ambassadors of Christ. They were convinced that every departure of professing Christians from this course must have originated in a withdrawing of their allegiance from the King of Zion—in the turning away of their ear from the Apostolic Word, and that the authority of this Word being Divine, was unchangeable; that it cannot have been annulled or weakened by the lapse of ages, by the varying customs of different nations, or by the enactments of earthly legislators.

"Under such views they set out in the attempt to return fully to the course marked out for Christians in the Scriptures of the New Testament; persuaded that they were called, not to *make* any laws or regulations for their union, but simply to learn and adhere to the unchangeable laws recorded in the Divine Word. Their numbers soon increased; and for some time they did not see that the union which they maintained with each other, on the principles of Scripture, was at all inconsistent with the continuance of their connection with the religious establishment of the country, or other religions differently regulated.

"But in about twelve months from the commencement of their attempt, they were convinced that these two things are utterly incompatible, and that the same Divine rule which regulated their fellowship in the Gospel with each other, forbade them to maintain any religious fellowship with any other; from this view, and the practice consequent upon it, they have been distinguished by the same *Separatists*.

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\* This document was published in Dublin in 1821.

“They are a very small sect, very little known, and less liked; nor do they expect ever to be numerous or respectable upon earth. Their most numerous church (assembling on the first day of the week in Strafford Street, Dublin) consists, perhaps, of about one hundred and thirty individuals. They have about ten or twelve smaller churches in different country parts of Ireland; and within the last two years a church in the same connection has appeared in London, assembling in Portsmouth Street, Lincoln’s Inn Fields. It may be here needful to remark that, according to what they have learned of the Scriptural import of the term *Church*, even two or three disciples in any place—united together in the faith of the Apostolic Gospel, and in obedience to the Apostolic precepts—constitute the Church of Christ in that place.

“With respect to the tenets and practices by which they are distinguished from most other religionists in these countries, the following particulars may be noticed:—

“They hold that the *only true* God is made known to men exclusively in the Gospel of His Son Jesus Christ; so that those who believe the Divine testimony there revealed know the true God, but all others, however religious and under whatever profession, worship they know not what—an idolatrous fiction of their own minds. They never, therefore, speak of religion or piety in *the abstract* as a good thing, conceiving that *false* religion—particularly under the Christian name—forms one of the most awful displays of human wickedness.

“They hold that the distinguishing glory in which the only true God has made Himself known, consists in *the perfection of righteousness* and the *perfection of mercy* exercised by Him in the closest combination and fullest harmony, as the Saviour of sinful creatures and the Justifier of the ungodly, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus—through that propitiation for sin which He has made by His obedience unto death in the place of sinners, and which His resurrection from the dead proves to have been complete and Divinely accepted. They hold, therefore, that all solicitude or effort of the sinner to do anything, or to get anything, for the purpose of making his peace with God, and obtaining the forgiveness of his sins, must originate in the ungodliness of his mind, arrogating to himself that work which the Son of God came into this world to perform, and which it is declared He has finished.

“They hold that the forgiveness of sin, acceptance in the sight of God, and eternal life, come to the guiltiest of sinful men *as such*, and are assured in the Divine Word, to every one without distinction, who *believes* the testimony there delivered concerning Jesus of Nazareth. They hold, therefore, that salvation is brought to the sinner *with* the discovery of that Divine truth, not by any inquiries of his own after it, or endeavours of his own to obtain it, but in opposition to all his own ignorance of God and rebelliousness against Him—a salvation which is from first to last the exclusive work of God the Saviour.

“They consider the revelation made in the Gospel, not as any means afforded to sinners for enabling them to save themselves, much

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any instrument designed to moralise and reform all the world, but simply as a Divine *testimony* of that salvation wherewith God Himself saves those whom He has ordained to eternal life out of a sinful world; as well as the instrument whereby He calls them to a knowledge of His name, and to the enjoyment of that blessedness of which He makes them partakers in His Son Jesus Christ. They hold that the only good and sure hope towards God for any sinner is that which is immediately derived to the chief of sinners from the belief of this testimony concerning the great things of God and His salvation, considering as vain, delusive, and ungodly, every hope which men derive from the view of any supposed circumstances of favourable difference between themselves and the worst of their fellow-sinners. And as they understand by the *faith*, with which justification and eternal life are connected, nothing else but the *belief* of the things declared to all alike in the Scriptures; so by true *repentance* they understand nothing else but the new mind which that belief produces. Everything called *repentance*, but antecedent to the belief of the unadulterated Gospel, or unconnected with it, they consider spurious and evil. . . . They hold that the subjects of Christ's kingdom upon earth shall be to the end of the world a despised and suffering people, hated by all men for His name's sake, just in proportion as they manifest the genuine characters of His disciples, and that the Apostolic Word comes to them at this day, containing the commandments of the Lord to them for their profit and for His glory, with just the same Divine authority which it possessed when the Apostles were personally in the world. They consider the idea of any *successors* to the Apostles, or of any *change* in the laws of Christ's kingdom, as utterly anti-Christian. They have therefore no such thing among them as men of the *clerical* order, and abhor the pretensions of the clergy of all denominations, conceiving them to be official ringleaders in maintaining the anti-Christian corruptions with which Europe has been overspread under the name of Christianity.

“Considering their agreement in the one Apostolic Gospel as the great bond of their union, they acknowledge themselves called to regard each other as all one in Christ Jesus, brethren beloved for the truth's sake, and on a perfect equality in the concerns of His kingdom. The expression of this brotherly affection they hold to be essentially connected with the most steadfast opposition to everything contrary to the purity of the truth which may at any time appear in their brother, as well as with the freest communication of their worldly goods for the supply of his real wants. They acknowledge it to be utterly inconsistent with this, and with the most express precepts of Christ, for any of them so *to lay by a store* of the world's goods for the future wants of himself or his family, or to withhold what he possesses from the present necessities of his poor brethren. In this, and in everything else, they conceive the real principles of Christ's kingdom to stand in direct opposition to the most approved maxims of this world.

“They come together on the first day of the week, the memorial day of Christ's resurrection, to show forth His death—the one ground of all

their hope—by taking bread and wine as the symbols of His body broken and His blood shed for the remission of sins. In their assembly (which is always open to public observation) they join together in the various exercises of praise and prayer, in reading the Scriptures, in exhorting and admonishing one another as brethren, according to their several gifts and ability, in contributing to the necessities of the poor, and in expressing their fraternal affections by saluting each other with an holy kiss. In the same assembly they attend, as occasion requires, to the discipline appointed by the Apostles in the first churches, for removing any evil which may appear in the body—in the first place, by the reproof and admonition of the Word addressed to the offending brother; and ultimately, if that fail of bringing him to repentance, by cutting him off from their fellowship.

"When any brethren appear among them possessing all the qualifications for the office of elders or overseers, which are marked in the Apostolic writings, they think themselves called to acknowledge these brethren in that office as the gifts of the Lord to His Church. But they hold that each church must exist and act together fully as a Church of Christ, previous to any such appointment, as before it. They conceive the office of elders to be nothing like that of *administering ordinances* to the brethren, but mainly that of persons specially charged with the watchful superintendence over them, and peculiarly called to be examples and guides to the rest in that course which the Divine Word prescribes alike to all. The authority of the Word is the only *authority* in matters relating to Christian faith and practice which they acknowledge. Belonging to a kingdom that is not of this world, they can have no connection with any of the various religions of the world."\*

We insert this long extract because we wish to give our readers the means of fully comparing Walker's teaching with the Plymouth system, and the doctrine and practice of the lay preachers in the South and West of Ireland; and because we regard it as of some importance that the Christian public should know that the system, as such, originated in one of our national Universities, and claims as its parent one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin. It is true that the modern Plymouth party advocate several notions not found in Walker's system, and which he would probably have repudiated; but the germ of the system, and all its essential features, are found in his writings, particularly in his Letters against Methodism, addressed to Alexander Knox, Esq., of Derry.

With regard to the epithet, "Plymouth Brethren," we use it not offensively, but simply because we know no other term

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\* Walker's *Essays and Correspondence*. Paper on *A Brief Account of the People called Separatists*. Vol. i. p. 556. The italics are Mr. Walker's.

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that can supply its place. We are aware that the Plymouth party object to the name. But as they do not choose to be known by any name, but to exist as a narrow sect, with characteristic inconsistency protesting against all sections in the Church, and promoting its essential unity by further dividing it, a name must be found for them, and we see no reasonable objection to the name "Plymouth Brethren." If the public had agreed to call them "Ishmaelites," we suppose they would not have regarded the term as being complimentary; and yet, perhaps, many would think it far from inappropriate. Though the system originated in Ireland, an important tract depository in connection with the brotherhood was early established at Plymouth, and many influential "converts" were made in the same locality, principally from the congregation of Dr. Hawker, of Antinomian celebrity.\* Thus we presume the term "Plymouth Brethren" originated, and it is likely to remain as the permanent designation of the disciples of the system.

Our space will only allow a few thoughts illustrative of the leading principles of Plymouthism. The system originated, as we have seen, not in the ranks of Nonconformity, but in one of our national Universities and the bosom of the State Church; and we regard it as the rebound of a peculiar class of mind from ultra-ritualism, or the excessive love of form in religion, to the other extreme of a hatred of all form. Mr. Walker was brought up in the midst of ritualism, and a mind such as his could not be passive under such a potent influence. He must act decidedly one way or the other. Two courses were open to him: either to yield to the mighty, magic influence, as Newman, Manning, and scores of gifted men have done, and find rest for his spirit in the bosom of the apostate Church of Rome; or, secondly, to rise above the prejudices of education, and emancipate himself from all love of form and rite in religion. He chose the latter path, and could not effect his emancipation without a serious struggle. He ultimately effected his escape by a violent revulsion, *which placed him in the other extreme for life*; and the injury which his noble nature sustained in the conflict will perhaps explain the bitterness of his opposition to the Established Church, in its entire framework and organization, as well as to Methodism and every other organization in the land. As nearly all the prominent leaders of the system

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\* See *Strictures on the Plymouth Antinomians*. By Joseph Cottle, of Bristol. London: Cadell.

since Walker's day, and the great majority of its members, were originally connected with the Established Church, will not the same principle explain their having gone to the other extreme now? And will not the injury sustained in the process shed some light on "the gall of bitterness," against the various sections of the Church, so abundantly distilled all around? The same thought will enable us to understand the philosophy of the peculiar doctrinal system of Plymouthism. If we suppose a man like Walker, occupying an extreme position, he will instinctively try to justify that position. This will lead, as in the parallel case of Unitarianism, to a denial of all creeds and forms of faith, so as to get every authority out of the way unfriendly to the new position. One denial would lead to another, until everything is denied inconsistent with the new and extreme position, which must be defended at all hazards. He is now done with creeds and forms of faith, which he dismisses with a sneer as "human;" but he is by no means done with the difficulties of his new position. New and formidable difficulties stare him in the face in the Word of God. How are these to be surmounted? This is now the question, as, if these cannot be explained away, all hope of making converts to the system is at an end. This lays the foundation of a rationalistic mode of interpreting the Word of God, so as to make it speak the peculiar dialect of the new system; and, as if this were not quite satisfactory, an "Improved Version" of the New Testament must be brought out adapted to the new form of opinion.\* When to these is added the doctrine of the presidency of the Holy Spirit in every assembly of the saints, so as to exclude the possibility of error (a doctrine tantamount to the Romish figment of the Church as an infallible interpreter of the mind of God), we shall not be surprised either by strange and wild extremes in the way of doctrine, or by the insolent dogmatism with which these views are propounded.

There is another thought which, perhaps, may assist us to understand the philosophy of the doctrinal system of the Plymouth Brethren. Walker was not only a Churchman, but a sturdy Calvinist also, and we regard it as most significant that this system originated, not from Arminianism, but, like Unitarianism, from Calvinism. We are aware that Calvinists in the North of Ireland and elsewhere are accustomed to represent Arminianism as "a half-way house to Socinianism and kindred forms of heresy;" but they have

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\* See Darby's *New Translation of St. Paul's Epistles*. London: Morrish.



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found it a matter of extreme difficulty to point out the link of connection or path of transition. In Erastian Holland, it is true, Arminianism has lapsed into Socinianism. But then the Calvinistic churches of Holland have equally become Socinian. But where are the English or Irish Arminian ministers who deny the Deity of the Son of God? Where are the Arminian congregations which have lapsed into the frigid zone of Unitarianism? On the other hand, if there be no connection between Calvinism and Socinianism in its various forms, how are we to account for the one following in the wake of the other, as a general rule, as the shadow follows the substance? Are not all the Socinians of Ulster the children of Calvinism—seceders from the synod of Ulster? And do they not all receive the *Regium Donum* as Presbyterians? Can any intelligent reader of Channing's life doubt that it was the Calvinism of Dr. Hopkins that made Channing a Unitarian? And when we see Calvinism produce Unitarianism in Ireland, in England, in Geneva, in New England, and elsewhere, we see no way of escape from the conclusion that there is some law either of affinity or reaction which would explain that connection, though it is not the design of this paper to point it out.

But we have again and again observed, that just as a certain type of Calvinistic teaching has produced Unitarianism amongst the hard-headed Presbyterians of Ulster, so a similar type of preaching in the Established Church has produced Plymouthism in the excitable South and West. Of late years there has been a marvellous revival of the ultra-Calvinistic type of preaching in Dublin, and among what is called the Evangelical section of the Irish clergy throughout the kingdom. Bethesda Chapel, Dublin, erected for the Rev. Edward Smyth,\* somehow was transferred to Calvinistic hands, and from its pulpit the late Rev. W. H. Krause preached the most ultra-Calvinism, Sabbath after Sabbath, for many years, to vast crowds.† Other men of less note, both in the city and throughout the principal provincial towns, followed in the same path, and thus sowed the seed of which Plymouthism is the harvest. The Rev. F. F. Trench, rector of Newtown, writes a pamphlet in an admirable spirit, which he denomi-

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\* He was expelled from a church in the North of Ireland in 1778, and joined Wesley for a while, and laboured hard to induce him to secede formally from the Church of England. The charge on which he was expelled from the Church in Ulster was "preaching Methodist doctrine."

† Now published, in several volumes, edited by Rev. Dr. Standford, editor of the *Christian Examiner*.

nates "Extreme Views," and which he intends as a check to the Antinomianism taught by some of these preachers. But what he calls "Extreme Views" we should call the fair logical consequences of ultra-Calvinistic teaching, and see no ground for expecting the speedy decline of Plymouthism in Ireland while the evangelical clergy scatter the seed for it with unsparing hand, and their brethren of the high ritualistic school from an opposite extreme play so diligently into the same hands. Are we to be surprised if High Church ritualism (of which there is now an ominous revival in Ireland) meets with its proper punishment in an organized crusade against what Walker calls "the clerical order?" And is it not a natural illustration of "seed yielding fruit after its kind," when Calvinism developes in Antinomianism? We regard Plymouthism, then, so far as it is an ecclesiastical system, as a revulsion from the extreme of form in religion to the opposite extreme of the abandonment of all form; and its peculiar theological system as the result, in part, of its false ecclesiastical position, and, in part, of its Calvinistic origin. Similar principles will explain the rank prevalence of Plymouthism and its *congenera* everywhere. Popery and High Churchism in one way, and Calvinism in another, prepare the soil for its growth. The High cleric maintains the clerical monopoly of all spiritual functions—Plymouthism and Darbyism, alike in Ireland, England, France, and Italy, decry all clerical distinctions, in whatever sense or kind; High Church exaggerates and perverts repentance into dreary penance-work—Plymouthism in effect does away with it altogether; High Church perverts faith into the mere adhesion to the priest, and thus in effect does it quite away—Plymouthism does away with all but what it calls faith—by a perversion as gross as that of the Romanist—and makes such faith in a proposition to be all in all.

As to the peculiar tenets of the Plymouth Brotherhood, we have found extreme difficulty in ascertaining precisely what they teach. In fact, it is simply impossible to enumerate with certainty the peculiar shades of opinion entertained and taught by the various leaders of the system. There are three great leaders—Mr. Darby, whose peculiar views Mr. Mackintosh is understood to entertain; Mr. Müller, of the Orphan House, Bristol; and Mr. B. W. Newton, of Bethesda, Bristol; and minor leaders without end, who write under the mysterious cyphers and initials, "C. S. "R. M.," &c., understood only by the elect, or the in of the system, the secrets of which enviable fraternit



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no ambition to understand. We have laboured hard to fathom the mysterious depths of Plymouthism, and probably have but partially succeeded. Once for all, we beg to express our thorough dislike of the foggy style so generally adopted by modern Plymouth pamphleteers. Not that they are wanting in perspicuity when they like; on the contrary, there are times when, for reasons best known to themselves, they employ a style crisp and clear enough. They can make thoughts stand out like mountain peaks in the morning sun when it suits their purpose to do so, and they have the peculiar faculty, like the cuttle-fish, of hiding themselves in their own ink when they do not want to be fully understood. We have read many of these "deep" pamphlets, and again and again have been reminded of Talleyrand's famous maxim, that the design of language was to conceal rather than to reveal thought. It is no small trial of one's patience to pursue a shadowy idea through the pages of a writer who mistakes obscurity for depth, and at the end to find the object of your pursuit so impalpable as to elude your grasp. Of all the cloudy writers who ever put pen to paper, we never encountered one equal to Mr. Darby; and we would give the second place to his brother Stanley.\* If the Plymouth party complain that we have misrepresented their statements, they have only themselves to blame in not giving us an authorised exposition of their peculiar opinions, expressed in language that could not be misunderstood.

The system originated, as we have seen, in a revulsion of the mind from ritualism in the Church; and hence from the beginning it took the form of a testimony against existing sections of the Church, and a denial of various existing usages and doctrines distinctive of all such sections. It could hold no fellowship with any of them, as they were all corrupt in doctrine and in principle; and the Plymouth party alone were the people of God. Hence their grand mission was two-fold—first, to protest against all the sections of the Church; and, secondly, to endeavour to draw within their own net, from the world around, including the various churches which were

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\* Take the following as a specimen of Mr. Darby's transparency; he is speaking of the righteousness of God:—"This is the special doctrine of Paul; no thought of a righteousness of law required by another for us. There is atonement for sin in which we lay, which we had committed as in the first Adam; but I repeat, no conferring of righteousness on it, but closing its history, and being before God in death, in which He in grace took its place, in respect of the judgment due to it." *Darby on the Righteousness of God*, p. 9. Brother Stanley is at times more opaque than this, if, indeed, this be possible.

emphatically of the earth, earthy, as many of the simple-minded as they could inoculate with the peculiarities of their system. It is from this point of view that the peculiar tenets of the system must be understood. Hence it is, like Unitarianism, a negative rather than a positive system. It holds some doctrines, it is true, positively; but, in the main, the system consists of a series of negations of certain usages and doctrines entertained more or less fully by all the sections of the Church. The following embody the most important of these negations, and on these, so far as we know, all the sections of the Plymouth Brotherhood are agreed:—

1. *The denial of all creeds and forms of faith.* Each of the many sections of the Plymouth family is favoured with the presidency of the Holy Spirit in its “gatherings,” and yet the spectacle is presented to the “world” of the saints at Bethesda and elsewhere “biting and devouring one another” on points of doctrine—an impressive illustration of the great advantages of emancipation from “human” creeds! We venture to think that the experience of the Plymouth Brotherhood will not be lost upon the various sections of the Church of Christ.

2. *The denial of all commentaries and expositions of Scripture.* This denial, to be consistent, should include Mackintosh’s “Notes,” “Darby’s Sermons,” the “C. S. Tracts,” and the innumerable fly-sheets and pamphlets issued by Morrish, of Paternoster Row, and from the D’Olier Street Depository, Dublin. By what authority, we should like to know, are Wesley’s sermons branded as “human,” and Darby’s labelled “divine”? If they brand Wesley’s Notes, and the commentaries of Henry and Scott, as heretical, because *they* never discovered the mysteries of Plymouthism in the Word of God, they have no reason to complain if we return the compliment, and label Mackintosh’s “Notes,” and the D’Olier Street Tracts “poison,” in characters not easily misunderstood. Meantime, it is going pretty far for a sect which has not yet demonstrated its infallibility, to place in its *Index Expurgatorius* all the creeds existing in the Church of Christ, and all the commentators too!

3. *The denial of all existing churches as sections of the Church of Christ.*

They do not positively assert that all the members of the various churches are on the way to perdition; but all the so-called churches are corrupt, and hence “believers” should leave them and join “the people of God.”

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“A voluntary society! The Church of God divided into a number of separate voluntary societies! This seems to me very shocking.” “It appears to me that you first do wrong by forming these societies, and then say others must do so, too, by joining them. I find nothing like this in the New Testament. We read, ‘The Lord added to the Church;’ every one on his conversion was necessarily added to the Church, but there is nothing in any way like joining a voluntary association.” “But now, solemnly, as before God, do you believe that if our Lord were here on earth He could join any one of the voluntary societies, and in doing which He would have to separate from all the Christians in the others? Remember our fellowship is with Christ, and I fully believe He could not join your societies: neither could I.” \*

Sentiments in substance identical with the above must be familiar to all readers of the Plymouth tracts, as well as to all who have been in the habit of conversing with their agents. The meaning of all this is that the members of the different churches should abandon the systems in connection with which they found the Saviour, and join the Plymouth Brethren, who are exclusively the Church of God.

Now, on this spirit of aggression on the churches around, we have a few words to say. First, we should have a much higher opinion of Plymouthism if we saw its advocates going out into the highways and hedges, and, in the true spirit of primitive evangelism, seeking in order to save the lost. Why not take the field against sin, and the various forms of wickedness, rather than against the professing Church? Where are the Plymouth Missions to the Romanists, or to the heathen of our towns and villages at home? We think that the various sections of the Church have some right to complain of a system which avows, as its direct and immediate object, the drawing off of the children whom God has given as the fruit of honest Christian labour, which labour *they* were too self-engrossed to put forth. And when the object is not honestly avowed, and access is sought to various congregations under pretence of preaching “the Gospel,” as in Mr. Nangle’s conversation at Skreen, for example (as exposed in one of the pamphlets before us), we cannot see that it much improves the case.

Secondly, to us there is a good deal of High Church intolerance in conduct like this. A High Churchman regards *form* as the principal thing, and he is so smitten with an

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\* From *The Skeleton: a Friendly Word to the Christians in England*. A Plymouth Tract, ingeniously written, designed to unsettle the minds of the members of the various churches, and entangle them in the meshes of the Plymouth net. Great efforts are made to circulate it. It is anonymous as usual.

overweening regard for it, that he is prepared to sacrifice the *spirit* of Christ as seen and manifested in better men than himself in his zeal for it. Hence he will sneer at the baptism and ordination of a Nonconformist like Hall, or Chalmers, or Jabez Bunting. And why? Simply because they have the courage to disapprove of his form, which they should believe—because he says so—to be the true Apostolic form. Our enlightened Plymouth brother puts his absence of form and ritual, which is still *his* form, into precisely the same prominence in *his* system, and—with an arrogance in comparison of which the pride of Popery itself looks small—unchurches all the churches in Christendom because they will not abandon their own forms and accept of his. If there be any difference between the principle at issue in both cases, we cannot see it. Both assume the doctrine of infallibility, and both mean by the right of private judgment the obligation to agree with their view.

But, thirdly, are our Plymouth Brethren prepared to prove that their peculiar system has a monopoly of the Divine blessing? We think not. This is a step rather advanced even for High Churchmen of the most ultra school, and hence they modify it somewhat after the following fashion:—"We do not limit the grace of God. He has uncovenanted as well as covenanted mercies. Nonconformists may, *possibly*, be blessed by His Spirit; but while they thus presumptuously despise His ordinance of episcopacy, they have no warrant to *expect* it. He may do more than He has promised, but woe to those who reckon on this." So the luminaries of the Plymouth school may say, "The grace of God abounded to bless even men so imperfectly taught, and living in so imperfect a Church-system, as Baxter, Doddridge, and Wesley; but whoever wishes to receive the fulness of the Spirit must leave full scope to the Spirit's energies; and that can only be by following God's own system of a church, and *that is our system*. Now, wilfully to reject that, and continue in your present imperfect, human system, is deliberately to cast away all hope of His blessing." Thus extremes meet.

4. *The denial of the Christian ministry as an order appointed by Christ.* The Plymouth party do not deny the doctrine of ministry in the Church after a certain fashion; but they reject the institution of a separated ministry, as understood by any of the sections of the Church of Christ, with the exception, perhaps, of the Quakers. Their teaching on this subject has, at all events, the merit of being clear and unmis- takeable. With much that Mr. Mackintosh says about the

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ministry being the gift of Christ to His Church, and the impossibility of ordination making a true minister in the absence of a call from God, we thoroughly agree. With much also of what the Plymouth party say with regard to persons exercising their various gifts for the edification of the Church, we have no controversy. But these things do not touch the precise point in dispute. That point is the denial of all distinction between ministers and people, rulers and ruled, shepherd and flock, in the Word of God. The Plymouth party, one and all, deny with Walker any such distinction; but, instead of fairly grappling with the Scripture evidence to the contrary, they, after the approved Plymouth fashion, prove something else wide of the point in hand.

But the Plymouth doctrine as to the ministry, however seductive as a theory on paper, has proved a most miserable affair in practice, themselves and their friends being judges. Mr. Guinness, one of their special friends, who was publicly baptized by one of them a few years ago, published a letter to them some time since on the "Recognition of Pastors," in which he says: "The shape of your churches is simply amorphous, *shapeless*; your system is the mere negation of system, and your ground is in my judgment untenable." There is "growing uneasiness in many of the body with the state of things existing." Some "have caused divisions and offences." Many "feel a reaction from the extreme views once entertained." "Confusion" exists, "exercising in many the grace of long-suffering to a very painful degree." "The doctrine of impulsive ministry" is vaguely held by many. "Whole churches endure, year after year, the vain talking of those whose mouths should be stopped." Mr. Guinness concludes by saying, "The last twenty years have been a cloudy and dark night in the history of Brethrenism; the wear and tear of reality have put their ideal Church to the test, and it has fairly gone to pieces."\* Is the present crusade in the South and West of Ireland an attempt to retrieve its failing fortunes?

Out of this denial of the institution of a separated ministry have sprung two prominent doctrines of the Plymouth Brotherhood, namely, their doctrine of "gifts," and of "the presidency of the Holy Ghost in their gatherings as a church." On each of these doctrines we must say a few words. Their theory of "*gifts*," so far as we can understand it, is in sub-

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\* *A Letter to the Plymouth Brethren on the Recognition of Pastors.* By H. G. Guinness. Nisbet.

stance as follows:—That the gifts needed for edifying the Church are directly supernatural, having nothing in common with the natural qualifications which distinguish man from man; that they come immediately of the Spirit being bestowed according to the inscrutable wisdom of Christ, but in no known connection with natural or acquired powers; that not every devoted Christian, though to his piety be added the highest talents, and the most persevering study, is “gifted” in the Plymouth sense; that men of the deepest piety, most solid learning, and greatest natural powers, may be the most unfit to minister to the edification of a “gathering of the saints;” that “gifts” are bestowed, we know not when, or where, or how; that they come suddenly—in short, *miraculously* (for this is the plain English of it), as in the Primitive Church; and that any academy, college, or other system of training ministers is essentially sinful, as being an attempt to put human learning and human talent into the place of the Spirit of God. There are three passages in St. Paul’s Epistles to which they appeal in support of these supernatural gifts, Rom. xii. 6—8, 1 Cor. xii. 29, and Eph. iv. 11; just the passages to which the disciples of Edward Irving appeal in support of their claim to the gift of tongues, and similar extravagances, which have done so much to bring religion into contempt with thoughtful sceptics. The passage from Romans enumerates as gifts received by the Christians at Rome—“Prophecy, ministry, teaching, exhorting, giving, ruling, showing mercy,” and the Plymouth argument is, that these “gifts” were imparted supernaturally to the Primitive Church, and are given in the same way now to the Church, and of course to themselves. But we should like to ask, do the Plymouth party lay claim to the gift of “prophecy” as well as to the gift of “ministry”? If not, why not? This passage does not say that all these “gifts” were directly supernatural: but if it be pressed into the service of Plymouthism, its advocates should lay claim to the spirit of prophecy. Perhaps they will, in due time, as the system is in a transition state. The passage in 1 Corinthians enumerates altogether a different class of “gifts”—“Apostles, prophets, teachers, workers of miracles, healers, speakers with tongues, interpreters;” how it bears upon the Plymouth case we confess we cannot see. If the fact that these “gifts” were bestowed upon the Church of Corinth miraculously proves anything to the Plymouth case, some of the saints in the “gatherings” at Dublin, Bristol, or London should long since have received the “gift” of “working miracles” as well as of “ministry.” By what



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authority do they claim this passage as a Divine warrant for the one, and omit the other? Mr. Trench tells us that several members of the Church of England of his acquaintance who embraced Plymouth views ultimately went over to Irvingism. We are not surprised at this, as Irvingism is the fair logical terminus of the Plymouth argument on this head.

“But is not the passage in Ephesians conclusive as to the fact that the ‘risen Christ’ gave miraculously to His Church ‘some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers?’” This passage says that these persons were gifts from Christ to His Church (which, we suppose, no one ever doubted), but it does not say they were in every instance given miraculously; and neither does it supply a shadow of proof of the question at issue between the Plymouth party and the various sections of the Church—namely, that the *miraculous supply* of “evangelists,” “pastors,” and “teachers” was to be the permanent law in the New Testament Church. The Plymouth party admit that the age of miracles has passed away, so far as the supply of “apostles and prophets” is concerned; and by what kind of logic can they contend for its permanence with regard to the supply of “evangelists, pastors, and teachers”?

The doctrine of the *presidency of the Spirit*, as held by the Plymouth party, is closely connected with their theory of “gifts,” and demands a fuller exposure than the claims upon our space will allow.

1. “They assert the exclusive government and personal presence of the Holy Ghost as completely, in every sense, as Jesus was with His disciples and governed them: ‘Jesus being glorified on high, God hath sent the Holy Ghost’ (Acts ii. 4—38). Now from that moment we search in vain in the New Testament for any church government, except the sovereign guidance of the Holy Ghost. As really as the blessed Jesus had been present with the disciples in the Gospels, equally so is the Holy Ghost present with the Church in the Acts.”\*

2. This government of the Holy Ghost is not only generally extended over the whole Church, but He presides in person over every particular “gathering,” guiding the worship, inspiring the teachers and preachers, conferring “gifts,” and ruling these as a sovereign. Hence we are told, “All the Christians in a neighbourhood assembled together in the name of Jesus; the

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\* *Christ the Centre*, p. 7.

Spirit gave diversities of gifts: some were gifted to preach, others to exhort, and so on with all the various manifestations of the Spirit; and He, the Spirit, was really present in their midst, dividing to every one severally as He would. When the sovereign presence of the Spirit of God was owned, this was the order." At the sixth page of *Worship and Ministry* we are told that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's "presence and supremacy in the assemblies of the saints is one of the most momentous truths by which the present period is distinguished;" and the writer further says that he could not "have fellowship with any body of professing Christians who substitute clerisy in any of its forms for the sovereign guidance of the Holy Ghost." "No gathering can claim to be a Church of God save that company that meets in the name of Jesus, and in the dependence upon the presence, supply, and ministry of the Holy Ghost."\* But now we are told that in the present day by all the churches "this presidency of the Holy Ghost is forgotten, and that a man fills His place. This disowning of God the Holy Ghost is most sad in every way." "God is disowned in the assembly for guidance in worship." "When you meet for worship, you do not submit to the Holy Ghost and allow Him to preside over the meetings, using whom He will."†

3. Those whom the Holy Ghost uses are as much inspired as was the Prophet Jeremiah; the words they utter are as much the Lord's own sweet words as those which God spoke to Jeremiah. So we learn from the following extract:—"How sweet were the words of the Lord to him. 'Let them return unto Thee, but return not Thou unto them' (see Jer. xv. 16—21). Such is the privilege of all, in these days, who have been led to own the real presence of the Holy Ghost in the assembly. The Lord's words have indeed been found to be sweeter than man's."‡ Mr. Darby asks, if God is there, "is He not to make His presence known? If He do, it is a manifestation of the Spirit in the individual who acts: it is a gift, and if you please, an impulse. It is God acting; that is the great point."§ Once more: "We meet on the principle that God the Holy Ghost (who dwells in believers individually and in the body collectively) alone has a right to speak in the meeting, and He has a right to speak by whom He will."|| These extracts must suffice; we could multiply them to any amount.

\* *The Lord's Supper and Ministry.*

† *Christ the Centre*, p. 9, 24.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 10.

§ *Presence and Operation of the Spirit*, p. 21.

|| *Torquay Statement*, as quoted by Govett.



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As they have not chosen to give any Scriptural authority for these marvellous claims, we shall not be expected to grapple with statements like these, which, in truth, are mere fanaticisms of the wildest sort. The following extracts will serve to illustrate the practical value of this doctrine of inspiration, and of the presidency of the Holy Ghost, in the Plymouth "gatherings;" they are all taken from the writers of the Plymouth Brotherhood, and will show what they have gained as a community by denying the doctrine of the Christian ministry as an order in the Church:—

"You have continual opportunities for testing ministry. Many occasions offer themselves in which it would not be difficult to decide if the teaching were a spiritual gift, or whether, in many instances frequently occurring, it is not a manifestation of ignorance, incompetence, and absurd garrulity. How these things may be going on at present I cannot affirm, but I remember well the severe punishment inflicted on enlightened Christians by the ministry of those whose manifest duty was to learn and not to teach. This, in some instances, used to be endured till it became intolerable; then came the necessity of expostulation, and in some instances of something more, creating heart-burnings of wounded vanity and angry murmurings which it was hopeless to appease. 'The Spirit divideth to every man according as He wills,' was generally understood to be the principle of ministry, and the logical deduction in the minds of the uninstructed and presumptuous was, that when they willed to teach it was the will of the Holy Spirit that they should teach. Hence, in instances not unfrequently occurring, persons of very imperfect education and of very shallow acquaintance with the Scriptures were 'called on to speak,' and, in their own opinion, 'the Lord was manifestly with them.' They had their friends and partisans; and when the hour of reproof came, it was interpreted as an act of jealousy on the part of 'gentlemen' who could not endure to see their inferiors assume the position of their superiors. Hence arose bitter animosities and a radical feeling, sometimes plainly expressed, that '*the rights* of the poorer brethren were borne down by a conspiracy of gentlemen and ladies.'

"Instances also might now and then be found where the ministry of a vain and forward individual was tolerated from year to year, owing to the impossibility of remedying the nuisance. Those who were the victims of his presumptuousness suffered in silence; they shunned strife and contention, and preferred endurance to resistance, and so the bold prater kept his seat on the saddle, never descending from the hobby-horse of his vanity. But such remembrances are painful, and, moreover, it would require a volume to register them."—*From an Address to the Plymouth Brethren* (Hardwicke), pp. 20, 21.

"This, however, is certain, that it was an established maxim to allow periods of silence in the meetings, in order that opportunities might be offered for any 'to deliver any message which they had

received, or to speak as they might feel led,' &c. With these convenient opportunities the poorer members of the congregation, who go straightforward in their reasoning, and are unacquainted with the *finesse* of metaphysical distinctions, understood, as they had been induced to understand, that those who ministered did so by the Holy Ghost. If they themselves were 'called on to speak,' or, in other words, if they felt an inclination so to do, they believed it to be a spiritual impulse, and they had no doubt that the absurdities which they occasionally uttered were the voice of the Spirit. Such exhibitions, from persons who do not understand the art of dressing up their crude thoughts in refinement of expression and delicacy of phrase, shock us at once by presenting us nonsense unveiled, in the pure state of nature, though the staple of their teaching may not be one atom more foolish than the perverse mysticism or idle maundering of their betters. The absurdity which, in the mouth of a clown, would provoke immediate disgust, may, from the lips of a rhetorical charlatan, be so presented as to appear something very deep. I have known the idlest and the wildest speculations from a gentleman pass off very well, and I have seen much less offensive matter from the uneducated greeted with a very different reception. This, at any rate, is certain, that both one and the other have occasionally appeared in the form and with the pretensions of 'ministry' amongst you, whatever may have been the opinion entertained of them."—*Ibid.* pp. 22, 23.

"If statements like these have been argued by them with great success, the consequence of the argument seems to have been overlooked; for, if there are no gifts of government, no presidential authority, and no office of the overseer, it must be a hopeless attempt to establish any order in a large body of Christians. It seems almost self-evident that where a multitude is called on to act in continued operation without any acknowledged government, the practical result must be anarchy and confusion; and truly the history of the Brethren has shown this clearly enough. Without rulers, without government, without pastoral authority, they jog on from time to time by the management of coteries, and by the influence of certain individuals in the different gatherings who, more or less, assumed, as it were by accident, the direction of affairs. But this is a precarious and uncertain state of things, passable only for the sunshiny days of peace; in the hour of danger and in the hour of the tempest it is a total failure, or rather helps to increase the mischief."—*Ibid.* p. 24.

"The Darbyites began to break bread at Plymouth apart from the Newtonians; a secession was established, and the incomparable union, which was intended to convince all sects of the sin of separation, ended, after an experiment of a few years, in a most painful schism, sufficient to warn all spectators from approaching a system which could produce such distressing consequences. This was as the revolt of the ten tribes; there has never been peace in your Israel since that day, nor will there ever be again."—*Ibid.* p. 30.

The following, on the celebrated Bull of Pope Darby, ex-

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communicating Mr. Newton, the saints at Bethesda, and all in every place who sympathised with him or them, are most significant documents. We are concerned that we have not space for this notable document *in extenso*.

“I doubt whether in all the annals of ecclesiastical strife there has been anything like it; for though we can read often enough of parties in Christendom, animated by popes, emperors, or councils, to attack whole populations on the plea of heresy, and to rage against them with fire and sword, yet we know that these were the acts of an ignorant multitude, strangers to every Christian grace, and Christians only in name. But in this frightful schism it was brother against brother, the regenerate against the regenerate (or so supposed to be), and friend against friend. Some the year before had been taking sweet counsel together, and had fled from the cold-heartedness and formality of the sects to find a common refuge in the love of Christ, reflected in the love of the Brethren, who had renounced all worldly hopes and emoluments, and had given up everything to cast in their lot with those who had escaped from the pollutions of the world; who had by innumerable acts of self-sacrifice shown the sincerity of their Christian affections; who had thought no labour, toil, or suffering too much for the service of the saints; who had thrown all the energies of their being into the love of the Brethren, in such services as were rarely equalled; who would have laid down their lives cheerfully for the sheep, as but a poor proof of their devotion to the Shepherd, now suddenly, in the space of a few days, found themselves separated from their companions, with a yawning gulf of fiery hatred between them, and their brothers of yesterday marshalled against them on the other side in battle array, with voices of execration and threats of vengeance. The friendship of many years, the tender remembrances of Christian fellowship, and all the sweet charities of life, were not only renounced, but laughed at. The bitterest possible words of hatred were hurled at those who came under the description of the circular; and Christian gentlemen, or those who had hitherto enjoyed that double character, seemed to think that they could not more surely earn the approbation of their commander, or fight his battle with greater success, than by adopting the coarsest language of the rude multitude, and the most revolting deportment of bullies. And all this was done with mockery and a sort of ‘hurrah’ of triumph. The tears and consternation of some were turned into raillery, their amazement and distress were quoted as excellent jokes: old family friends were, in some instances, greeted with a stare of surprise when they ventured to make a morning call; they were treated as bold strangers that had intruded into the house without introduction. Even ladies met with this reception from the males of their species, for in cases like these one shrinks from calling them men. The more stern these savages were to their best friends, the more did they show their zeal for the glory of the Lord, and His *precious, precious* name.”—*Ibid.* pp. 34, 35.

“But amongst the Brethren another spirit has betrayed itself: some principle not yet analysed has been all along working deep, essential mischief in the hearts of these people—a principle which, under the outward show of much love, and with the habitual language of the most luscious piety, has been fostering the seeds of overbearing tyranny, has concealed the most dangerous fanaticism under a saintly exterior, and has nurtured the spirit of Cain under the garb of the meek and holy Abel. Can we account for the phenomenon on any theory than that it must be the system itself which furnishes the soil and atmosphere suitable to these pernicious seeds and enables them to germinate? The result is obviously exceptional, and is not to be found elsewhere; it is not, therefore, one of the accidents of humanity, a history of the usual progress of violent passions; it is something deeper and closer not yet discovered.”—*Ibid*, p. 38.

Speaking of the “saints” at Ebrington Street, Mr. Darby says—

“I fully believe that the work which has resulted in Ebrington Street is a direct and positive work of Satan; I mean simply and solemnly what I say.” “I have not the least doubt that Mr. Newton *received his system by direct inspiration from Satan*, analogous to the Irvingite delusions.” “I am perfectly satisfied that persons here (Plymouth), over whom I mourn, are direct instruments of Satan, and that their work is of a seducing spirit, to which many may, and several have, given heed; I repeat it, of a seducing spirit or devil.”—*Darby's Retrospect of Events*, pp. 8, 10.

As Mr. Darby is under the presidency of the Holy Spirit, and Mr. Newton, too, according to the Plymouth creed, the “world” will, in all probability, believe what they say about each other, and we cannot see that they have any cause to complain or charge us with misrepresenting them. We can only find space for one more extract, though we have at least a score of a similar class now lying on our desk.

“The excitement and confusion,” says Mr. Culverhouse, in his *Statement as to the Jersey, Guernsey, and London Case*, pp. 5—10, “which prevailed at the conference precluded, I regret to state, all sober investigation. It is impracticable, dear brethren, to describe the true state of things, either in the gatherings or at the conference. Every remonstrance is unheeded. Insinuations, slanders, insolence, threats, and violence are resorted to. I designate it an inquisition. . . . At the meeting of the 21st inst., the doors were guarded and locked. A brother on applying for entrance was seized by the throat and thrust back. Our brethren, Mr. Darby, Mr. Wigram, Dr. Cronin, and Mr. Lean are the chief and ruling members.”

Dr. Carson, of Coleraine, says—

“I have received a long letter from the person alluded to by Mr. Culverhouse as having been seized by the throat. He says, ‘On entering the meeting one Saturday night I was seized by my throat by Mr. —, and nearly strangled; and I bore, for several days, the marks of this old gentleman’s talons on my neck, and yet this old gentleman is allowed still to teach. This account you will find recorded in Mr. Culverhouse’s pamphlet, for he was there and examined my neck. . . . Several sisters rushed out in great fear and alarm; one said, ‘it was like a menagerie of wild beasts.’ . . . I am extremely glad that I have been delivered from the worst sect that a Christian man can meet with under the canopy of heaven. . . . They pretend to be wholly led by the Holy Spirit, whereas all things are arranged beforehand, who shall lecture, who shall pray, who shall give out hymns.’”—*Dr. Carson’s Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren*, p. 62.

We need not add a word on the Plymouth denial of the doctrine of the Christian ministry, and its effects on their teaching system. Our readers will regard the practical workings of the system, as illustrated in the above extracts, as furnishing its best refutation.

4. *The denial of the generally received doctrine of the Atonement, and the substitution for it of a doctrine of atonement adapted to their peculiar views.* We do not mean to charge the Plymouth Brethren with having given up the idea of atonement, or with not holding the doctrine prominently in their peculiar theological system. On the contrary, the doctrine of atonement through the shedding of blood holds a prominent place in their teaching, and has very much to do with their popularity. But it is possible to hold a doctrine of atonement without holding *the* doctrine of the Word of God on this vital question. And it is possible to say a great many glowing things about the blood of Christ as the foundation of our peace, without presenting that blood in the same relation to pardon, and to the entire system of evangelical truth, in which we find it presented in the Word of God. It is obvious, moreover, that just in proportion to the importance of any doctrine will be the importance of holding it exactly as it is presented in the Word of God; and, at the same time, the danger of departing from the teaching of inspired truth a hair’s breadth on any pretext whatsoever. The Plymouth system is a system of extremes all through; hence any truth which it does hold it is likely to hold in an extreme or exaggerated form, and this may lead to most serious error, as we believe it has done in the present case in Ireland and

elsewhere. Nearly all the Plymouth pamphlets which we have read, and the Plymouth preachers whom we have heard, teach an extreme or exaggerated view of the Atonement, which leads to confusion and error. They hold and teach that Christ suffered, not what the schoolmen call the *tantundem* or equivalent for human transgression, but the *idem*, or actual penalty, stroke for stroke; that the Atonement actually paid every sinner's debt, "to the last farthing," so that all his sins, "past, present, and future," were "put away," or forgiven, when Christ died; and that saving faith is the mere assent of the mind to this proposition: "Christ paid my debt, past, present, and future, eighteen hundred years ago, hence I am saved now and for ever."

It will be seen, then, that the peculiar view of the Atonement taught by the lay preachers in Ireland, and the Plymouth party generally, embraces the old Calvinistic view of Christ as having borne the *idem*, or actual sin of His people, stroke for stroke—as having paid the actual debt "to the last farthing;" and, with characteristic confusion and absurdity, they preach this provision as having been made for all men, thus uniting, or rather attempting to unite, the Calvinistic and Arminian views of the Atonement in what they call "the Gospel." We regret that we have not space at command to examine further their peculiar theory, and illustrate its logical absurdities and tendencies. One of the pamphlets before us goes very fully into the doctrinal errors of this system, particularly in relation to the Atonement and saving faith, and gives various extracts from their tracts and pamphlets illustrative of their views. To it we have pleasure in directing the attention of our readers. Our space will only admit of one extract, showing that this gospel leads inevitably to Universalism.

"But, secondly, let us look at the *logical consequences* involved in this commercial, unscriptural, pounds-shillings-and-pence view of the Atonement. Every one can see that when an insolvent debtor's debt is paid, the law has no further claim against him, and it is a matter, not of mercy, but of simple *equity* or justice that the prisoner be set free. Further, it is equally clear, that if the debt be paid by any one for the prisoner, it cannot morally or legally be exacted *twice*—that is, from the prisoner's representative and from the prisoner himself at some future day. And now, in the light of their own illustration of the central doctrine of the Atonement, let us ask these gentlemen one or two questions. They may prove awkward, but we must be allowed to press them, as they are of vital importance to the full understanding of this miserable system of popular error. *Whose 'debt, to the la*



*farthing, did Christ pay when He died on Calvary?* That of His own people, or that of all sinners as such? If the former—that is, believers, and their debt only—no one not included in His plan can possibly be saved, do what he will or can, inasmuch as Christ paid ‘the last farthing’ for His own people merely, and left the others to pay their own, or take the legal consequences. This is the old Calvinistic idea of Toplady and the Westminster divines, and is now nearly exploded, as no man dare preach reprobation from any pulpit in the land, and no man can hold Calvinistic election and logically deny reprobation. The thing is simply impossible; the laws of mind are as fixed as those of matter. If a man deny that three and three make six, what he wants is not light, but an understanding. If Christ ‘paid the debt’ of His people merely, it follows as conclusively as anything can follow in this world, that no others can possibly be saved, and hence all the placards, handbills, and preaching of these gentlemen are worse than useless! But they will probably say, ‘We do not hold the doctrine of a limited atonement, and never preach it.’ Very well, you take the other alternative, then, and say Christ paid to the last farthing the debt of all sinners, without exception, and this is our gospel. Will you please show us, then, on this principle, *how any sinner can by possibility be damned?* You say, ‘The debt, to the last farthing, was actually paid for every sinner when Christ died.’ If so, *surely the law can have no claim now, or at any future period*, and it is a matter of simple equity, as well as of absolute certainty, that every sinner in the world must ultimately be saved! This new theory of the Atonement lands us in sheer Universalism, and there is no escape from this as the logical consequence of the system. Why, then, lose time, and money, and strength in preaching and various efforts to save ‘dear souls’? On the principles of this new gospel they are in no danger, their ‘debt, to the last farthing, is paid’—was paid before they were born; hence they never were *really* insolvent, and their final salvation is matter of simple equity! Thus every man, believer or unbeliever, may joyfully sing the following stanzas from the New Gospel Hymn Book:—

“ ‘ From whence this fear and unbelief,  
If God the Father put to grief  
His spotless Son for me?  
Can He, the Righteous Judge of men,  
Condemn me for that debt of sin,  
Which, Lord, was charged on Thee?

“ ‘ If Thou hast my discharge procured,  
And freely in my place endured  
The whole of wrath divine:  
Payment God will not *twice* demand—  
First, at my bleeding Surety’s hand,  
And then again at mine.’ ” \*

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\* *Hymns sung at the Special Services, Dublin and Kingstown, No. 84.*

"Hence we are not surprised at the conclusion of an honest farmer in the King's County, after hearing one of these gentlemen preach: 'Well,' said he, 'I never understood the Gospel before: I shall give myself no trouble about either repentance or faith—it is all nonsense. This gentleman has proved to my satisfaction that Christ paid my debt before I was born [poor fellow! he was easily satisfied], and whatever time I go into the other world I will claim my discharge from all legal consequences, as a matter of simple equity.'

"The advocates of this new gospel will probably say, 'We never preach universal salvation, but, on the contrary, insist upon faith as the grand condition of salvation.' This is easily said, but it is quite another thing to escape the logical consequences of their system. We have proved, beyond all possibility of refutation, that their theory of the Atonement leads to sheer Universalism; and we have now to ask these gentlemen another question. If Christ has paid every sinner's debt to the last farthing, how can faith be the condition of salvation? The payment of the debt is either a fact or a fiction of your imagination. If a fiction, what becomes of your gospel? If a fact, unbelief cannot reverse that fact or affect it in any way. The sinner's debt was paid before he was born; if this be a fact, it remains true whether he believes it or not—aye, whether he ever hears about it or not. It cannot by any possibility make the slightest difference as to his final safety.

"But we shall perhaps be told that 'unbelief, or the rejection of Christ, is the damning sin.' But we should like to know how does this relieve the case? You say, 'Christ paid the debt of every sinner to the last farthing.' Very well; this payment either included this sin of unbelief or it did not. If it did not, how is this sin of unbelief to be forgiven? If it did, the debt cannot have been paid and due also."—*Lay Preaching in Ireland, and the New Gospel*, pp. 24, 27.

As one error generally leads to another, this false view of the Atonement leads to a false view of pardon, and of saving faith, and of oneness with Christ, on each of which points we must say a word or two. If Christ actually paid the debt of every sinner, it will follow that all his sins, past, and present, and future, were forgiven, or "put away," eighteen hundred years ago; and hence we shall not be surprised at the following extract from the Rev. J. D. Smith, who seems thoroughly to have embraced the doctrinal system of Plymouthism, and who preaches it from Sabbath to Sabbath in Merrion Hall, Dublin:—

"Whilst in Switzerland the other day, a Genevese was very anxious to know that the Lord had put her sins away, and a lady present, who had attended some of the meetings at Kingstown, said, 'It is ten months since He put my sins away.' I replied inquiringly, 'Was it so?' The answer came eighteen hundred years ago. 'Yes, Christ



## 84 *The Plymouth Brethren and Lay Preaching in Ireland.*

bore them then, and having once borne them, He will bear them no more.

“ ‘ He’s gone inside the curtained sky  
To die no more.’ ”

‘*And if your sins were not put away eighteen hundred years ago, they never will be.*’—Smith’s *Addresses at Freemasons’ Hall*, No. 2, p. 23.

Here Mr. Smith is evidently blinded by his peculiar theory of the Atonement, and confounds atonement with pardon, though the Bible distinction between the two is broad and palpable enough. The same stupid blunder is made by Mr. Mackintosh in all his pamphlets, and by all the Plymouth teachers now in the West of Ireland. They first adopt an extreme theory of the Atonement, and then are logically compelled to go a step further and confound the Atonement with the pardon. But the Atonement is one thing, the pardon resulting from it is altogether another. The Atonement was finished eighteen hundred years ago, “once for all,” and constitutes the meritorious ground or medium of pardon for all, while it actually pardoned none. The pardon is administered by God in the capacity of a Judge, from age to age, to every penitent sinner who embraces Christ as He is offered in the Gospel. No more dangerous type of preaching can well be imagined than one that confounds atonement with pardon. In our judgment, such slipshod preaching does far more harm than good, and sows the seed of mischievous error to spring up and trouble the Church in after years.

The passage from this to a false view of saving faith is very simple. A false theory of the Atonement leads to a false theory of pardon, and this again to a false theory of the faith which apprehends the pardon. They first confound atonement with pardon, and then, as living faith is not essential to such a pardon as this, they simplify faith (or explain it away) into a mere assent of the mind to a proposition. Hence we are told in one of the D’Olier Street tracts, “God proclaims to all a complete salvation [covering the future as well as the past, as the writer endeavours to show], transferable to any sinner who will have it, by the simplest and easiest act of which the human mind is capable.”\* But we should like to know, what difference it can make whether the sinner believes that his debt is paid or not, if, as a matter of fact, it has been actually paid. Poor Walker involves him-

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\* *A Letter on the present Religious Movement (called “Revivalism”) in Kerry.* Dublin Tract Repository.

self in sad and humiliating confusion with this theory of simple faith. He found it anything but "simple" work to harmonise his theory with the teaching of the Word of God. He tells us, in the extract given above, that "by the faith with which justification and eternal life are connected, he understands nothing but the *belief* of the things declared to all alike in the Scriptures; that forgiveness of all sins, acceptance in the sight of God, and eternal life, come to the guiltiest of sinful men *as such*, and are assured in the Divine Word to every one, without distinction, who *believes* the testimony there delivered concerning Jesus of Nazareth." All this is apparently simple enough, and any one would understand by "believing this testimony there delivered," a simple act of the mind; but in his letter to Haldane he explains his simple theory of faith in the luminous sentence—"In merely *believing* a thing declared to me, there is no *act* of the mind at all, but a conviction produced on the mind by the evidence, which the report appears to me to carry with it."\* And again he tells us that this simple faith can only be exercised by the elect! What sad confusion we have here, and this from a professor of logic! This extreme view of the Atonement is the root also of the Plymouth doctrine of "oneness with Christ," or "imputed sanctification." Mr. Smith says, addressing the sinners at Merrion Hall,—"Oh! will you not come to such a Christ? What keeps you from Him? Sirs, have I not shown you that the Lord Jesus became sin for you?"† "Oh, transcending mystery, that the Lord of life and glory should become sin for us." "He hung there with *sin* on Him, from which, in punishing, God hid His face." "The Lord Jesus is one with His people in regard to *their sins*."‡ And this is intended to prepare the way for teaching like the following:—"Christ in His perfectness and holiness is mine: 'What a righteousness is this! even the righteousness of God in Him,' which every saint before God, in his union with Christ, is. Having it, we have nothing more to desire. It is a righteousness greater than that of the first Adam, greater than the righteousness of angels; it is a *Divine* righteousness, which seats the believer in the very *presence* of God, and enables him to *behold His face in righteousness*." We might multiply extracts to the same effect from the pamphlets of Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Stanley, and others of the Plymouth brotherhood. Thus Mr. Mackin-

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\* Walker's Reply to J. A. Haldane, Esq. Vol. i. p. 452.

† Life Truths, p. 82. ‡ Ibid. p. 79. The italics are Mr. Smith's.

tosh says,—“God only sees him in Christ and as Christ. He becomes one with Christ for ever. But 1 Corinthians i. 30, distinctly teaches that Christ is made both justification and sanctification to all believers. It does not say we have righteousness and ‘a measure of sanctification.’ We have just as much Scripture authority for putting the word ‘measure’ before righteousness as before sanctification. The Spirit of God does not put it before either. Both are perfect, and we have both in Christ. God never does anything by halves. There is no such thing as a half justification; neither is there such a thing as a half sanctification.”\* Mr. Mackintosh forgot to enumerate “redemption” also. Are the Plymouth believers actually glorified now?

We need not take up the reader's time with refuting, for the thousand and first time, doctrine like this. It is merely a hash of the ultra-Calvinism of Crisp, Toplady, and Hawker, of Plymouth, rendered popular and taking by a certain unctuous phraseology peculiar to believers of the Plymouth school. No one will be surprised to hear that Merrion Hall is crowded, and that the preachers of this Antinomian gospel draw crowds and boast many converts. But they boast the lame, and the halt, and the blind. Mr. Nangle, who, in his first pamphlet, said he knew many sinners called from darkness to light through the instrumentality of the lay preachers, in a subsequent pamphlet, retracts this statement, and now regards these “believers,” who boast of their “completeness in Christ,” as still “in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity,” and is deliberately of opinion that the “movement” has done far more harm than good in his parish. Within the last few days, we heard one of these “believers,” who was perfectly drunk, attempt to instruct some Romanists in a railway carriage in this doctrine of a finished sanctification in Christ—a sanctification which was in Christ, and not in poor fallen human nature; and this Antinomian leaven is rapidly spreading in Ireland just now. We question if at any time the conflict was more serious in any part of the United Kingdom.

We had intended to notice at least three other of the negations peculiar to Plymouthism as a system; namely, the denial (practically at least) of the agency of the Spirit in experimental religion, which is the result of the extreme view of the Atonement to which we have referred, and has led to serious error in relation to the doctrine of repentance, saving

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\* Mackintosh on *Sanctification*, p. 14.

faith, pardon, regeneration, and assurance of salvation; the denial of the law as the rule of life for Christian believers, and the consequent denial of the Divine authority of the Sabbath; and the denial of the Gospel as the power which is to subdue and save the world, involving an examination of their peculiar theories of Millenarianism. But space fails us now, and our readers have probably had enough of the subject for the present. From what has been shown, intelligent readers will be able to judge for themselves how far such doctrines as these taught by our new lights are likely to promote Christian intelligence or edification. We regard Plymouthism as a perilous and mischievous heresy. We regret to find how deeply it has vitiated the zealous efforts in the way of lay preaching, which are being made throughout the three kingdoms. In watering places, and military stations especially, has it found favour. It is needful for all Christian ministers to understand it, and to be on their guard against it. For its cure, however, we can look only to one source—a liberalization of the polity of the Church of England in regard to the employment of lay preachers and prayer leaders. Having no sphere in the Established Church, and being repelled by the narrowness of its forms, such men overleap all bounds and barriers, and become roving evangelists without a church, a commission, or a creed.

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**ART. II.—*Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in England.***  
London. 1866.

THE first authentic record of registration occurs in the year 1538, when an injunction was issued by Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, that a register-book for weddings, christenings, and burials should be kept in every parish church, under a penalty of three shillings and four pence for every case of neglect. The fine was to be expended in the repairs of the church; but, in consequence of some irregularity, a new injunction was issued in 1547, ordering the fine to be given to the poor. Fresh inquiries were instituted in the first year of Elizabeth, but they resulted in nothing beyond a recommendation that the fine should be divided between the poor and the church. A Bill providing for a diocesan registration was read before the House in 1563, and thrown out. Nothing more was done until the year 1590, when Lord Treasurer Burghley took the matter in hand. Vigorous and systematic measures were adopted; every clergyman on institution was required to promise that he would diligently keep the register-book; and in 1603 a decree was issued that all the ancient registers in each parish should be copied into a parchment book. A further step was taken by the Long Parliament in the appointment of a parish registrar; but on the Restoration the function reverted to the clergy. In the reign of William III. duties were levied on births, marriages, and deaths, and the clergy were compelled, under a penalty of £100, to collect the necessary statistics. This was a serious grievance, and entailed a vast amount of labour, especially as parents tried in every way to evade the tax on births. An Act was therefore passed (7 and 8 Will. III., c. 35) making parents responsible to give notice of births within five days of their occurrence, under a penalty of forty shillings. The imperfect working of the system led to the adoption and repeal of various legislative measures; but nothing was accomplished until the year 1833, when a Select Committee of the House of Commons, after a long and comprehensive investigation of the subject, recommended "a national civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths," which should include all ranks of society, and "religionists of every class." A scheme was laid before Par-

liament, which, after various emendations, issued in an Act (1 Vic., c. 22), which came into operation on July 1st, 1837.

In order to give force and effect as legal evidence to existing registers and records, a Commission was appointed in 1836, "to enquire into the state, custody, and authenticity of all registers or records, not being parochial, of births or baptisms, deaths or burials, and marriages duly solemnized." Upwards of 7,000 books belonging to various congregations, and 1,500 registers of the Society of Friends, were examined and pronounced authentic; and by an Act passed in 1840 they were made receivable as evidence. The discovery of some new registers belonging to the Society of Friends led to the appointment of a second Commission of Inquiry in 1857. Application was made to all the various churches and congregations in England. The Jews and the Roman Catholics declined to submit their registers to investigation. But as the result of this second Commission, 303 registers, including 270,000 entries, were authenticated, and placed in the custody of the Registrar-General.

For the purposes of registration the population of England and Wales is ranged under eleven divisions. These are subdivided into forty-four registration counties, which differ more or less from the boundaries of the counties proper, inasmuch as the district or union which extends into more than one county is placed within that in which either the principal town or the greater part of the population is located. These counties are distributed into 641 districts, which are collections of contiguous parishes or places, and are generally identical with the Poor Law Unions of the same names. These districts are again divided into sub-districts, in each of which there is an acting Registrar. In London alone there are no less than 185 sub-districts. The registration officers consist of a Registrar-General, whose appointment is made under the great seal, and whose head-quarters are in Somerset House; assisted by a chief-clerk, six superintendents, and a staff of clerks appointed by the Treasury. It is his duty to certify Nonconformist places of worship, to carry out the provisions of the Compulsory Vaccination Act, to prepare the returns ordered by the Public Health Act, to keep the non-parochial registers, to organize and superintend the census, and to present weekly, quarterly, and annual reports. Each district has its Superintendent-Registrar, and each sub-district its Registrar and Deputy-Registrar. The sub-district Registrars receive only a subsidiary remuneration. In their ranks may be found tailors, grocers, druggists, auctioneers, agents,

schoolmasters, undertakers, clerks, solicitors, and preachers. Medical men are rarely selected, their proverbially wretched handwriting being fatal to that accuracy which registration demands. The original registers are lodged with the Superintendent-Registrars, by whom certified copies are sent every three months to Somerset House. These are arranged and indexed so as to be accessible to the public. A fee of one shilling is charged for searching for any particular entry; and for half-a-crown a certified stamped copy may be obtained, which the Act ordains shall be receivable as evidence in judicial proceedings. The total cost of the registration department is about £100,000 per annum, and is met by poor-rates and a Parliamentary grant.

The particulars tabulated by the Registration officers are for all practical purposes sufficiently exhaustive, excepting, perhaps, under the head of deaths. In the case of births the points ascertained are: the date and place, the name, if any, and the sex of the child, the father's name and surname, the name and maiden surname of the mother, the father's rank or profession, the signature, description and residence of the informant, and the child's baptismal name, if added after the registration of the birth. The marriage register contains the following particulars:—the place and time of the marriage, the names and surnames of the contracting parties, their age, civil condition, rank or profession, the name, surname, and rank or profession of the father of each; by what rites or ceremonies the marriage was performed, whether by banns, license, or certificate; the name of the person by whom the marriage was solemnized, and the signatures of all parties concerned, and two witnesses. The register of deaths contains the name and surname of the deceased, the sex, age, and rank or profession; the time, place, and cause of death; and the signature, description, and residence of the informant, who must have been present at the death, or in attendance during the illness of the deceased, or, in default of such evidence, an occupant or inmate of the house in which the death occurred. When an inquest is held, the coroner must be the informant. The informant in a case of birth must be one of the parents, or an occupant of the house. If the child should be a foundling, the overseer of the parish must give notice to the Registrar.

The estimated population of England and Wales in the middle of the year 1864 was about twenty millions and three-quarters. The number of persons married in this year was 360,774; the number of children who were born alive was



740,275; and the number of deaths was 495,531. The natural increase of population, by the excess of births over deaths, was 244,744, a daily increase of 669. This increase, however, was considerably lessened by emigration, for in 1864 no less than 208,900 emigrants left those ports of the United Kingdom at which Government agents are stationed. Of these 58,000 were of English origin, 15,319 of Scotch, 118,061 of Irish, and 17,520 were of foreign origin. The United States gained 147,042 of these emigrants, 53,463 sailed for British colonies, and 8,195 for other places.

The first item of interest in the Registrar-General's Report is that of marriages. In the year 1864 there were 180,387 marriages in England. This exhibits a proportion of 1·736 of persons married to each hundred of the population. The mean proportion per cent. for the last twenty-six years was 1·643. The marriage ceremony in England may be performed either in the churches of the Establishment, in some duly registered place of worship, or at the office of a Superintendent-Registrar. When the ceremony takes place at the Registrar's office, six persons must be present in order to make the marriage valid—the Superintendent, the marriage Registrar of the sub-district, two credible witnesses, the bridegroom and the bride. In a registered place of worship the officiating minister takes the place of the Superintendent, but the presence of the Registrar is indispensable. In the churches of the Establishment the clergyman, uniting the civil and religious functions, dispenses altogether with the presence of the Registrar, and is, in fact, his own Registrar.

Up to the year 1837 marriages could only be solemnized in England according to the rites of the Established Church, except in the case of Quakers and Jews. The Marriage Act of that year provided for the celebration of marriages in Dissenting Chapels under certain restrictions. Recent legislation has furnished further facilities, so that the trouble and expense of arranging a marriage in a Dissenting Chapel are not much greater than in the Church. But the presence of the Registrar at all marriages celebrated in Nonconformist places of worship is felt by many to be a grievance. An invidious distinction is thus alleged to be made between Dissenting ministers and the clergy. Whether, however, it would be wise to dispense with the attendance of the Registrar, is a question of grave importance: the question is one surrounded with difficulties. The status of a Nonconformist minister is necessarily undefined. Any man, whatever his character and competency, may gather together a few disciples and con-



stitute himself their pastor. But if the power of performing the marriage service, without any responsible civil oversight, were committed indiscriminately to persons of this class, it is obvious that the widest scope would be given for irregular unions, the enormities of the Fleet would be reiterated, and anything like an adequate marriage registration would be impossible. The simplest and most satisfactory solution of the difficulty would be given by an Act rendering the presence of the Civil Registrar indispensable at *all* marriages, whether in or out of the Establishment. This would do away with invidious distinctions, would in nowise compromise the dignity of the clergyman, and would lead to a more exact marriage registration. The Registrar-General complains, with just a dash of irony, that the clergy are so wrapt in their sacred functions that they do not always write the names of the contracting parties distinctly, and that they very often omit important particulars.

Of the 180,887 marriages registered in 1864, 141,083 were celebrated according to the rites of the Established Church, 15,627 were performed in Nonconformist places of worship, and 8,659 according to the rites of the Roman Catholics. There were only 58 Quaker marriages, 349 marriages of Jews, while no less than 14,611 were performed at the office of the Superintendent Registrar. The large proportion of Roman Catholic marriages is attributed to the residence of so many foreigners in England. The intermarrying of Quakers is on the decline; the Jews, on the other hand, are exhibiting an increase. The registers of 1864 record the largest number of Jewish marriages that has been known for twenty-four years. The number of marriages in the Establishment, though bearing the proportion of 78 per cent. of all marriages, is steadily declining, while the number of marriages not celebrated according to the rites of the Established Church is nearly five times as large as in the year 1841. The proportion of marriages celebrated with religious rites is 92 per cent.

The number of marriages performed at the Superintendent-Registrars' Offices is very unequally distributed over the country. It is excessive in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and in most of the larger seaport towns. Seamen and miners, it would appear, have an objection to attend a place of worship, and gladly avail themselves of the register offices. Were it not for this provision, it is probable that many of this class would not marry at all. Such marriages, therefore, "are not withdrawn from the churches of the Establishment, or from the chapels of the Nonconformists,

but from the ranks of immorality." In Carlisle the proportion of marriages of this class is without parallel. Out of 878 marriages in 1864, 229 took place at the Registrars' Offices, or more than double the number of marriages in the Established Church, and more than six times the number of those celebrated in other places of worship. It appears that before the passing of Lord Brougham's Act in 1856, which extinguished the Gretna Green marriages, the common practice in Carlisle was for persons intending to marry to cross over the border to the famous turnpike, where, in the loose and irregular fashion of Scotland, they could be married without ceremony or delay. The introduction of railways had, up to the passing of this Act, afforded such facilities to the lower classes for the trip into Scotland, that the number of marriages in the northern counties had been considerably reduced. The keeper of the turnpike on the English side of the border registered no less than 757 marriages in the year preceding the passing of the Act. Sometimes more than forty eager couples were married in one day. Lord Brougham's Act destroyed the occupation of the famous blacksmith; for it provided that "no irregular marriage contracted in Scotland by declaration, acknowledgment, or ceremony, shall be valid, unless one of the parties had at the date thereof his or her usual place of residence there, or had lived in Scotland for twenty-one days next preceding such marriage." So perished the glory of Gretna Green; but the Carlisle people, unable to reconcile themselves to the loss, avoid the religious ceremonial of marriage, and flock to the office of the Registrar.

The average cost of marriage, in the way of fees, ranges from twelve shillings, which represents the lowest average cost, to sixty-four shillings, which represents the highest. The privilege of a special license, permitting marriage at any time, in any church or convenient place, is very costly, and is seldom claimed but by persons of high rank. The number of marriages by license, at an average cost of 64s., was in 1864, 26,579, or about 15 per cent. The number of marriages by banns or certificate was 153,808, or about 85 per cent. So that love, after all, has an eye to economics. The total annual cost of marriage fees is a little under £200,000, about half of which is paid by one-seventh of the number of those who marry. But the fee is not the only question of cost in marriage. Prosaic as the fact may appear, it is, nevertheless, fact, that the number of marriages in any given year is considerably affected by the price of wheat. In seven years

during which the average price of wheat was 66/3 per quarter, the proportion of marriages to every 100 of the population was .804, of which .135 belonged to the middle class, and .669 to the lower. During a period of eight years, when the average price of wheat was 48/4, the proportion of marriages was .832 per cent., of which number .702 belonged to the working class. High prices have little influence over the marriage of the wealthier orders of society. Whatever the cost of the quartern loaf may be, they marry and are given in marriage. But it makes all the difference to the working man. To him the quotations in the *Mark Lane Express* mean wedding-rings and hopes fulfilled, or hope deferred, and protracted solitude. The same considerations affect the season at which marriages take place. In the first three months of the year work is scarce and provisions are generally dear. In this quarter there are always the fewest marriages. The number rises in the spring and summer quarter, and reaches its maximum in the autumn, when food is comparatively cheap and the working man has money in his pocket. Among the higher classes the close of the London season is the fashionable period of marriage; but Whitsuntide and Christmas are most popular with working men. In agricultural districts, however, the terms of service exert some influence.

Fewer marriages take place on Friday than on any other day of the week. This is the more remarkable because Friday was the *Dies Veneris* of the Latins, and with the Saxons the day of the goddess Friga. The superstition which regards Friday as unlucky may be traced to the influence of the early Church, which selected that day as one of mortification, partly because of its being the day of the Crucifixion, and partly to counteract the excesses of heathenism. But whatever the origin of the superstition, Friday is regarded with the same abhorrence by persons "about to marry," as by sailors who are outward bound. The most popular day for marriages is Sunday, which is chosen probably as a holiday. Next in order comes Monday, almost invariably a loose day among working men. Saturday is the third in popular favour, as being the day on which wages are paid, and as succeeded by two holidays. Only two out of every hundred marriages are celebrated on Friday.

It is necessary that the bridegroom and the bride should sign the marriage register. In the year 1864, of 180,887 couples who were married, in 109,569 instances the bridegroom *and* the bride *wrote* their names. In 47,236 instances, the bridegroom *or* the bride made a *mark* instead of writing

their names. In 26,582 cases, both the bridegroom and the bride signed with marks. In other words, 100,400 persons who were married in England in 1864, either could not or did not write their names in the register. This is a very grave and unsatisfactory state of things. It is just possible that some of these thousands were able to write. Generous bridegrooms sometimes refuse to write their names out of delicate regard for the feelings of their less accomplished brides; and generous brides too have done the same for their unlettered husbands. Some people, too, who do not write well, shrink from exhibiting their awkward autographs before the minister or registrar. Others, as is natural, are a little too nervous at the critical moment, to command the necessary firmness. But if a very large margin were granted for such cases, there would yet remain the startling fact that some 90,000 persons per annum marry in England, who at a marriageable age, and in marrying circumstances, cannot write their names. The fact appears more striking, when it is remembered that those who marry are a selected class, and include very few who are infirm or idiotic.

The proportion varies in particular districts. The mean average of those who cannot write their names is 23 per cent. in the case of men, and 32 in the case of women. But many districts exhibit a proportion deplorably below this. The lowest rate is that of South Wales, where 56 per cent. of the women who marry cannot write. For many years North and South Wales have exhibited a very low average. Staffordshire is not much better. The ignorance of the colliers in that district is proverbial. Only fifty-one women in every hundred who married, and sixty-one men were able to sign their names in the register. In Lancashire the proportion of women who made a mark was 47 per cent.; that of the men was only 25. This disparity is very marked, and depends on causes that may be readily ascertained. In the West Riding things are only a little better, the proportion of writing men being 76 per cent., while that of women was only 57. The highest proportion of men was in Westmoreland, where 89 per cent. of the men who married in 1864 wrote their names. The highest per-centage of women occurred in Sussex, where 83 in the hundred were able to write.

These statistics compare very unfavourably with those which are furnished by the register books of Scotland. From the Eighth Detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Scotland, it appears that *all* the women of the county of K<sup>r</sup>oss who married, wrote their names in the registers. In of

counties the proportions per cent. were almost as creditable. In Peebles and Kincardine they were 98, in Roxburgh and Kirkcudbright 96, in Perth 94, in Fife 92, and even in the Orkneys 93. The proportion of men in the same districts is equally creditable, being 97 per cent. in the counties round Aberdeen, and 92 in the Orkneys. Only in the highlands of Inverness, Ross, and Cromarty, where the use of the Gaelic tongue embarrasses the progress of education, does the per-centage of those who cannot write, fall nearly to the level of the more ignorant counties of England. Dark, however, as this picture seems for England, it has a brighter side. The registers exhibit year by year a steady improvement. Scarcely more than twenty years ago, *one in three* of the young men, and *one in two* of the young women who married, could not write their names in the register. During this period the mean per-centage has fallen from 33 to 23 in the men, and from 49 to 32 in the women. Twenty years hence we may surely hope that there will be no column in the Registrar-General's Report, for those who cannot write their names.

From the report before us, it would appear that marriage is with the community at large very popular. This may be inferred not only from the number of those who marry, but mainly from that of those who marry again. Marriage is notoriously a lottery. It does not follow that every man who marries increases his happiness thereby. But if he ventures on a second marriage, there is fair ground for the assumption that he admires the institution. Neither this Report nor any other furnishes us with the means of ascertaining the proportion of widows and widowers who have entered into marriage engagements more than twice. If our statistics could give details on this subject, their revelations would doubtless tend to make our case very much stronger. Be this as it may, no less than 41,318 persons who had been previously married, married again in 1864. Of these, 24,962 were widowers, and 16,356 were widows. One would suppose that a widower, bent on second marriage, would naturally prefer a widow, not only for the sake of her larger experience, but because of the mutual sympathy arising out of their similar loss. Facts, however, do not bear out the supposition. Of 24,962 widowers who remarried, only 8,845 married widows. All the rest, to the number of 16,117, married spinsters. As a very proper retaliation, 7,511 widows married bachelors. Eight men who had been divorced, married spinsters, and four married

widows. Eight bachelors married divorced women, and two widowers did the same. Of widowers who re-married in 1864, 1 was 19 years of age, 5 were 20, 353 were 21, 142 were between 70 and 75, 40 were between 75 and 80, 5 were between 80 and 85, and 5 between 85 and 100. Two widows who re-married were 17, 4 were 18, 8 were 19, 18 were 20, 36 were between 70 and 75, 7 between 75 and 80, and 1 between 80 and 85. But we must turn to other matters.

The question of age is as difficult as it is delicate. The registrar can generally get at the age of the bridegroom, but that of the bride is not quite so accessible. The most that he can legally exact, is explicit information as to whether the parties are minors or of full age. Beyond these points many ladies refuse to pass; and even in cases where fuller information is volunteered, the utmost gallantry cannot fail to suspect reserve. It is almost impossible to believe that so many blooming and blushing brides are only *thirty*. In 62,947 cases, however, of persons married in 1864, the precise age was not given. It is, therefore, impossible to calculate with perfect accuracy the ages at which people marry in England. From the tables furnished in the Report, and which must be regarded as giving only an approximate return, it would appear that out of 117,440 men, and the same number of women, who married in 1864, 28 women were 15 years of age, 5 men and 244 women were 16, 65 men and 1,396 women were 17, 560 men and 5,103 women were 18, 2,642 men and 9,248 women were 19, 7,120 men and 12,868 women were 20, and 49,826 men and 46,015 women were 21. From this age the proportion gradually declined to the age of 80, beyond which 11 men and 1 woman married. The favourite age, therefore, for the marriage of both sexes is between 20 and 21.

From these facts it appears that the wide-spread impression that people do not marry at so early an age as in by-gone days is incorrect. The proportion of early marriages has been steadily increasing since the returns were first registered in the year 1841. In that year the proportion of persons who married under 21 years of age, was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of men, and  $13\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of women. In the year 1864, it rose to a per-centage of nearly  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in the case of men, and upwards of 20 in the case of women. These figures, however, exhibit but one side of the truth. Marriages among the operative classes at an early age, are undoubtedly on the increase. The wages commanded now by working people of both sexes



admit of earlier unions than in former years, when labour was less remunerative. The spread of education drives young men to seek a home for themselves, instead of herding indiscriminately with their brothers and sisters under the family roof. But early marriages among the middle and upper classes are becoming more and more rare. And this fact is on all accounts most unpromising for the moral and social life of England.

On every side one may meet with young men, ranging from twenty-one to thirty-five, who have a fair salary and respectable prospects, lounging in their clubs or chambers, thronging reading-rooms and promenades, who, a hundred years ago, would have settled down as married men, and become the happy fathers of families. Nor is it difficult to divine the cause. It lies in the inexorable decrees of fashion. The young men of the upper classes must not marry without an establishment. They must begin where their fathers were content to leave off. The old and blessed notion of two respectable and intelligent young people taking each other for better or worse, starting in life in some little cottage or simple apartments, working their way up year by year through a process of economy, (in itself, when hallowed by mutual love, perfectly delicious,) and at last reaching a competence which they have worked for and deserved, and which a past economy alone can make enjoyable—this notion is well nigh exploded, and lives but in the dreams of the poet. Instead of this, a young man must not think of marriage until he can afford his handsomely furnished house, his three or four servants, his aristocratic locality. Into a home which he is severely taxed to maintain, he must bring a young lady, highly educated in every other branch of knowledge than that which is essential to domestic happiness, and launch her at once upon a life of care, the responsibilities of a large establishment, refractory servants, and an exacting society. Is it possible, among such circumstances, to anticipate the pleasures of home? Then, again, the mere cost of a fashionable wedding—the bridal trousseau, the long string of beautiful but costly bridesmaids, the elaborate breakfast, the gorgeous flunkies, the splendid greys, the unlimited largesse, and the trip to the Continent—acts as a deterrent which discourages many a man on the threshold of married life.

The Juggernaut of respectability has had votaries enough. It is wrong that young men who intend to marry at all should put off their choice until they become almost old men, on the plea that their income is too small. It is wrong that young

girls, who would make the best of wives and mothers, should wait until the blush of their girlhood is gone, and care has written its story upon their brow. As much real happiness may be got out of two hundred a year as out of five. There is no such inspiration to a man's industry and diligence as the fact that he has a young wife at home, for whose weal he is working, and whose smile will reward him on his return. The business of making a small income go a long way is not so melancholy as people imagine it to be. There is positive pleasure among the makeshifts of a newly-married life. Where there is brain, and health, and mutual love, with a fair income and promising prospects, young people should marry, the decrees of fashion notwithstanding.

A most invidious, but only too popular phrase, represents a woman's chance of matrimony as being very meagre when she has passed into that mystic period, a certain age. Facts, however, are stronger than satire. The tables of the Registrar-General show that the chances of marriage extend far beyond the period ordinarily assigned. For in 1864, 8,367 of the women who were married were above 30 years of age, 4,543 were above 35, 3,047 were above 40, 1,821 above 45, 1,036 above 50, 502 above 55, 286 above 60, 74 above 65, 37 above 70, 8 above 75, and 1 above 80. Some of these, it is true, were widows; but 30 spinsters were between 60 and 65, 3 between 65 and 70, and 2 between 75 and 80. The age of a spinster is evidently no fatal barrier to her matrimonial chances; nor, on the other hand, is it safe to conclude that a very old bachelor will finish his journey alone. For, according to the returns of 1864, 8 bachelors held out till they were beyond 70, 1 yielded at 75, and one who had braved the hardships of single life for more than 80 years at last accepted a widow of his own age! These, however, are exceptional cases. Spinsters who marry bachelors are in their glory at 21. Spinsters who marry widowers are most numerous between the ages of 25 and 30. Widows who marry bachelors have their best chance between 30 and 35. But if they are content to take widowers, their harvest of opportunity lies between the ages of 45 and 50.

Nothing in the records of marriage is more curious than the discrepancy in the ages of persons married. In 1864 a youth of 16 married a girl of 21; another of 17 married a woman of upwards of 30; and a third, who was 20 years old, married a woman who was between 40 and 45. In two cases young men of 21 married women between 50 and 60. A widower of 65 married a girl of 18. Three widowers who



were above 75, one above 80, and one who was nearly 90, married girls of 21. Even these cases are transcended by one which occurs in the Report for 1861. In that year a bachelor of 25 was married to a widow of 80 !

The number of women between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five in England and Wales, according to calculations made in 1860, was 5,568,682. Of these 2,928,039 were married, and 2,635,593 were single or widows. Deducting the widows, and allowing for the increase of the population, there will be at the present day upwards of two millions of marriageable women who are not married. Emigration and the growing hesitation of the upper classes on the subject of marriage will doubtless lead to the gradual increase of this class. It is a question of grave importance how provision shall be made for the support of this vast number of unmarried women, most of whom are dependent on their own industry for a livelihood. Philanthropy and an enlightened legislation are closing to them spheres of labour which once offered them a scanty remuneration at the cost of their unwomanly degradation. Machinery is daily supplanting them in other industrial departments. The sewing-machine is making families independent of the sempstress. Benevolent schemes for employing female labour in telegraphy and printing have generally failed. Emigration, as a matrimonial speculation, is to a large majority most repulsive ; and, as a means of acquiring a livelihood, it is scarcely inviting. In no department has the philanthropist wider scope than in this ; in none has he greater difficulties. But, whatever the difficulties, this is a subject which must attract the attention of those to whom social questions and problems are matters, not merely of sentiment, but of solemn responsibility.

The marriage rate in England and Wales for 1864 was higher than in Scotland, France, or Austria. The number of persons married to every hundred living in England was 1·736 ; in Scotland, 1·454 ; in France, 1·552 ; and in Austria 1·672. The Austrian rate has generally been in advance of that of England. The number of persons married in England in 1864 was 360,774, as against 588,494 in France, and 889,674 in Austria. The Italian rate was 1·592 per cent., the number of persons married being 354,764.

The total number of buildings registered for the solemnisation of marriages up to the 31st December, 1864, was 5,163. Of these 157 belonged to the Scottish Presbyterians, 1,600 to the Independents, 1,091 to the Baptists, 602 to Roman Catholics, 158 to Unitarians, and 14 to Moravians. The

Wesleyan Methodists have 584 registered chapels; the other Methodist bodies, 553; the Welsh Calvinists, 207; the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, 39; the New Jerusalem Church, 23; the Irvingites, 17; and all others, 118. The Presbyterians are strongest in Northumberland; the Independents and Baptists in South Wales; the Catholics and Unitarians in Lancashire; the Wesleyans and the various sections of Methodism in the West Riding, and the other bodies in Lancashire.

The Births of living children in England and Wales in the year 1864 were more numerous than in any previous year. The number registered was 740,275, being 12,858 in excess of the number returned in 1863. The average birth-rate of the twenty-seven complete years of registration, 1837—64, was 3·342 per cent. of persons living. In 1860 it was 3·437; and 3·461, 3·504, and 3·539 in the three following years. In 1864 it was 3·564, the highest rate known since the commencement of registration. To every 28 persons living in 1864 there was one child born alive. This proportion varies in different localities. It is generally low in purely agricultural districts. Among mining and manufacturing populations, on the other hand, it reaches its maximum. In Herefordshire, for instance, the birth-rate in 1864 was only 3·084 per cent., while in Staffordshire it was 4·093, and in the county of Durham it was no less than 4·298. In London, where there is a larger proportion of unmarried persons than in any other district, owing to the claims of domestic service, and the necessities of mercantile and professional pursuits, the birth-rate is generally below the average. In 1864 it was 3·480 per cent. This variation of the rate in particular districts is evidently not accidental, but dependent on certain laws. For ten years Durham has maintained the highest average. Next in order comes Staffordshire, which during the same period has stood second. The West Riding of Yorkshire comes next, and is followed by Lancashire, Monmouthshire, and Warwickshire. For ten years Herefordshire has stood at the lowest rate. This difference cannot be attributed altogether to the varying marriage rate of these districts. Seven districts exhibit a higher rate than Durham, and five show a lower rate than Herefordshire.

Of the total number of children whose births were registered in 1864, 377,719 were males, and 362,556 were females, being in the proportion of 104·2 males to every 100 females born. This proportion varies considerably in different counties. In Rutlandshire the proportion of males was 114·6 to every

females. In Nottinghamshire it was 106·1, in Northumberland 106·5, and in the North Riding of York 106·1. In Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire, and Westmoreland, the average was in favour of females, the numbers being respectively 98·4, 98·7, 98·6, and 95·9 males to every 100 females born. That this variation is purely accidental, may be gathered from the fact that the counties which in 1864 exhibited the greatest proportion of males, in the year 1863 showed the greatest proportion of females. The average rate, however, of 104 males to every 100 females born is evenly maintained from year to year, and would seem to augur well for the matrimonial prospects of the latter. But, unhappily, the proportion, which in early life promises so well, varies materially in the course of years. Before the age of twenty the excess of the deaths of males over those of females is about 15,000, the infant mortality of boys being much greater than that of girls. In the actual constitution of the population the female element predominates in the proportion of 105 to 100. The proportion in marriageable ages is yet larger; so that of necessity great numbers of women must live and die unmarried.

Births follow an almost invariable order as to season. In the first quarter of 1864 the number registered was 192,947; in the second quarter the number was 188,835; in the third, 181,015; and in the fourth, 177,478. These numbers fairly represent the average of 27 years, the mean rates per cent. in the four quarters being 3·503, 3·479, 3·209, and 3·180. Some light, perhaps, is shed on the rate of infant mortality by these figures. The largest number of births occurs in the first quarter of the year, when the temperature is low and unfriendly to the conditions of health. Thousands of children die yearly at the age of a few days or weeks. It is somewhat singular that the death-rate exhibits the same proportion as the birth-rate as to season. The largest number of deaths is registered in the first quarter of the year, and each succeeding quarter exhibits a gradual lessening of the rate.

The birth-rate in Great Britain in the year 1864 was 3·569 per cent. of persons living, as against 3·564, the average of England. The birth-rate in Scotland, with a marriage-rate lower than that of England, was 3·606 per cent. of the population; in France the birth-rate was only 2·621; in Italy it was 3·793; in Spain 3·812; and in Austria it reached the high average of 4·043, though the Austrian marriage-rate is lower. The births of British subjects at sea were 380, the mean average for eight years being 289.

Any calculation of the number of births to a marriage must necessarily be approximate only. The births to the number of marriages in any given year could be determined only by following the families and counting the children belonging to each of them unto the end. If the number of marriages did not fluctuate from year to year, the division of the births in each year by the marriages of the year would express the fecundity of marriage with tolerable accuracy. But the marriage registers of England exhibit a large annual increase. It is unfortunate, too, that in the registration of births the age of the mother is not specified; for if the interval between the mean age of marriage and the mean age of mothers when their children are born could be ascertained, it would indicate the calendar years with which the births of any given year should be compared. In Sweden the interval between the mean age of mothers at marriage and their mean age at the births of their children is found to be six years; the interval in England cannot differ very much. So that "if the legitimate births of given years are divided by the marriages of six years earlier date, the quotient will be the proportion of children to a marriage within close limits." By this method of calculation the births in England to the average marriages in 1862, 1863, and 1864 were 4.255, 4.301, and 4.304. In Scotland the births were, to the average marriages of six years, 4.694. From this it would appear that the number of children to a marriage in Scotland is greater than in England. But in point of fact the women of England, taken collectively, are more prolific than the women of Scotland. One thousand Englishwomen bear 123 registered children annually; the number borne by a thousand Scotchwomen is 120. The apparent paradox is explained by a peculiarity in the Scotch law of marriage. The proportion of *recognised* wives is much lower in Scotland than in England. In the former country only 44 per cent. of women between the age of 15 and 55 are recognised wives, while in England the percentage of wives is 52. According to Shelford,\* the law of Scotland legitimates all the children of married people which were born before marriage, on the assumption that from the beginning of the intercourse of the parties a consent to matrimonial union was interposed, although the contract was not formally completed or avowed to the world until a later period. The legitimation of children *per subsequens matrimonium* is admitted, with modifications, in France, Spain, Portugal,

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\* *Law of Marriage*, pp. 783, 784.

Germany, in many other countries, and in several of the States of America. England stands almost alone in refusing absolutely to legitimate children born out of wedlock. The wisdom of this policy is obvious. Hundreds of women are living in Scotland in a state of quasi-marriage, hovering between concubinage and marriage, and expecting, if they have any children, to see them legitimated by subsequent marriage. Children born in this pre-nuptial state are registered as illegitimate, and are afterwards admitted to the rights of legitimacy. This complicates the registration, and exhibits results seemingly paradoxical. With this explanation, it does not appear necessary to assume "that there is any essential difference in the organisation, the fecundity, or the virtue of the women living north and south of the Tweed."

A brief paragraph in the Report discloses a low state of morals in England, which few, but those who are conversant with statistics, would be likely to suspect. No less than 47,448 children were registered in 1864 as born out of wedlock. Even this number does not represent the actual state of things. Owing to a defect in the English Registration Act, which does not make the registration of births compulsory, many cases of illegitimacy are never recorded. It is to be feared, too, that very many are never known, save by the mother. There can be no doubt that the crime of infanticide is carried to an excess in England that is most shocking. Dr. Lankester, who has given serious attention to the subject, has stated it as his deliberate judgment, that 16,000 women are living in London whose infant children have been murdered by their hands. Were there but a tenth of this number in the whole country, the fact would be appalling. But there is too much reason to believe that Dr. Lankester's statement is very near the truth. The number of children who are buried as still-born is suspiciously large. In All Saints' Cemetery, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 521 interments of children, reported still-born, have taken place within the last seven years. Unfortunately the Registration Act does not provide for the registering of still-born children. Their interment should be forbidden unless the mother can produce a coroner's or registrar's certificate. But even this check would have but a limited effect. Hundreds, if not thousands of infants, are born in England annually, who are never presented for interment.

The actual number of illegitimate births in 1864, though in excess of the number registered in 1863, by 307, shows a proportion to the total number of births that is slightly lower

than that of the previous year, being 6·4 to every 100 births, against 6·5 in 1863. But this variation is so slight as scarcely to modify the fact that for many years the proportion of children born out of wedlock has been steadily increasing. The progress of education, the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, and the wholesome changes wrought in the system of factory labour have evidently done little towards the lessening of an evil which is at once a calamity and a disgrace. *One in every fourteen* of the children born in England and Wales is born out of wedlock. The proportion varies in particular districts. While the mean rate is 6·4 per cent. it rises in Cumberland to 11·8; in Westmoreland and Norfolk to 10·5; in the North Riding of Yorkshire to 9·4; in Nottinghamshire and Shropshire to 9·2. It is lowest in the extra-Metropolitan districts of Middlesex, where it stands at 4 per cent. In London it is 4·2, and in Surrey it is 4·4.

These averages are not very variable. From year to year certain districts maintain their high rate of illegitimacy. Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Norfolk have for a long time exhibited the highest average. In these counties, therefore, there must be some local habits and conditions favourable to this form of crime. It cannot be traced to the deficiency of education. In Monmouthshire and other counties where education is notoriously defective, the rate of illegitimacy is below the average; whereas in Westmoreland and Cumberland, where education maintains a high standard, the number of illegitimate births reaches its maximum. The mining districts of Durham, Staffordshire, and Cornwall, not generally distinguished for the morality or intelligence of their population, exhibit a low average of illegitimate births. Nor in the purely agricultural counties is the proportion so high as might be expected from the habits of the people. The proportion of marriages in particular districts might be supposed to influence the rate of illegitimacy. Where the marriage rate per cent. is high, the number of illegitimate births might naturally be expected to be correspondingly low. Statistics, however, do not sustain this expectation. For though the marriage rate in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Norfolk is below the average, the rate in Middlesex and Surrey, where the number of illegitimate births is so small, is lowest of all. Something may be gained towards the solution of the difficulty from the fact that the counties which contain several large towns show the lowest average of illegitimacy. Lancashire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and the <sup>VI</sup> Riding, the great industrial centres, exhibit a low



births out of wedlock. The high rates occur mainly among rural populations and districts which are made up of small towns. And, probably, if the subject were duly investigated, it would be found that these are the districts in which "statutes," wakes, and fairs are the most numerous and popular.

It is to be regretted that the Report of the Registrar-General does not give any information as to the rank and profession of the mothers of illegitimate children. The fullest intelligence of all branches of the subject is necessary to the conception and maturing of any repressive scheme. It is a sphere in which legislation can do but little. It is the province of philanthropy. And all plans and theories will prove abortive unless founded upon an accurate and comprehensive estimate of the whole case. The details arising out of any thorough investigation would, doubtless, be sadder and more startling than any impressions that can be made by bare statistics. But the simple fact that one in every fourteen children born in England is a child of shame, ought to rouse all right-minded men from a state of apathy, or at best mere sentiment, into practical and vigorous action. Foremost among the nations of the earth in schemes of social and religious elevation, England should no longer suffer the intolerable disgrace which these figures disclose, without taxing her wisdom and resources for some means of preventing its perpetuity.

But while devising some method of repression, philanthropy should aim at mitigating, as far as possible, the evil already done. The birth of 47,448 illegitimate children in one year is to be deplored not only in its moral aspects, but in its bearing on the children themselves. Their life, originated in crime, enters on a heritage of certain neglect. In the honest home, however poor, the birth of a little one is an era of gladness and pride. Though his advent involves lessened rations and abridged comforts, he is welcome. All that can be done for him will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, be cheerfully done. Rarely is such the lot of the child of shame. His very existence is a disgrace. His presence is increasingly hateful. The glow of health in his face is watched with disappointment. He is a hindrance to marriage and to the obtaining of situations, and his death is hailed as a relief. To such a fate more than forty thousand children are born year by year. Homes for foundlings are not popular. They are looked upon as offering a premium to crime, and as encouraging the evil which renders them necessary. There is

some reason in the objection ; but it arises out of the imperfect management of foundling institutions. So long as they contemplate the severance of mother and child, they set the one free to return to the course of vice, and they materially lessen the chances of life in the case of the other. But if they take in both, the child has the incomparable advantage of its natural nourishment, and the mother, under the humanising influence of nursing, and the kindly discipline of an institution which aims at her reformation, is placed in circumstances most favourable to her moral recovery and restoration to virtuous society. The present system offers her no chance. She must either give up her child and return again to the dangers of a second disgrace ; or she must be consigned to the moral horrors of the society of the workhouse ; or she must bear her burden about with her, a perpetual embarrassment to her in her endeavour to gain a livelihood, a constant reproach, and an ever-present temptation to cruelty and crime.

It is high time that the appalling rate of illegitimacy should occupy public attention. A sickly and prudish refinement, which would turn away from the question as too delicate for investigation, is surely out of place in the presence of a moral evil of such monstrous proportions. The illegitimate increase of the population to the extent of 48,000 a year, a number equivalent to the entire population of considerable cities, is the most startling fact in our current history. Even prostitution, with all its loathsome and heart-rending statistics, cannot compare with it in some of its aspects. For there is every reason to believe that these 48,000 mothers do not belong to the class of habitual criminals. Many of them do probably live in the ranks of crime, and are hardened and shameless. But in the majority of cases they represent lives hitherto virtuous. They come from homes over which their first sin has cast a shadow of unutterable shame and sorrow. No one can know the amount of parental agony, the fearful home-wreck, which these numbers indicate. Nor is there much hope that the victim of a first temptation will return to the paths of virtue. In most instances she passes into the ranks of prostitution and is lost. This is not merely a picture of the past. It does not represent a casual catastrophe. It is a picture which is being reproduced at a rate of tens of thousands of copies year by year. To find a remedy for this evil, or even a check to it, is the most difficult problem of the day. Legislation is almost powerless, except in the way of increasing the penalties of seduction, and abolishing especially the whole system of penal fines. No amount



money can represent the damage done to the individual and to society by the seducer. His offence should never be dealt with by a civil court. It belongs to the criminal court, and should be visited in every case with the penalty of imprisonment and hard labour. Something too might be done, perhaps, by the legislature, in the way of offering small marriage premiums, under certain conditions, to the poorer classes. The legal cost of marriage, though very slight, is yet an embarrassment to some, and might in special cases be lowered. The building of homes for the poor, which, while containing private rooms, should combine one common eating room, where the daily meals might be furnished on the principle of the soldier's mess, would materially lessen the cost of housekeeping, and encourage marriage. Public opinion, too, should be brought to bear on this question. There are some ranks in life which public opinion would scarcely affect. But if, in the middle and upper ranks, society would set its face resolutely against all men of loose and immoral habits—if the known seducer were shunned as an alien and an outcast, whatever his gifts, or wealth, or status—if every home-circle were closed against tainted reputations—there would be some little hope of lessening the deplorable average of social crime. The real remedy, however, lies deeper than legislation and public opinion. The leaven of true religion alone will rectify the tone of society, and make it pure.

But to return to statistics. It has been shown that the natural increase of births over deaths in the year 1864, was 244,744, or 669 daily. This large increase was somewhat modified by the emigration of 208,900 from the ports of the United Kingdom. Only 58,000 of these, however, were of English origin. On the other hand, the births registered do not represent the entire number of births, for the registration of births is not compulsory. It may be assumed, however, that the actual daily increase of the population of England, is between five and six hundred. This rate is advancing year by year, and is becoming a grave question to the political economist. The area of England and Wales in statute acres is 37,824,883, so that the proportion of acres to each person living is 1·80. This, of course, is inadequate to the support of life. Happily there are broad and fruitful acres in other lands over which the flag of England floats, and her well-filled purse rewards the toil of nations who pour their produce at her feet. But without belonging to the school of alarmists, one may look to the future with no little anxiety. The general introduction of machinery is supplanting manual

labour and lessening the demand for "hands." The labour market is already overstocked. Emigration will doubtless go on at an increasing rate, but it is by no means an unmixed good. The emigrant vessels which leave our shores daily carry with them the very cream of the working population. The infirm, the lazy, the vagrant, and the criminal classes remain behind to fill the wards of our workhouses, to swell the ranks of "casuals," to raise our poor rates, and to complicate the difficulties of legislation. The average number of paupers receiving weekly relief in 1864, was 915,442. It is now probably not less than one million a week, and it must obviously increase. The multiplication of workhouses on the present system is most undesirable. Recent investigations have shown only too clearly that the moral influence of the society of the workhouse is no better, and is possibly worse, than that of the prison. The casual wards are the resorts of men who never meet but to conspire against property and law. The pauper wards are schools in which the young are initiated in vice and idleness. The passage from the workhouse to the prison is the natural and almost inevitable result of the present system. It is evident that we want an entire renovation, not only of the administration, but of the principles of the Poor Law, and of prison discipline. Crime cannot indeed be stamped out as epidemics are stamped out, by isolation. But, so long as we congregate masses of paupers, or masses of criminals in our present loose manner, we may expect the spread of a contagion, leading on the one hand to idleness, and on the other to crime. Our colonies drain away from us only the able-bodied and the honest. It were vain to wish that they could share with us some of the responsibility of the infirm and helpless, or be disposed to give to the criminal classes a chance of self-reformation which they can never have in the society and spheres of crime. A comprehensive system of emigration under the sanction and direction of the Government, on a scale more liberal than at present, and providing for classes not contemplated by the system now in vogue, would materially lessen the difficulties which suggest themselves to the political economist. His standpoint, however, does not disclose such a picture as that which opens up before the eye of the moralist. More than three-quarters of a million of new lives are added to the population of England year by year, each of which is destined to exert a wide influence and to survive all material decay. Many thousands of the newly born die soon after their birth, it is true; but most of these leave a hollow in some heart. Among

that live there are germs of benevolence which shall whiten the harvest field of good deeds with new blossoms: of thought which shall fructify the age with new theories and wonderful inventions: of taste, which shall ripen into the verse of new laureates, and into the colossal achievements of architecture; and there are germs of crime, which, in their rank expansion, shall fill our jails, tax our honest industry, perplex the legislator, and unnerve the philanthropist. Thought stands paralysed in the attempt to picture the future of each of these new lives, through the various phases of mortality to its destiny in that world in which conscience will weave for it wreaths of eternal gladness, or wrap it in the shadows of a cheerless remorse.

The number of Deaths registered in England and Wales in 1864 was 495,531, or about 1,357 per diem. In 1863 the deaths were 473,837, so that in 1864 there was an increase of more than 20,000. The death-rate in proportion to the population was 2·386 to 100 persons living; the average for the previous 10 years having been only 2·213 per cent. During the cholera epidemic in 1854, the rate was but 2·352. Under the previous epidemic, in 1849, the mortality rose to 2·512, and during the prevalence of influenza, in 1847, it reached the proportion of 2·471. With these two exceptions the death-rate of 1864 was higher than that of any other year since the present system of registration was instituted in 1837. The rate of mortality in Scotland was 2·382, almost exactly the same as in England. The mean rate of Great Britain was, therefore, 2·385. In France it was 2·172; in Italy, 2·952; in Spain, 3·064, and in Austria, 3·016. In the nine years 1854—62, the annual death-rate in France was always higher, and in some cases very much higher, than in England. In 1863 and 1864, however, it fell below the English rate. With this exception the death-rate in England compares very favourably with that of the Continent of Europe, so far as available statistics indicate.

Though 2·386 represents the mean average of deaths in England, the average of particular localities exhibits a marked variation. The geological structure of the district, the nature of the water, the density of the population, the social habits of the people, have much to do with the raising or depressing of the rate. Westmoreland, which has for a long series of years maintained its character as the healthiest county in England, exhibited, in 1864, an average of but 1·820. The next lowest rate was that of the extra-Metropolitan district of Surrey, which was 1·902. Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Rut-

landshire, and Lincolnshire, ranged between 2·023 and 2·052. Staffordshire exhibited a high rate, 2·518; London stood at 2·653; Monmouthshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire at 2·656, and Lancashire showed the highest rate in England, 2·718. For many years the rate of mortality in Lancashire has been beyond that of any other county, exhibiting an average of more than two and a half per cent.

Taking the annual average rate of mortality for the ten years 1851—60, it would appear the healthiest towns in England are Farnborough in Surrey, and Bellingham in Northumberland, where the deaths average only 14 to every thousand persons living. In London the healthiest district is Hampstead, where the rate is 17. The City of London shows an average rate of only 19, whereas Whitechapel reaches 28, and the parishes of St. George's-in-the-East, St. Saviour, and St. Olave rise to 29. Hull and Macclesfield show an annual rate per thousand of 25; Stockport, Salford, and Bradford stand at 26; Bristol, Birmingham, Ashton, Preston, Bolton, and Newcastle average 27; Leeds, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton, 28; Merthyr Tydfil rises to 29; Manchester to 31; and Liverpool reaches the enormous average of 33. Since these numbers were taken, there has been a marked improvement in the sanitary condition of many of the large towns, and their death-rate has been correspondingly reduced.

As might be expected, the annual rate of mortality is higher in the districts which comprise large towns, than in those which embrace smaller towns and villages. In 142 districts and 56 sub-districts of the former class, the mean rate per cent. in 1864 was 2·598, while in the remaining districts it was only 2·107. In many cases, however, the great natural advantages of fresh air and a scanty population are countervailed by inadequate drainage and an imperfect supply of water. Some villages, most salubriously situated, are decimated year by year by typhoid fever. Even the watering-places, which stand on good sites and have many natural advantages, exhibit in some instances a high rate of mortality, chargeable mainly to insufficient drainage. The building of these towns is in the first instance an experiment, and capitalists do not like to risk the cost of drainage, until they learn whether the speculation will pay. The work is thus postponed or evaded, and in many cases never accomplished at all. The death-rate of Brighton is 20 to 1,000 living. In the Isle of Thanet, which includes Ramsgate and Margate, it is 23. It is also 23 in Whitby. In Clifton

Hastings it is 24, and in Bath and Yarmouth it reaches the high rate of 25. The rate in the Isle of Wight was only 15 to 1,000 living, in 1864; in Torquay it was but 16; in Cheltenham and Eastbourne it was 17, and 18 in Worthing. The high death-rate of Hastings is not to be attributed to the number of consumptive patients who resort thither, for Torquay is even more popular as a winter resort for invalids, and yet the rate of mortality there is but 16.

Of the 495,581 persons whose deaths were registered in 1864, 253,619 were males, and 241,912 females. The average rate of mortality was 2·514 per cent. and 2·264 per cent. respectively. This is slightly above the mean average, which is 2·321 of males and 2·149 of females. The lower death-rate of females is established by the average of a long succession of years. It has been already shown that in the actual constitution of the population the female element predominates. If, for the sake of comparison, equal numbers were taken, a million males to a million females, the number of deaths among males in the year 1864 would be 111, as against 100 deaths of females. On the same principle, the average exhibited during 27 years would be 108 to 100. In the first year of life the proportion of males who die is very much greater than that of females. In 1864 the number was 62,818, against 50,117. In the second year the number in 1864 was 21,025, against 19,540. This proportion gradually decreases until the age of 10, from which point up to the age of 35 more females die than males. From 35 upwards the proportions vary, seeming to follow no fixed rule. After 70 women have a better chance of living than men. 16,774 men died in 1864 who had reached an age between 75 and 85. The number of women of the same ages was 19,733. Between 85 and 95 the number of deaths of men was 4,286 against 6,040. Twenty-eight males reached the age of 100 and upwards, 16 dying at 100, 4 at 101, 8 at 102, 1 at 103, 3 at 104, and 1 at 109. No less than 70 females died at or beyond the centenarian point, 29 at 100, 12 at 101, 9 at 102, 8 at 103, 4 at 104, 4 at 105, 1 at 106, 2 at 107, and 1 at 108. As a rule women die at a lower rate and live to a greater age than men. At 60 years of age and upwards, there were at the Census of 1861, 146 women to 100 men. The disparity in the rate of mortality between the two sexes is to be attributed to the greater exposure to the weather, the heavier character of labour, and the more constant communication with sources of infection in the case of men. They, too, are exposed to accidents more constantly than women, and the proportion

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The deaths are invariably more numerous, excepting during epidemic visitations, in the first or winter quarter than in any other. The mean average of the four quarters for 27 years, was 2·497, 2·222, 2·044, and 2·178. But in all the quarters of 1864 the mortality was above the average. In the first quarter, ending March 31st, it was 2·772; in the second, 2·260; in the third, 2·141; and in the fourth, 2·349. This higher rate of mortality is traceable to unusual meteorological conditions. In only three months of the year was the mean temperature above the average, and in only one of these three was the temperature decidedly above the mean average. The rain-fall in the year was, at Greenwich, only 16·8 inches, the annual average for fifteen years having been 23 inches. The humidity of the air was 78 (complete saturation = 100), or five below the average. The mean weekly motion of the air was 1,597 miles, that is to say 97 less than the average.

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The first or winter quarter of 1864 was unusually fatal. No less than 14,698 persons died in excess of the average number. The fall of the thermometer to the freezing point of water raises the mortality throughout the country. The population of London, it appears, is excessively sensitive to cold. The high price of coals renders it impossible for the poor to provide themselves against the rigour of a severe winter. On one chill night, Thursday, January 7th, the temperature fell to 14·3°, or to 17·7° below the freezing point of Fahrenheit. The "cold wave of the atmosphere" on that night extinguished 877 lives in London alone. As a general rule the three months of the spring quarter, April, May, and June, are healthier than the winter, and somewhat less healthy than the summer. The spring of 1864 was no exception to this rule. The deaths registered were less by 26,097 than the deaths in the first three months, though the average was 2·260 per cent., or ·073 above the average of the spring quarter of the previous ten years. The weather during the quarter was unusually unsettled. The degree of humidity was 73, or 4 below the average. The mean temperature was above the average, being in excess in April and May, but in defect in June. The rain-fall was but 3·5 inches, which is below the average. The mortality, in ordinary seasons, is lowest in the summer quarter. This rule only fails when malignant cholera, favoured by the heat, rages in the country. The summer quarter of 1864 was distinguished by anomal-



meteorological phenomena. The humidity of the air in the month of August was only 65, the average being 77, and saturation being represented by 100. The lowest degree of humidity previously known in August was 69. The weight of vapour in a cubic foot of air was only 8·7 grains, or 1 grain less than the average. The rain-fall in the three months amounted to 4·5 inches, or 3 inches below the average. The mean temperature was also slightly below. Ponds and wells were dry, and water was sold in some places at 3d. per bucket. On the whole it was the driest summer on record. The death-rate, as the consequence of these unusual meteorological conditions, was high, being 2·141 per cent. against an average of 2·000. Had the atmospherical conditions been as favourable in the summer of 1864 as they were in 1860, the deaths would have been less by 22,887. The number of deaths registered in the autumn quarter of 1864 was 123,451, the largest number reached in that season since the commencement of registration. The weather was unusually cold and dry. The rain-fall was deficient, and the want of water, combined with atmospherical irregularities, raised the death-rate to a height never known but in seasons of choleraic epidemic.

Certain hours of the day and night are more fatal to life than others. From calculations founded upon 2,880 cases, it appears that the smallest number of deaths occurs in the hours between ten in the morning and three in the afternoon. The hours between three and six in the morning are most fatal, the maximum rate occurring between five and six. No less than forty per cent. die between 5 and 6 a.m. The regularity of these averages proves the action of some law, the principle of which it might be of great advantage to discover. The present system of registration provides only for the date of death. If provision were made for ascertaining the hour of departure, the statistical information thus gained would doubtless lead to important conclusions. For such questions not only offer food to the curious, but they involve principles an accurate knowledge of which might possibly furnish fresh light on the conditions of life. But if the fact that the early morning hours are most fatal to life be discarded by science as of no physiological value, poetry, at any rate, will not fail to discern in it a certain fitness. It seems most natural that the soul should pass out on its long journey at the break of day.

Of the total number of deaths registered in London in 1864 a per-centage of 16·27 occurred in hospitals, workhouses, and



other public institutions. The deaths in workhouses were 7,055, and in general hospitals, 8,558. The number of deaths in the British army at home and abroad was 8,510. The proportion of those who died abroad was not so large as might have been expected, being 1·735 per cent. of officers, and 1·898 per cent. of non-commissioned officers and privates. The deaths of British subjects at sea, exclusive of soldiers, marines, seamen of the Royal Navy, and merchant seamen, was 589. There were 8,898 deaths of merchant seamen. Notwithstanding the many risks to which seamen of the merchant service are exposed, their life is, on the whole, a healthy one, the death-rate being only 1·99 per cent. The return, however, does not include seamen dying ashore in foreign parts.

The threescore years and ten of man's life has dwindled down, in England at least, to an average duration of little more than 33 years. This low average is to be attributed mainly to the truly appalling mortality of infants. Nearly one-sixth of the number of children born in England die before they are one year old; more than a quarter die before they reach the age of five; more than a third die before twenty. In 1864, as we have seen, the total number of deaths was 495,531. Of these, 112,935 occurred in the first year of life, 40,565 in the second, 20,951 in the third, 14,662 in the fourth, and 10,690 in the fifth. The total number of deaths under 5 years of age was 199,803. Between the ages of 5 and 10 the deaths were 23,635; from 10 to 15 they were 11,065; and from 15 to 20 they were 13,581. The total number of deaths under the age of 20 was therefore 248,084, or a little more than half the number of deaths registered in the year. It has been already shown that women live longer than men. It is found also that at marriageable ages the married have a better chance of life than the single. Not less curious is the fact that, as a rule, tall people live longer than those who are short.

It is impossible to study the statistics of death without coming to the conclusion that they indicate a rate of mortality immensely beyond that which Providence designs. It is true that man is born to die; it is equally true that he is born to live. God has given him powers, not only for the cultivation of life's pleasures, but for the maintenance of life itself. It were a monstrous supposition that all the mortality of England is divinely decreed, excepting in the sense that God has made certain laws, the violation of which is fatal to life. He would be guilty of blasphemy against Eternal Goodness who should assert that the myriads of little children who die in gr

suffering, die thus because it is God's order; or that genius and virtue and valour are cut down in their very prime, solely at the sovereign appointment of Heaven. The registers of deaths are in many instances records of human recklessness and obstinacy, rather than of Divine order. It is appointed unto man *once* to die; but it is something within the province of man himself to determine when that once shall be. By profligacy and folly he may bring about his death in the midst of early years; by prudence and a proper observance of Nature's laws he may postpone it to the day of grey hairs. The tables of registration prove that, apart from the cases in which the sovereignty of God asserts itself beyond all human precautions, and for the wisest ends, death itself is reducible to certain laws and limits.

The most interesting and instructive tables in the Registrar-General's Report are those which exhibit the *causes* of death. Of the 495,581 deaths registered in 1864, 4,478 were from causes not specified or ill-defined; 3,821 were the subjects of inquests which were not successful in ascertaining the cause; the remaining 487,732 were certified by medical men or credible informants with an accuracy sufficient for obtaining very valuable results. The cases officially specified are ranged under five heads—viz. *zymotic diseases*, *constitutional diseases*, *local diseases*, *developmental diseases*, and *violent deaths*. To the first or zymotic class belong four orders, the principal of which is *miasmatic diseases*, such as small-pox, measles, scarlatina, diphtheria, whooping-cough, typhus, cholera, &c. Diseases of this class carried off in 1864 no less than 118,825 of the population, or nearly one-fourth of the total number who died. The most fatal of the orders under this class was scarlatina, which destroyed 29,700 lives in the year. Of these 18,709 were children under five years of age, and 8,027 between 5 and 10, the most fatal periods being the third and fourth years. But though the mortality was highest at the early ages, a considerable number fell victims to scarlatina in advanced life: 44 cases occurred in which the patient was more than 45 years old; 20 in which he was above 55; 7 occurred between the ages of 65 and 75; and in 4 cases the patient was upwards of 75. During the ten years 1855—64, this terrible scourge carried off no less than 179,544. If we include the kindred diseases, *diphtheria* and *cynanche maligna*, which were generally referred to scarlatina, this disease destroyed in the ten years no less than 225,508 lives. Typhus fever, in its various forms, was fatal in 1864 to 20,106 persons, largest number registered during 15 years. The estimated

number of persons attacked by this disease was 165,400, or about  $79\frac{1}{2}$  in every 10,000 of the population. Diarrhoea was fatal to 16,482; whooping-cough to 8,570; measles to 8,821; and small-pox to 7,684. From these figures it would appear that *zymotic* diseases are on the increase, especially in the forms of scarlatina and typhus. This is the more discouraging because of the vigorous efforts which have been made for lessening their severity. It is almost certain, nevertheless, that the terrible fatality which in one year hurried 118,825 of the population of England to the grave, might have been extensively mitigated, if not altogether prevented. Zymotic diseases are dependent for their growth and spread on preventible causes. They have their favourite haunts; they flourish only under certain predisposing circumstances. They are the handmaids of filth, darkness, closeness, and ill drainage. They love rooms with immovable windows; they glory in homes with adjacent pig-styes; they revel in ill-ventilated alleys. In no department are the lower orders of the English people more ignorant and insensate than in that of sanitary science; and, however they may be elevated in social status and industrial efficiency, until they are taught the love and possibility of cleanliness, the blessedness of an open window, and a wholesome skin, they will fall like the leaves of autumn, but withered and dead before their time.

The second class is that of *constitutional diseases*. The deaths under this class in 1864 were 87,190. The most formidable of the diseases of this class was *phthisis*, which proved fatal to 53,190. Dropsy carried off 7,386; cancer was fatal to 8,117; 7,700 persons died of hydrocephalus; and 3,111 of scrofula. The deaths from *phthisis* occurred mainly among females, and above the age of 25, between which and the age of 35 the deaths of both sexes numbered 18,430. This disease was fatal to 669 men and 406 women beyond the age of 65; to 79 men and 58 women who were above 75; to 5 women above 85; and to one who was on the verge of 100. The third class, that of *local diseases*, exhibited in 1864 no less than 189,039 deaths. Of these 59,627 were caused by affections of the brain, including 26,382 from convulsions, and 20,931 from apoplexy and paralysis. Diseases of the digestive organs carried off 20,969; but the largest number of deaths in this class was caused by diseases of the breathing organs. No fewer than 75,376 persons died of bronchitis and kindred diseases, not including *phthisis*. *Phthisis* and chronic bronchitis are often confounded by those who are not skilled in diagnosis. The two diseases differ essentially, and depend

very distinct conditions. Bronchitis is invariably influenced by depression of the temperature, whereas the mortality of phthisis is scarcely affected by weather changes. The two diseases together, however, destroy more of the population than any other disease. Their united force carried off in 1864 the truly appalling number of 128,422 persons, or more than one-fourth of the total number of the dead.

The *developmental diseases*, which constitute the fourth class, arise out of the processes of development, growth, and decay. They include malformations, premature births, and teething; to the last of which 4,285 deaths are ascribed. The deaths of 29,684, chiefly infants, are referred to atrophy and debility, without the intervention of active disease. Childbirth was fatal to 2,582 women, and 1,484 died of metria, or, as it is generally called, puerperal fever. The average mortality of women from childbearing is 5 deaths of mothers to every 1,000 children born alive. Sheer old age carried off 29,498.

The fifth class exhibits the smallest numbers. The *violent deaths* in 1864 amounted to 17,018, or 1 in every 29 deaths. Of these 15,091 were the results of accident or neglect; 412 were cases of manslaughter or murder; 1,341 persons committed suicide, and 21 died by the hand of the hangman. The item of accidents exhibits an alarming waste of life. For without doubt a little precaution would have prevented nine-tenths of the deaths recorded. If machinery were more carefully guarded, if the bye-laws of mining districts were more vigorously maintained, if mothers ceased to be guilty of an unnatural carelessness in leaving their little ones within reach of fire and boiling water, if buildings were more firmly constructed, if cheapness were not so earnestly enforced by the public, if crowded thoroughfares were crossed by light bridges, the deaths by accident would dwindle down to a mere nothing. Of accidental deaths, 6,500 were caused by fractures and contusions, 166 by gunshot wounds, 115 by cuts and stabs, 2,987 by burns and scalds, 274 by poison, 2,714 by drowning, 1,245 by suffocation, and 1,130 by causes not specified. Of 412 returned under the head of murder or manslaughter, including 192 infants under the age of one year, 248 were cases of murder, and 164 were judged as manslaughter. Leaving out the infants, whose murderers are seldom visited with capital punishment, 64 persons were murdered in 1864. The proportion of persons hung to the number of murders committed shows that many who deserve the gallows escape it, some through the recommendation of

juries, some through the mitigation of the sentence, and some through legal technicalities. Six persons were killed by lightning.

The cases of suicide are remarkable, not only for their number, but for the striking regularity of the law by which they seem to be governed. Sixty-six persons in every million of the population commit suicide, year by year. This proportion has been singularly maintained through many years. But this is not all. A constancy of ratio is exhibited not only in the act of suicide but in the mode of committing it. The following table shows the proportion of suicides to every million of the population of England and Wales in the years 1858—1864.

Means Employed.	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864
Gunshot Wounds . .	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Cutting and Stabbing	13	14	14	13	11	13	12
Poisoning . . . .	6	6	8	6	6	6	7
Drowning . . . .	10	11	11	11	10	12	10
Hanging . . . .	30	27	30	30	30	28	27
Otherwise . . . .	4	3	4	5	5	4	5
	66	64	70	68	65	66	64

From this table it will appear that hanging is the favourite mode of suicide. Then follow in order throat-cutting, drowning, poisoning, and shooting. It must not be assumed that the tendency to suicide is beyond control. There is no law rendering it imperative that 66 men in every million should put themselves to death; but it is nevertheless clear that the number of persons who will commit suicide in the year may be predicted with some degree of certainty, and also the methods by which they will compass their death. Unquestionably, however, the number of suicides might be diminished by lessening the facilities or modifying the causes which lead to it. Insanity predisposes to suicide; any means by which insanity may be prevented or cured will reduce the number of lunatic suicides. The strain, or the idleness, of the mind induces suicide; change the conditions, and you lessen the

probabilities. Public opinion has an influence in promoting or preventing suicide. Make it a base, cowardly, ignominious thing to take away one's own life, and the temptation would lose its force.

A supplementary table furnishes particulars of diseases which are fatal to only a few persons, but which are of a peculiar type. For example: 116 persons died of *mumps*, 4 of *hospital gangrene*, 3 of *yellow fever*, 8 of *tape-worm*, 1 of *sweeps' cancer*, 49 of *melancholy*, 19 of *lock-jaw*, 3 of *grief*, 28 of *hysteria*, 4 of *whitlow*, 14 of *elephantiasis*, 9 of *fright*, one case of which was that of a man above 45 years of age, 12 of *hydrophobia*, 2 of *glanders*, and 1 of *rage*, which was the case of a man between 55 and 65 years old.

Elaborate and exhaustive as these calculations appear, they are not in all cases accurate, partly because of the imperfection of medical science, and partly because of inadequate registration. A very valuable letter written to the Registrar-General by Dr. Farr, calls attention specially to the latter point. There is at present no means of checking the registrar in cases where the informant cannot read. Very few registrars have falsified the public records, but cases of the kind have occurred, and their recurrence ought to be made impossible. The informant is often, particularly in country districts, totally unequal to the duty of giving adequate and reliable information. The facility of registration has encouraged criminals, and the successful registration of undetected and unsuspected murder has been known to lead to the commission of further crime. The medical certificate cannot always be secured; for many thousands die yearly who have no medical attendance during sickness, and whose bodies are not seen after death by authorised medical men. Dr. Farr suggests that in all cases where there has been no medical attendance, the informant should be instructed to apply to a medical officer, specially appointed for the duty in each district. This officer should visit and view the body, and if all was right, should send his certificate to the registrar, who should register the death, and issue the proper warranty for burial. If, however, the case should seem suspicious or obscure, the medical officer should refuse his certificate, and refer the question to the coroner. Much trouble, inaccuracy, and possible dishonesty would be avoided, the facilities of murder would be lessened, and an additional safeguard would be given to human life. The only objection to this scheme is that of expense; but the additional cost would only be some fifty or sixty thousand a year—an incon-

siderable sum as compared with the advantages of perfect accuracy, and the detection of crime.

With the exceptions indicated by Dr. Farr, the system of registration may be regarded as well-nigh perfect. The names on the registers, up to December 31st, 1864, were 35,593,715. In round numbers, the books in Somerset House contain the record of four million marriages, or eight million persons married, sixteen million births, and eleven million deaths. The value of these records cannot well be over-estimated. In the settlement of legal questions they are gaining fuller attention year by year. In 1864 no fewer than 8,346 searches were made for registers at the Central Office. The facts as tabulated and illustrated by the Registrar-General in his Annual Reports throw light on some of the most difficult of our social and physical problems. No one can study them attentively without grave reflections. Apathy and indifference are startled in the presence of figures which plead with silent eloquence for the sympathy of the philanthropist. The columns which record the processes and results of crime cannot but rouse the energies of the Christian. Even the casual reader must feel indebted to Mr. Graham, whose industry and admirable method have succeeded in clothing a blue book with the fascination of a romance.

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ART. III.—*Ecce Homo: a Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ.* Fifth Edition, with New Preface. London: Macmillan & Co. 1866.

THE writer of *Ecce Homo* keeps his secret well. He is still shrouded in a mystery that doubtless adds much to the popularity of his remarkable work. But he is evidently watchful of all the currents of opinion concerning his essay; and the new preface appended to the fifth edition shows that he is keenly sensitive to the reception accorded to his speculations. We have waited with considerable interest for the explanation which we felt sure would sooner or later be evoked. It has in some measure disappointed our expectation; but it contributes a few additional elements for a due appreciation of the writer's design, and enables us to speak on certain points with a more absolute confidence than we could have felt before it appeared.

However fascinating these views of an unknown thinker concerning our Saviour's mission have proved, we feel assured that the class of persons to whom they are entirely acceptable is exceedingly small. The reason of this is plain enough. They are far too high in their tone, and pay too loyal a tribute to Christ, for the multitudes who, in the recklessness of unbelief, revolt against the orthodox faith, and treat Christianity as a human device amenable to human criticism. Hence they give no satisfaction to any of the sceptical schools of the day. On the other hand, they ignore, and sometimes seem to outrage, the principles of belief that are profoundly dear to the true Church of the Redeemer; and whatever approbation they have received from the too hasty and too generous verdicts of some orthodox writers we are sure will be withdrawn on maturer consideration. The middle path which this anonymous writer aims to strike out is one that can never be beaten into a Christian highway by him or any man. The Rationalist sceptic must needs turn back from it after a very few steps, and the simple believer in the inspired volume must, if he remain faithful to his principles, recoil from it with pure dissatisfaction. These two assertions we will endeavour to establish.

There are two things that cannot fail to neutralise the author's honest effort to conciliate the freethinkers of our

time; one is the arbitrary use which he makes of the Christian documents, and the other is the undefinably super-human view which he gives of the person and character of the Redeemer. With regard to the gospels, he assumes a position which will never be allowed him by the spirit of Rationalism. It is in vain that he is willing to renounce St. John as savouring too much of a free and idealised portraiture; and equally in vain that he surrenders some parts of the other three to the demands of criticism. The fact remains that he accepts all the essentials of the evangelical exhibition of the Redeemer, and that he makes precisely the same use of them that believers in inspiration make. The simple criterion that he adopts, viz. the assuming as undeniably true what all the evangelists concur in narrating, will not satisfy the critical school. They reject it by simply asserting that each of the writers might have drawn from a common tradition, or that they copied one another's record. But it is not so much the quantity that he receives as the manner in which he receives it; it is the general tone of his submissive appeal to the gospels that must mar his endeavour to conciliate the sceptics. They cannot but resent the confidence, very much resembling reverence, with which the narratives of the evangelists, and especially the words of our Lord, are made the basis of argument and teaching. They must feel sometimes tempted to suspect that the author is a true believer in disguise, imposing on their simplicity; or, that being impossible, they will aver, and we heartily agree with them, that he has no right to eliminate what he pleases from the records, trace out his own gospel in the gospels, and build the superstructure of so imposing a system upon so arbitrary a foundation. At any rate they will feel, as we also feel, that his hold of the Four Gospels is not much more tenacious than their own, while his use of them as a teacher, professing to inaugurate a new inquiry, is far too confident for such a faith in them as he professes. They will say, in a word, that while he accepts the gospels in the spirit of a Rationalist, he preaches his own gospel in the spirit of a dogmatic theologian.

Again, the Christ exhibited in this book can never be understood or accepted by our sceptical inquirers. It is true that up to a certain point the picture of the Founder of Christianity drawn by this artist is perfectly in accordance with their views; but before he finishes the sketch he throws around it a dignity and majesty that cannot but repel them. They will cheerfully accept the "young man of promise"

Nazareth, and feel strong sympathy with all that is here described as the gradual formation of the plans and projects of the great Innovator; they will assent to very much of the eloquent and discriminating estimate of the value of Christianity in human progress; but they will not follow the writer when he proceeds to place Jesus of Nazareth in a position of transcendent superiority to the rest of mankind, and in a relation of unique worship to the Father in heaven. There is no school of sceptical opinion that will own such a Christ as this. There is no possibility of reconciling such a Christ with the fundamental principles of Rationalism. He is immeasurably too high for man, while immeasurably too low for God incarnate. Through all the phases of modern free speculation concerning Christ, the watchful eye of faith never fails to discern that His mere and simple humanity is inflexibly maintained. Socinianism and not Arianism lies at the basis of all. Not one of them but postulates for Jesus the limitations, infirmities, errors, and failures of our common humanity, reverencing Him not for His absolute, but for His relative, superiority to other men. Hence it enters into their systems as a necessity that Christ should be compared with other benefactors of the race; in most of them He is made to suffer disparagement in some points of the comparison. But this book marks off Jesus of Nazareth from the rest of mankind, and that with a solemnity and earnestness that will never be tolerated by free thought. Here, again, it is not so much the direct statement of the author as the tone of his entire speculation. However low that tone may be in the estimation of a humble worshipper of the God-man, it is altogether too high and too intolerant for the Socinianism of modern theology.

But while we are persuaded that our author will not exert much influence for good upon the restless spirits whom he seeks to help, we think there are many whom he will injure. Sturdy and consistent Rationalists will be repelled. But there is a large class of Christians or semi-Christians, to whom the fascination of this book will be perilous. There is in it a certain quiet mystic tenderness which has an inexpressible charm for multitudes of thinkers in our time. They have no relish for the coarse infidelity that has, for a quarter of a century past, in Germany, France, and England, commented upon the person and merits of Jesus. They sigh for something better than that. The exposition of Christianity that they desire must unite elements that are not found in the dreary systems of pure Rationalism; it must unite with a

suppression of the doctrine of the Trinity, a lofty respect for the wonderful being of Christ; it must combine with a denial of the main dogmas of Christian faith a certain mystical substitute for them; and it must reconcile a refusal to admit the Divine evidences of Christianity with a high estimate of its moral power in the history of human advancement. It is our sincere conviction that there has been no book published of late that will do more to conciliate that class. *Ecce Homo* ministers largely to a kind of human passion for Christ, while it breathes no hint of His true Divinity. It has no dogmatic theology, while it has a quaint substitute for all Christian doctrine under other names. It admits no supreme Divine credentials for Christianity, and yet its delineation of the work of Christianity in the world is most enthusiastic in its tone. The great popularity of the work induces us to fear that this midway class is increasing, and it is for the sake of some of them who may read our pages that we shall now show why we think a sound Christian faith must entirely discard this new and unknown teacher, and reject his version of Christianity.

We go to the very root of the matter when we charge this inquiry with neglect or suppression of the first fundamental principle of all human study of the person and work of Christ—the teaching of the Holy Spirit. When it pleased God to send His Son into the world for man's salvation, He sent His Spirit, His personal Spirit, to reveal to man the true being of that Saviour, and the nature, and terms, and processes of that salvation. It is He who presents Jesus of Nazareth to the human race, and says *Ecce Homo*, "*Behold the Man*, raised up to be your Redeemer and your Ruler for ever." And the mystery of the natures, and person, and work of the Redeemer He committed to the keeping of the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to prepare man's ears to hear and his eyes to see the Being on whom all his hopes depend. In the economy of our salvation the Son revealing the Father is Himself revealed by the Spirit; the teaching of the Holy Ghost is as absolutely essential as the atonement of the Son. In other words, the doctrine of the New Testament is that the great subject it presents is inaccessible to the human faculties without a Divine Teacher. The author of *Ecce Homo*, like all others of the same class, sets out with an entire renunciation of this truth. He professes, from an induction of passages gathered out of the sacred writings, to arrive himself, and aid others to arrive, by the simple study of an honest mind, at a better view of Christian truth than is generally held.

He may demur to this, and deny that any such direct teaching of a Divine Person is promised in the records which he accepts as authentic. But we hold it impossible to construct a fair epitome of the statements common to the Four Gospels without including this great truth. If not so plainly stated in St. Mark, the evangelist whom our author makes his central authority, it is laid down by the other three in the most express terms; they unite to represent our Lord as declaring that nothing short of a direct illumination from the Father can enable the believer rightly to apprehend and rightly to confess the Son. And St. John, whose testimony is not impeached in this book, gives us the final assurance of Christ, that the teaching to which He had previously referred as the teaching of the Father, should be the revelation of the Holy Ghost, a Person distinct from the Father and the Son, but manifesting both with Himself to the human heart. Surely any account of the witness borne by Jesus to Himself must be incomplete which omits to include that He always claimed to be an Object unapproachable to human understanding, except under the condition of an immediate personal Divine guidance.

If it be insisted that the language thus interpreted is capable of another meaning, and that Divine teaching signifies no more than the general help which God affords to every honest inquirer, we can only reply that we have not so learned the sense of New Testament phraseology. We collate the Gospel with the Epistles, and listen reverently to St. Paul when he tells us, with express allusion to the very point under present discussion, that *no man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost*. We make our appeal to any dispassionate reader of the New Testament, and rely upon his assent when we assert that the spirit of the whole series of its collected writings enforces the necessity of a specific submission to the Holy Ghost as the Divine Interpreter of the doings of Christ. There is a knowledge of the letter of Christianity that man may gain for himself and teach his fellow; but there is also an interior wisdom that comes only from above. There is a study of Christ which is after the flesh, but there is also another and better knowledge of Him that "flesh and blood" cannot acquire, but which must be taught by His Father in heaven.

It may be objected, finally, that the design and scope of the author's inquiry precluded any reference to this higher teaching and interior knowledge. He may plead that he had to do with those who would be insensible to such a truth, and that his work simply aims to conduct an inquiry which might serve

to assist many in disencumbering themselves of their prejudices, and approaching the greatest subject of human thought with every possible advantage. But here again our unbending principle comes to our help. The doctrine of the New Testament is that, without the illumination of the Spirit, no man can either know or teach the things of Christ with any effectual result. If the work before us had a negative character, if it challenged infidelity and argued away its objections, if it occupied itself with clearing from the threshold preliminary obstacles, leaving the entrance into the sanctuary for another time or another teacher, the case would be widely different, and these remarks would be misplaced. But the author of this inquiry lifts the veil from the recesses of Christ's nature, shows us His secret thoughts and the gradual shaping of those most wonderful plans that have changed the course of the world's history, traces the establishment of the Christian commonwealth and all the great principles that adapted it to the world and attracted the world to it—deals, in short, with all the new mysteries of our Saviour's mission—without one word of reference to the necessity of a stronger light than mortal intellect can kindle. It is this deplorable and fatal defect that mars and misleads this and so many other well-intended efforts to help a perplexed generation out of its difficulties. Let us now mark what effect it has upon the present work, as seen in the great omissions it occasions, and in the errors it engenders.

The Jesus of this work is presented to us as man, and nothing more than man. It is not merely that the human aspect of his person and work is alone exhibited; any other and higher nature is passed by and, as it were, studiously rendered needless. The miraculous birth of the Eternal Son of God in human nature is nowhere hinted at; it is not, indeed, denied in word, but the theory of the book is constructed on a foundation with which the mystery of the Incarnation is incompatible. The curtain rises on the form of "a young man of promise in Nazareth, not yet called the Christ;" the evangelical record of His birth and His own testimonies to His coming forth from the Father, wrought though they are into the tissue of His whole teaching, are simply passed by; they are not postponed for after consideration, but omitted as embarrassing and, indeed, fatal to the scheme of the whole argument, which purports to investigate and disclose certain principles laid hold of by the profound mind and noble heart of a perfect man for the lasting benefit of his race. We see throughout the volume nothing beyond the



elaboration of a scheme of marvellous wisdom, goodness, and foresight by a personage whose enthusiasm even to death has been sufficient to kindle the enthusiasm of countless followers. That our Saviour came into the world to execute a commission given to Him in eternity, to carry out into their accomplishment purposes which He had "heard of the Father," and plans which had been matured in heaven before the earth was, is a truth which, though it runs through the Bible, and was always on the lips of Jesus, never enters into the system of this author, or of the school that finds in him its latest exponent.

The treatment of the baptism by the River Jordan gives ample evidence of this. The relation between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth is the relation between a feeble and a stronger enthusiast pursuing the same design. John "successfully revived the function of the prophet;" "he attempted in an imperfect manner that which Christ afterwards fully accomplished." Of his predestination as the forerunner of Jesus, and of his own most clear testimony to the eternal sonship of the Messiah whom he announced, not a word is said. He simply recognised in Jesus a lamb-like soul, which—unlike his own turbulent spirit, "whose recklessness had driven him into the desert, where he had contended for years with thoughts he could not master, *among the dogs rather than among the lambs of the Shepherd*—had never been disturbed, whose steadfast peace no agitations of life had ever ruffled," and whom therefore he announced as the *Lamb of God*. John's baptism "had something cold and negative about it." He proclaimed that his successor's baptism would be "with a holy spirit and with fire"—that is, according to our author's interpretation of these great words, with a moral warmth that should cleanse, with an enthusiastic virtue which is the soul of Christianity. The baptism of our Lord Himself—that wonderful scene which, to the eye of faith, connects the glory of the Trinity with the entrance of the Messiah on His work—is introduced as an "incident which is said to have occurred just before Christ entered upon the work of his life."

"Signs miraculous, or considered miraculous, are said to have attested the greatness of Christ's mission at the moment of his baptism. There settled on his head a dove, in which the Baptist saw a visible incarnation of that Holy Spirit with which he declared that Christ should baptize. A sound was heard in the sky, which was interpreted as the voice of God Himself, acknowledging His beloved Son. In the agitation caused by his baptism, by the Baptist's designation of



him as the future Prophet, and by these signs, Christ retired into the wilderness; and there in solitude, and after a mental struggle such as John, perhaps, had undergone before he appeared as the prophet of the nation, matured that plan of action which we see him executing with the firmest assurance and consistency from the moment of his return to society. A particular account, also involving some miraculous circumstances, of the temptation with which he contended successfully in the wilderness, is given in our biographies."—P. 9.

The account of our Saviour's temptation is then subjected to a very strange and very subtle criticism, the style of which is such as to make us glad that the author nowhere afterwards attempts to comment upon the great crises of the Redeemer's life. The miracles that cling to the narrative of the temptation are done away with by an innuendo. "Nothing is more natural than that exaggerations and even inventions should be mixed in our biographies with genuine facts." No eye-witness describes them; we have no positive assurance that Christ Himself communicated them to His followers; they may pass. But the temptation itself was a reality; the gentle Lamb of God becomes for the first time conscious of His miraculous powers, and this, though none of our biographers point it out, "is visibly the key to the whole narrative. What is called Christ's temptation is the excitement of his mind which was caused by the nascent consciousness of supernatural power." In His extreme need He "declines to use for his own convenience what He regards as a sacred deposit committed to him for the good of others;" thus was the first temptation surmounted. But we fail to see the virtue of this resistance if we regard it as simply the Saviour's refusal to make bread for Himself: nor can we see that the answer, "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God," so "exquisitely became the Lamb of God," unless we bear in mind, what our author's theory omits, that out of the mouth of another than God the temptation to make stones into bread had proceeded. It was the suggestion that would separate His will from His Father's that constituted this mysterious temptation, not the mere thought of using His own Divine power for His own urgent need. With the account of the second temptation we have not the same fault to find. But the exposition of the third, which furnishes the key of the whole volume, is grievous to the spirit of a Christian:—

"A vision of universal monarchy rose before him. What suggested such thoughts to the son of a carpenter? What but the same new

sense of supernatural power which tempted him to turn stones into bread and to throw himself into the arms of ministering angels? These, together with the Baptist's predictions and those Messianic predictions of the ancient prophets, on which we can imagine that he had been intensely brooding, might naturally suggest such an imagination. He pictured himself enthroned in Jerusalem as Messiah and the gold of Arabia offered in tribute to him. But, says the narrative, *the devil said to him, If thou wilt fall down and worship me all shall be thine.* . . . . We are perhaps to understand that he was tempted to do something which on reflection appeared to him equivalent to an act of homage to the evil spirit. What, then, could this be? It will explain much that follows in Christ's life, and render the whole story very complete and consistent, if we suppose that what he was tempted to do was to employ force in the establishment of his Messianic kingdom. . . . . He must have heard from his instructors that the Messiah was to put all enemies under his feet, and to crush all opposition by irresistible God-given might. . . . And, in the request, it was because Christ refused to use his supernatural power in this way that his countrymen rejected him. . . . And as this caused so much surprise to his countrymen, it is natural that he should himself have undergone a struggle before he determined thus to run counter to the traditional theory of the Messiah and to all the prejudices of his nation. . . . But he deliberately determines to adopt another course, to found his empire upon the consent, and not upon the fears of mankind, to trust himself with his royal claims and his terrible purity and superiority defenceless against mankind, and, however bitterly their envy may persecute him, to use his supernatural powers only in doing good. This he actually did, and evidently in pursuance of a fixed plan; he persevered in his course, although politically, so to speak, it was fatal to his position, and though it bewildered his most attached followers; but by doing so he raised himself to a throne on which he has been seated for nigh two thousand years, and gained an authority over men greater far than they have allowed to any legislator, greater than prophecy had ever attributed to the Messiah himself. As the time of his retirement in the wilderness was the season in which we may suppose the plan of his subsequent career was formed, and the only season in which he betrayed any hesitation or mental perplexity, it is natural to suppose that he formed this particular determination at this time; and, if so, the narrative gains completeness and consistency by the hypothesis that the act of homage to the evil spirit by which Christ was tempted, was the founding his Messianic kingdom upon force."—P. 15.

It is to us an astonishing fact that a book of which this passage strikes the key-note can find such favour with many who accept the Divinity of Christ and the Divine origin of Christianity. We shall not attempt to discuss point by point the erroneous assumptions that pervade it, but must be con-

tent with hinting at them. The "hesitation and mental perplexity" which is attributed to the Redeemer finds no place in the record; the temptation is repelled before it is fully uttered, and in such a way as to overthrow this ingenious superstructure. Had the subtle writer given the Saviour's reply in this case as in the others, it would have answered his own folly as well as Satan's temptation. It would have told him that there was another reason which induced the Redeemer's holy indignation; that, tempted as our representative, He would teach us how to overcome by enforcing the supreme claims of God. It would have pointed to another occasion on which the same words, *Get thee behind Me, Satan*, were uttered to the same tempter who invisibly and through Simon Peter would turn him away from His cross. That might have reminded the author of another season, when Jesus did betray mental perplexity in the presence of His dark hour and final agony. And this again might have suggested to him, what it has suggested to the thoughtful reverence of multitudes who hold "the current conceptions concerning Christ," that, so far as the experiment of the Prince of Darkness would try whether or not Jesus might be deterred from obtaining the world's allegiance by another method than the cross—entering in *some other way* to His kingdom,—the vain temptation was repelled by a Divine-human person that could not thus be tempted.

It is unfortunate for this theory that the forty days' trial in the wilderness preceded these last temptations, which took place at the close, and when Christ was emerging again from His mysterious retirement. The author, however, may make light of this difficulty, being prepared to surrender the historical correctness of the narrative whenever his theory may require it. Suffice for him and the multitudes of readers who admire him, that Jesus had in the wilderness a "vision of universal monarchy;" that He there matured a scheme of realising that vision in a way that no man could have been prepared to anticipate; and that He immediately began on His "return to society" to carry out that scheme. For ourselves, we confess that the manner in which this writer, and others of the same class, speak of the private cogitations of Jesus, of His plans, schemes, and contrivances (for this last word is not wanting), outrages the deepest instincts of our Christian faith. It is not that we object to the idea of a plan according to which the Redeemer conducted His saving work. The scheme, the counsel, the economy of redemption, runs through the entire Scripture: it is sketched for the future Messiah in the Old Testament (though not, as our author

says, with a more restricted range than the reality); it is evidently present to the Redeemer from the beginning to the end of His ministry; it is grandly dilated upon by the Apostles, from their first speeches in the Acts, through the theology of the Apostles, down to the visions of the Apocalypse. But the eternal purpose of God, the mystery hid, revealed, and in some sense hidden again until the end shall come, is in the Scripture something very different from the scheme and calculation of human benevolence and foresight which lies at the foundation of *Ecce Homo*. To us it seems as if this interpreter of Christ's mission studiously endeavours to make the idea as opposite as possible to the "current conception" which Holy Scripture gives to those who reverently read it. Not a word is said of the Spirit who led Jesus into that wilderness where He is supposed to have laid His plans; not a word of His being inspired, and taught, and directed of God; any reference to His calm consciousness of the *hour* appointed for every movement of His life is excluded. All is constructed on a notion that savours too much of the purely human. The loftiest things that are said of the transcendent dignity of the new legislator fall immeasurably below the standard of the New Testament, and the transition from the pages of this essay on Christ's plan to the pages of the evangelists is, as it were, rising from earthly to heavenly things.

It is impossible but that an error so fundamental as this is should stamp its effect upon the entire argumentation. Hence we find its influence neutralising much that is otherwise very striking and suggestive, not to say beautiful, in the delineation of the new Divine theocracy which it was the purpose of Christ to set up. "The prophetic designation which had fallen upon him, perhaps, revealed to himself for the first time his own royal qualities; and the mental struggles which followed, if they had led him to a peculiar view of the kind of sovereignty to which he was destined, had left upon his mind a most absolute and serene conviction of his royal rights. During his whole public life he is distinguished from the other prominent characters of Jewish history by his unbounded personal pretensions. He calls himself habitually King and Master, he claims expressly the character of that Divine Messiah for which the ancient prophets had directed the nation to look." He came forth from the wilderness with the deep resolution to be the King of a new society, "representing the majesty of the invisible King of a theocracy, as its Founder, Legislator, and Judge." Not, however, a king

according to the conception current among the Jews. "The Christ himself, meditating upon his mission in the desert, saw difficulties such as other men had no suspicion of. He saw that he must lead a life altogether different from that of David, that the pictures drawn by the prophets of an ideal Jewish king were coloured by the manners of the times in which they had lived; that these pictures bore, indeed, a certain resemblance to the truth; but that the work before him was far more complicated and more delicate than the wisest prophet had suspected." The measures which He adopted disappointed the expectations of the people, and His death was the result.

But what were His credentials? The chapter that answers this vital question discloses the subtle error of the volume as to the kingdom of God. We have His own testimony that Christ did not simply represent the invisible King of the theocracy, He was Himself the King, and asserted and proved His Divinity by His words and works. He came, however, according to the Scripture, to found another kingdom than that of His absolute Divine authority, by dying for the sins of the world. Hence, although He always spoke and acted as the supreme King, it was, as it were, by anticipation; the foundation of His kingdom was His cross, and not till after His resurrection did He declare Himself invested with all power. His true credentials were His vicarious sufferings for the sins of men, sealed by His resurrection from the dead as the conqueror of sin and Lord of a redeemed earth. Of this we hear nothing, and yet the author approaches the subject near enough to indicate that he deliberately evades it, as the following quotation will show:—

"This temperance in the use of supernatural power is the masterpiece of Christ . . . and it is precisely this trait which gave him his immense and immediate ascendancy over men. If the question be put—Why was Christ so successful? Some will answer, 'Because of the miracles which attested his Divine character.' Others, 'Because of the intrinsic beauty and divinity of the great law of love that he propounded.' But miracles, as we have seen, have not by themselves this persuasive power. . . . On the other hand, the law of love, however Divine, was but a precept. . . . It was neither for his miracles, nor for the beauty of his doctrine, that Christ was worshipped. Nor was it for his winning personal character, nor for the persecutions he endured, nor for His martyrdom. It was for the inimitable unity which all these things made when taken together. In other words, it was for this, that he whose power and greatness, as shown in his miracles, were overwhelming, denied himself the use of his power,

treated it as a slight thing, walked among men as though he were one of them, relieved them in distress, taught them to love each other, bore with undisturbed patience a perpetual hailstorm of calumny; and, when his enemies grew fiercer, continued still to endure their attacks in silence, until, petrified and bewildered with astonishment, men saw him arrested and put to death with torture, refusing steadfastly to use in his own behalf the power he conceived he held for the benefit of others. It was the combination of greatness and self-sacrifice which won their hearts, the mighty powers held under a mighty control, the unspeakable condemner, the *Cross of Christ*."—P. 47.

These eloquent words are followed by others still more eloquent, depicting the effect upon men of such sufferings voluntarily endured. But they fail to touch the secret of the constraining power of the Passion. There was more in the cross to St. Paul than "the voluntary submission to death of one who had the power to escape death." "Christ's voluntary surrender of power," simply and apart from the atoning virtue of His death, was *not* the favourite subject of all the Apostles. The absolute devotion which should requite it was not simply matter of human "opinion and feeling;" nor was this "the ground of that obedience to Christ and acceptance of His legislation which made the success of His scheme." As St. Paul is here for once referred to, he may be permitted to speak for himself; and his uniform testimony is that only a Divine revelation through the Holy Ghost of the saving power and cleansing virtue of the blood of Atonement, could kindle the love of Christ in the soul. It is scarcely true to say that those who witnessed our Saviour's abstinence from self-vindication by the use of His miraculous power, felt any such influence from it as is here asserted. The cross, with all its preparatory sufferings, passed from their eyes without enkindling this profound devotion, until a power from on high revealed the sacred mystery of its meaning to the life and destiny of the believer. When they came to know that in His cross He had been made a curse for them, and that His crucifixion was the sacrifice of a Divine-human victim to the claims of the law, then, but not till then, "the law and the law-giver were enshrined in their inmost hearts for inseparable veneration."

In the chapters which treat of our Saviour's kingdom, and the terms of admission to it, we have a clear and undisguised picture of the religion of nature placed under certain Christian influences. Nothing is brought to man; all is evoked from his nature as Christ finds it. This radical defect, in our judgment, mainly characterises the whole treatise, and may



be taken as a key to the errors, which, however beautifully veiled, are errors fatal to the foundation. Let the following words be well weighed; they close the striking exposition of that "winnowing fan" which the Baptist predicted as Christ's method of testing human nature:—

"When he rejected the test of correct conduct which society uses, Christ substituted the test of faith. It is to be understood that this is not strictly a Christian virtue; it is the virtue required of one who wishes to become a Christian. So much a man must bring with him; without it he is not worthy of the kingdom of God. To those who lack faith, Christ will not be Legislator or King. He does not, indeed, dismiss them, but he suffers them to abandon a society which now ceases to have any attraction for them. Such, then, is the new test, and it will be found the only one which could answer Christ's purpose of excluding all hollow disciples. . . . We want a test which shall admit all who have it in them to be good whether their good qualities be trained or no. Such a test is found in faith. He who, when goodness is impressively put before him, exhibits an instinctive loyalty to it, starts forward to take its side, trusts himself to it, such a man has faith, and the root of the matter is in such a man."—P. 66.

From this it would appear that the work of Christ in the world is to find out and bind to Himself all those who have "the root of the matter" in them. The test is the presentation of His living person, and the attraction is the effort of goodness upon a soul having already in it a touch of goodness, and already justified by that faith. Hence we are told that Jesus obtained the unlimited devotion and obedience of His servants, even to the sacrifice of life, "by no other means than the natural influence of a natural superiority." An endless succession of variations follow on this theme: its music is played, and with no small charm, throughout the remaining chapters. It is made the one and supreme prerogative of Christ as a legislator that He did not trust to reason, but to example; this is represented as the grand distinction between His work and that of all the philosophers who went before Him. His ultimate object, like theirs, was the moral improvement of mankind, a statement to which it may seem captious to take exception, but which we hold to be absolutely wrong in the sense in which it is here understood. But in *improving* the morality of men Christ differs from Socrates, inasmuch as He imposes the authority of His own excellence upon His followers, and kindles the natural faith of man into an enthusiasm of devotion to Himself and imitation of His virtues that effectually kills all sin in the soul. "As love provokes love, many have found it possible to concei—



for Christ an attachment, the closeness of which no words can describe." And as love to Christ is excited by the contemplation of His goodness, so there is in the nature of man "a love for humanity as such; a natural passion, which would be universal if special causes did not extinguish it in special cases, but, like all other human passions, it may be indefinitely increased and purified by training and by extraordinary influences that may be brought to bear upon it. Now this is the passion on which Christ seized, and treated it as the law-making power or root of morality in human nature, trained and developed it into that Christian spirit which received the new name of *ἀγάπη*."

It is needless to remind our readers that there is a deep double error pervading all this—an error as to the true character of original sin, and an error as to the nature of the "extraordinary influences" brought to bear on it by the Redeemer. Surely there are some words, spoken by our Lord, which the author of *Ecce Homo* well knows, and would admit to be the "true sayings of Christ," that teach a doctrine very different from those which he takes such delight in propounding. He himself, when speaking of baptism, gives us a somewhat elaborate exposition of the night-scene with Nicodemus, in which he represents the Redeemer as teaching the ruler that men must not think of giving their name to the founder of the kingdom at a secret interview, to return afterwards to the routine of secular life: "those who would enrol themselves among the citizens of it were to understand that they began their life anew, as truly as if they had been born again." But why, admitting the importance of this conversation with Nicodemus, does he deliberately pass by those clear and piercing sentences which enforce the necessity of the soul's new birth? Why does he omit, as if they had not been spoken, any reference to the words, "*That which is born of the flesh is flesh, that which is born of the spirit is spirit?*" We have no disposition to deny to our poor humanity what capacities of goodness the fall has left it, still less to restrict the measure of good influence which His alliance with our nature has put forth upon it. But we must protest with all earnestness against a style of teaching that studiously, and with a seeming emphasis on the word, speaks of the natural man as having in him, as it were, a natural Christianity which needs only to be placed in the presence of Christ to become active.

When we read of "extraordinary influences brought to bear" upon man's natural instinct of love, we supposed that

possibly some concession was about to be made to the "current opinion" as to the renewing of the Holy Ghost. But it is far otherwise. The Holy Ghost is indeed spoken of, but only as a term used to signify the power of ardent feeling excited in the soul. The strain is faithful to the end, and this is the conclusion of it:—

"A single conception enthusiastically grasped is found powerful enough to destroy the very root of all immorality within the heart. As every enthusiasm that a man can conceive makes a certain class of sins impossible to him, and raises him not only above the commission of them, but beyond the very temptation to commit them, so there exists an enthusiasm which makes all sin whatever impossible. This enthusiasm is emphatically the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is called here the enthusiasm of *humanity*, because it is that respect for human beings which no one altogether wants raised to the point of enthusiasm."—P. 320.

*How is this enthusiasm kindled?* This vital question has been present to the writer's mind throughout his book, and has received a great many kinds of indirect and vague reply. But, as if conscious that here has been his failure, the question is asked again at the close, in the tone of a note of despair. At an earlier stage of his investigation St. John's Gospel is appealed to for help; for, although scarcely admitted as a text-book, St. John plays a prominent part in *Ecce Homo*: "The enthusiasm can hardly be kindled except by a personal influence acting through example or impassioned exhalation. When Christ would kindle it in His disciples He *breathed* on them and said, 'Receive the Holy Ghost;' intimating by this great symbolical act that life passes into the soul of a man, as it were, by contagion from another living soul." But it would be a great mistake to infer from this, or any other reference to the Holy Spirit, that the writer means the gift of the Holy Ghost, as a regenerating Spirit, in the current Christian sense. Nothing seems further from his thought. His last word on the subject is, that this enthusiasm "was shown to men in its most consummate form in Jesus Christ." Christ did not obtain by His death, and send down as the gift of His ascension, the Holy Ghost. He Himself had the enthusiasm kindled in Him—*how*, no one can tell; for "it was the will of God to beget no second son like Him." But since He has shown it, men have found it possible to imitate Him; and every new imitation revives the power of the original. Not, however, that "Christ is the direct source of all humanity;" in Him it

was displayed in a supreme and unique manner, but the examples of His imitator who came nearer to us may do more to "hand on the torch from runner to runner in the race of life." Hence we cannot but feel that *Ecce Homo* leaves its readers in a state of hopeless confusion as to the redeeming power of Christ in human nature. It disguises, by fair words, the absence of those cardinal doctrines of atonement and regeneration which give meaning to the words that Christ is the *life of the world*.

If anywhere we might expect an utterance approaching to clearness on this vital subject, it is in a description on the meaning of the Lord's Supper. But we find no satisfaction there, and should not allude to this chapter were it not for the view given of the Christian sacraments generally. These solemn observances were "most desirable," indeed, "matters of extreme importance," in order to preserve the distinctness of the Christian society from the world, baptism serving that purpose, and the unity of the Christian Church in itself, an end effected by the common supper. The Christian communion is, as it were,—the author feels but evades the degradation of the term—"a club-dinner," symbolically expressing the fact and the manner of their union. But the fact first—the fact of the universal brotherhood of mankind, "pensioners on the bounty of the universal Father." When Christ declared that the bread was His body and the wine His blood, and said—to appeal once more to St. John—"Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you," He taught that *life*, the healthy condition of the mind, consisting "in a certain enthusiasm for human beings as such," will not spring up spontaneously or by any effort of our own, but that men must learn to love each other "by eating His flesh and drinking His blood." This metaphor belongs to a style of "vehement" language by which Christ and His Apostles were wont to express intense personal devotion to the Lord: "It is precisely this intense personal devotion, this habitual feeding on the character of Christ, so that the essential nature of the Master seems to pass into and become the essential nature of the servant—loyally carried to the point of self-annihilation—that is expressed by the words, 'eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ.'" The writer seems to feel the insufficiency of this interpretation; he is himself amazed, and teaches us to feel amazed at the unbounded personal pretensions which Christ advances. To us, knowing full well the Divine Person who utters these words, His pretensions are indeed amazing, but they are per-

fectly consistent, and receive the full homage of our reason as well as our hearts. But how strange, and indeed incomprehensive, is the demand of Christ on any other theory, as the following extract shows. We have to select the sentences, but only for the sake of brevity:—

“It is common in human history to meet with those who claim some superiority over their fellows. . . . Few, indeed, are those to whom it is given to influence future ages. Homer by creating literature, Socrates by creating science, Cæsar by carrying civilisation inland from the shores of the Mediterranean, Newton by starting science upon a career of steady progress, may be said to have attained this eminence. But these men gave a single impact like that which is conceived to have first set the planets in motion; Christ claims to be a perpetual attractive power like the sun which determines their orbits. They contributed to men some discoveries and passed away; Christ’s discovery is himself. To humanity, struggling with its passions and its destiny, he says, Cling close to me, cling ever closer to me. . . . But it is doubly surprising that these enormous pretensions were advanced by one whose special peculiarity, not only among his contemporaries, but among the remarkable men that have appeared before and since, was an almost feminine tenderness and humanity. This characteristic was remarked, as we have seen, by the Baptist, and Christ himself was fully conscious of it. . . . If he judged himself correctly, and if the Baptist described him well when he compared him to a lamb, and, we may add, if his biographers have delineated his character faithfully, Christ was one naturally contented with obscurity, wanting the restless desire for distinction and eminence, which is common in great men, hating to put forward personal claims, disliking competition and ‘disputes who should be greatest’ so much, finding something bombastic in the titles of royalty, fond of what is simple and homely—of children, of poor people, occupying himself with the concerns of others, with the relief of sickness and want; that the temptation to exaggerate the importance of his own thoughts and plans was not likely to master him; lastly, entertaining for the human race a feeling so singularly fraternal, that he was likely to reject as a sort of treason the impulse to set himself in any manner above them. Christ, it appears, was this humble man. When we have fully pondered the facts, we may be in a condition to estimate the force of the evidence, which, submitted to his mind, would induce him, in direct opposition to all his tastes and instincts, to lay claim, persistently, with the calmness of entire conviction, in spite of the offence which his own followers conceived, to a dominion more transcendent, more universal, more complete, than the most delirious votary of glory ever aspired to in his dreams.”—P. 178.

With this extract we leave the reader to judge for himself what the conception of Christ will be when the author of *Ecce Homo* shall have delivered himself fully on Christian theo-

logy, and expanded his half views into their complete exhibition. The last sentences of the volume—though marred by a display of bad taste which runs more or less through the whole work, and is singularly at variance with the general grace of its style—might seem to promise that the sequel of this undertaking will do something to vindicate the majesty of the person and the Divinity of the work of Christ. “The new Jerusalem descended *out of heaven from God*.” “The creative effort which produced that, against which, it is said, the gates of hell shall not prevail, cannot be analysed. No architects’ designs were furnished for the New Jerusalem; no committee drew up rules for the Universal Commonwealth. It was an achievement of Christ’s will and power that has no rival on earth.” In what sense the Christian state came down from heaven, and what was the power that with such mysterious calmness and inconceivable power created it, we presume we have yet to be told. But, whatever may hereafter be said as to the superhuman origin of Christianity—if, indeed, anything will be said—we cannot forget that throughout the whole of this work Christ’s motives, calculations, aims, contrivances, and expedients, are analysed by a human critic in a style that seems strangely to contradict the words we have just quoted. And to us the concluding words of the volume come with a feeling of inexpressible relief—whatever the sense may be in which the author uses them—*out of heaven from God*.

Christ’s legislation for the Christian commonwealth occupies a large portion of the volume. It is elaborately worked out; but contains nothing that may be termed new, although the terminology and manner of presentation differ from that to which Christian writers are wont to adhere. We shall not be able to do more than make a few remarks on some of the fundamental principles that are here assumed.

And, first, it seems to us that there is a great and needless effort to separate between the ethics of Christianity and its doctrines. In other words, the idea of Christ as a Teacher, sent from God to communicate, by Himself and through His Apostles, a system of doctrine—which is everywhere in the later New Testament called the Gospel, or the Faith, or the Truth—is kept too entirely in the background, and by implication suppressed altogether. The volume proceeds on the supposition that the Lord completed His legislation for His kingdom before He left the world, and that the whole of the Christian scheme may be found within the compass of the Four Gospels. Whereas, if we take the entire New Testament

in our hands, we find that the code of Christian ethics does not assume its complete and full form until the spirit of inspiration has gathered the Church around the "Apostles' doctrine" concerning the cross. It is true that the fundamental principles of morality were not and could not be essentially changed by the promulgation of Christ's new doctrine; but it is equally true that the entire system of Christian ethics is seen in all its clearness, and receives its most impressive sanctions, only when connected with the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. The several chapters of *Ecce Homo*, which treat of the laws of philanthropy, mercy, forgiveness, beautiful and searching as they are, would be infinitely more beautiful and more true to the New Testament if they were re-written with a constant reference to those doctrines of the incarnation, atonement, and eternal judgment with which they are always connected in Scripture, but from which in this treatise they are entirely disjoined. In short, however effectually it serves the writer's purpose to take the "morality" of Christianity first, we think the order an inverted one, and shall not occupy much time with the "ethics" of this treatise until we have the promised "theology" to examine.

This, however, leads to another observation. The Christianity taught by this volume, or rather for which this volume conciliates the favour of sceptical inquirers, is of the freest possible type of latitudinarianism as it regards the letter of revelation on the one hand, and the personal independence of the individual spirit as its own law-maker on the other.

The "Christian, a Law to Himself," is the title of one chapter. It dwells with much emphasis upon that enthusiasm or Divine inspiration which makes the subject of it independent of all external commandment. It is impossible not to sympathise with this principle or fact—for fact it is—when rightly stated and free from exaggeration. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," and when the supreme love of God becomes the "royal law" of the soul, it must needs expel every other alien passion, rendering to God all service of devotion, and for God's sake rendering to man all service of charity. But the positions of this chapter are amenable to the charge of onesidedness and exaggeration. It makes this "all-purifying passion" simply the passion for man as such, for the race in the individual; in short, the enthusiasm in humanity. Now we cannot but think that this sovereign inspiration within the soul is not the love of man, but of God; the sacred fervour which, when it is shed abroad in the spirit of man,



restores him to his rest, and furnishes him with the impulse and the strength for every relative duty. It is not the human race, but God that is the object of this central enthusiasm ; not man in the individual, but God in man. Hence we have the highest authority, saying, "Ye did it unto Me." Further, there is a spirit of exaggeration reigning in the whole argument which is characteristic of this free and idealist school. It is scarcely true to say that Christ "did not have a code of morals in the ordinary sense of the term—that is, an enumeration of actions prescribed and prohibited. Two or three prohibitions, two or three commands, he is, indeed, recorded to have delivered ; but on the greater number of questions on which men require moral guidance he has left no direction whatever." Among our Lord's last words to His Apostles He bade them go forth and "teach all men to observe all things that He had commanded them," an injunction which as it looks back upon a long series of commandments, delivered in the gospels in a variety of forms, and not always as positive injunctions, so it looks forward to a still more plenary communication of His will through the Holy Spirit. Let any one with an unbiassed mind take the entire New Testament, and examine how far it is a directory of conduct and a code of ordinances and prohibitions, and he will find that the Christian instinct of health is not thus absolutely confided in. While he will feel the truth of the remark that "in the language of Hebrew poetry, a voice behind is saying, 'This is the way, walk ye in it,'" he will also feel that all the stress is not to be laid upon the *voice*, but some of it must be reserved for the *way*.

The same exaggeration appears in the discussion on "Positive Morality," which seems to us to place the New Testament in such a relation to the Old as is fatal to the unity of Divine revelation, and extremely perilous to the foundations of the then faith. Here we must make a few extracts :—

"Of the Scriptures of the Old Testament he always spoke with the utmost reverence, and he seems never to have called in question the Jewish view of them as infallible oracles of God. Some parts of them, particularly the book of Deuteronomy, seem to have been often present to his thoughts. Yet even the Old Testament he regarded in a sense critically, and he introduced canons of interpretation which must have astonished, by their boldness, the religious men of the day. For he regarded the laws of Moses, though Divine, as capable of becoming obsolete and also incomplete. On the question of divorce he declared the Mosaic arrangement to have been well suited for the 'hard-heartedness' of a semi-barbarous age, but to be no longer justifiable in the



advanced condition of morals. So, too, in the matter of oaths, the permission of private revenge, and other points on which the Mosaic legislation had necessarily something of a barbaric character, He unhesitatingly repealed the acts of the lawgiver and introduced new provisions. . . . It was the inspiration, the law-making power, that gave Christ and his disciples courage to shake themselves free from the fetters even of a Divine law. Their position was a new and delicate one, and nothing but such an inspiration could have enabled them to maintain it. To pronounce the old law entirely true, or entirely false, would have been easy; but to consider it as true and Divine, yet no longer true for them, no longer their authoritative guide, must have seemed, and must seem even to us, at first sight unnatural and paradoxical. It may be illustrated, however, by what every one has observed to happen in the process of learning and art. For the beginner rigid rules are prescribed, which it will be well for him for a time to follow, punctiliously and blindly. . . . But the principle at the same time that it explains the rules supersedes them. It was in this manner that Christ found the Mosaic law at once Divine and in part obsolete. But not only did he find it in part obsolete, he found it throughout utterly meagre and imperfect."—P. 183.

There is much confusion in these statements, which it would require a long dissertation to expose and clear up. Let it be remembered, generally, that it was the same Law-giver who gave the laws of morality on Mount Sinai and the Mount of Beatitudes; and that He said, "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them." Whatever changes He introduced were not changes in the code of morals, as the word is understood in this volume; whatever relaxations He permitted in observances formerly binding upon a nation, were far from being a release "from the fetters even of a Divine law." Surely there can be given a better and more reverent account of our Lord's more spiritual republication of a law which, in all its essentials, He retained, than this. Is it not evident in every page of the gospels that He honoured the decalogue, for instance, so far as to remit men's consciences to its precepts, "Ye know the commandments"? The style in which a higher and better interpreter of Christ's will delivers Himself, is a sufficient protest against all this. "If there be *any other commandment*, it is briefly *comprehended*, not abolished or lost, in the saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Now where is this saying found, "*Thou shalt* love thy neighbour as thyself," but in that very law of which the author of *Ecce Homo* says that it was a system of passive morality, in opposition to the Christian, which is active and positive, *thou shalt* superseding *thou shalt not*?

“The Christian moral reformation may indeed be summed up in this—humanity changed from a restraint to a motive.” This is a dictum to which, on many grounds, exception may be taken. The motive power of goodwill to man reigns in the Old Testament as well as in the New; we cannot imagine the God of holiness omitting that when teaching His creatures their duty and bidding them, “Be ye holy, for I am holy.” The entire series of the ancient Scriptures, with all their charity in precept and example—the laws, the psalms, and the prophets—protest against this unguarded statement. *Thou shalt* and *thou shalt not* are inseparably intertwined throughout the Bible, and while man is in his earthly probation God hath joined them as the united sanction of human duty; let not man put them asunder. But our objection goes deeper still; it is one that has again and again been hinted at. Humanity is not the sphere of the Christian moral reformation, it is only one element in it. Christ has shown the spirituality of the requirements of the law of both its prohibitions and its injunctions; He has pointed to the recesses of the human heart as the seat of holiness; this holiness He nowhere declares to be, what it is constantly asserted to be in this volume, the enthusiasm of love to humanity, but something of which this enthusiasm is only one, and that an accidental, development. It is the supreme ascendancy of love to God in the soul, expelling not selfishness only, but sin, the root of it, and bringing the will of man into perfect accordance with the will of God. The kingdom of God is not only the Christian commonwealth, it is also the indwelling of the Holy Trinity, “righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,” communion with God as well as fellowship with man in charity. And beautiful, touching, and holy as is the idea of the “enthusiasm of humanity,” it is doing it great injustice to make it the final end of our Saviour’s new legislation among men.

We must quote one more passage, which strikes a chord so grateful to our feeling that we regret to have to censure it in any measure. But censurable it is, when we comprehend all the meaning of its theme, *Christian Morality*—

“Those who stood by watching His career felt that his teaching, but probably still more his deeds, were creating a revolution in morality, and were setting to all previous legislations, Mosaic or Gentile, that seal which is at once ratification and abolition. While they watched, they felt the rules and maxims by which they had hitherto lived die into a higher and larger life. They felt the freedom which is gained by destroying selfishness instead of restraining it, by

crucifying the flesh instead of circumcising it. In this new rule they perceived all old rules to be included, but so included as to seem insignificant, axioms of moral science, beggarly elements. It no longer seemed to them necessary to prohibit in detail and with laborious enumeration the different acts by which a man may injure his neighbour. Now that they had at heart, as the first of interests, the happiness of all with whom they might be brought in contact, they no longer required a law, for they had acquired a quiet and sensitive instinct, which restrained them from doing harm. But while the new morality incorporated into itself the old, how much ampler was its compass! A new continent in the moral globe was discovered. Positive morality took its place by the side of negative. To the duty of not doing harm, which may be called justice, was added the duty of doing good, which may properly receive the distinctively Christian name of charity. And this is the meaning of that prediction which certain shepherds, reported to have come to them in a mystic song, heard under the open sky of night ('carmine perfidiæ quod post nulla arguet ætas'), proclaiming the commencement of an era of 'good will to men.'—P. 189.

The angels have given us a better interpretation of their song than this. It was not the advent of One who was to exalt justice into charity, but rather to make both one, by saving His people from their sins. They did not sing between the two Testaments that now at length goodwill should reign *among* men only, but rather that the gospel of God's goodwill was to be revealed in the sacrifice of Christ, bringing God's peace to man and returning in glory to God in the highest. But it is not with this rhetorical use of the mystic word the shepherds "reported," that we quarrel. It is with the sweeping assertion that morality or Christian charity is doing good to man, "briefly comprehended," as it were, in this one saying, goodwill towards men; and with the no less indefensible assertion that "all old rules" were made by Christ to seem "beggarly elements." Neither Christ nor His Apostles ever countenanced the restriction of the former position, nor the positive error of the latter. St. Paul's authority—and we are bound to think St. Paul a high authority with the author of *Ecce Homo*—may be appealed to as repudiating both in one sentence. "The grace of God that bringeth salvation teacheth us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly." Here we have the true fundamental principles of positive morality that supersede all formulated enactments, the principles of all human holiness. But he does not teach us that the grace of God leaves man—leaves the subjects of the Christian commonwealth—to the spontaneous development of these principles; it *disciplines*

us, it instructs, guides, and trains, by gentler and severer means, its pupils or its patients, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts ; and by this process of education purifies a holy people unto Christ, who died to redeem us from the penalty of our sins and to give us the spirit of a new obedience. If St. Paul's nervous word, "beggarly elements," is borrowed from him, he should be allowed to put his own meaning on the term. But we are very sure that he would never have mentioned its application in this passage ; he would not have permitted it to be used by all those innumerable precepts of self-government, righteousness, and devotion, by the painful observance of which human nature rises to the perfection of an instinctive obedience to all the laws of God. The Supreme Legislator knew "what was in man," and while He made love to Himself—not love to man—the test and impulse of all obedience, He required that it should be shown by *keeping all His commandments*.

The sum of all is, that this book gives us, we were about to say, the ideal legislator of an ideal community. Now, that there is an ideal commonwealth ever before the Legislator's view, we admit as heartily as the author of *Ecce Homo*. Indeed we think those parts of his work are the most valuable in which he insists on the necessity of regarding the Saviour's ideal, and not the sad reality in the world, as the standard of our estimate of Christianity.

But this idealism—if the term may be so used—is carried much too far. It tends to obscure, while it seems to brighten, the form of the Founder of Christianity, as legislating for the souls whom He came to prepare, by a teaching condescension the counterpart of His atoning love, for a future kingdom, as yet existing only in the ideal. Making Him only man—so far as we can see—it yet leaves Him not enough of man for the need of mortals. It seems paradoxical, but, if we may trust our feeling after reading this book very carefully, it is true, that while the Redeemer is bereft of His eternal Divinity, the true secret of His supreme authority and majesty, He is, at the same time, depicted as a Legislator of such awful grandeur and severity that only very few can hear His words and live. As Legislator, He is not brought down to the need of those for whom He legislates. He delivers, as it were, counsels of perfection to an exceedingly elect few. And His law is too simple, too high, too stringent for any but the interior circle. There are always some souls, multitudes of souls, who enter into that relation with Christ in which He rules without law. But there are always in the Christian commonwealth an in-

finitely larger number who are under the legislation of a gentle and meek Saviour, laying His burden upon them that they may find rest, and bringing them under a yoke of merciful severity. He is a Legislator of more tender and gracious accommodation to poor human nature than this book makes Him. He is more actual and nearer to us than this ideal lawgiver. His Saviour-heart, and His skill as the Physician of human souls, however much talked about in this book, are not allowed to leave the right impression on our minds. He is too much the Legislator, too little the Saviour.

This undue ascendancy of the ideal affects the view given of the Christian Church. With many of the eloquent paragraphs that describe and enforce the universal benevolence of the community bearing the name of Christ, we heartily agree. But the end and government and life of the Church are evermore referred, in the spirit of onesidedness and exaggeration that pervades the book, to one idea—the enthusiasm of humanity. It is, indeed, truly, though not altogether gracefully, said, that “the Church has sustained another part on earth besides that of the sister of charity; she has not merely sat by sick beds and played the Lady Bountiful to poor people.” And still better we read, “accordingly the enthusiasm of humanity in Christ did not propose to itself principally to procure qualifications and enjoyments for the senses of men, but to make the Divine image more glorious in them and to purge it, as far as possible, from impurities.” But in his enthusiasm for the enthusiasm of humanity, the writer represents Christ as ordaining preaching and baptism, “because he regarded it as essential to the diffusion of true humanity that men should form themselves into a society of which humanity should be the law, and that they should signalise their entrance into it by undergoing a special rite of purification.” When the glow of this ardour for man declines, St. Paul reminds Christians “of their ideal;” that ideal being expressed as “putting on Christ,” “Christ formed within,” “filling up the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.” In other words, the great Christian law of edification is the building of the Church; the second great obligation of Christianity was to “convert mankind to Christian humanity or holiness.” This ideal of the end of the Christian Church brings all into subordination to it, removing out of sight all the New Testament teaching as to the external constitution of the Church as a society governed by the Holy Spirit, and setting only in a prominent light those portions of it that are concerned with the diffusion of the spirit of humanity. Hence

the tendency of the whole is to make the Church not so much the conservator of the truth—a body growing up into the fullness of Christ, by the edification of a ministry and ordinances settled for ever, and thus slowly but surely winning the world to the obedience of the faith—as a mystical community kept together by the enthusiasm for the human race, and for ever varying its expedients according to the fluctuations of human misery and the exigencies of every age. “At last the time came when the hidden principle of all law was revealed, and Christian humanity became the self-legislating life of mankind.”

Once more, the idealist influence is seen in the morbid and exaggerated estimate which is expressed, and when not expressed, implied, of the success of Christianity in the world from age to age. The ideal that the Christian poet saw coming from heaven was “for a moment almost realised, and may be realised again. But what we see in history behind us and the world around us is, it must be confessed, not ‘like a bride adorned for her husband.’ The bridal dress is worn out, and the orange-flower is faded.” This is not only bad taste; it is unsound theology and hollow criticism. The writer has an ideal of the militant Church in his mind which fairly belongs only to the Church when it has attained its perfection. Hence the constant tone of disparagement that pervades all his descriptions. Although he admits that the Christian Church “still displays vigour and a capacity of adjusting itself to new conditions, and in all the transformation it undergoes remains visibly the same thing, and inspired by its Founder’s universal and unquenchable spirit,” yet he has but a slight respect for what it has done in the world at large—“it is possible to make it a question whether mankind has gained on the whole”—and by a variety of hints betrays his conviction that it is an unrealised ideal still. Hence it is easy and almost necessary that he should glide into the notion that too much has been expected of Christianity from its votaries. It is, after all, only “one of many revelations, and is very insufficient by itself for man’s happiness.” Its ideal cannot be worked out but by the co-operation of another revelation, reserved for these last days. “We live under the blessed light of science, a light yet far from its meridian, and dispersing every day some noxious superstition, some cowardice of the human spirit.” It is true that “Christian morality, if somewhat less safe and exempt from perversion than science, is more directly and vitally beneficial to mankind.” But he does not expect much from the Christian



institute so long as it exacts supreme homage as the only regenerator of society. He has pitched his ideal, we repeat, too high; and finding it incapable of adjustment with the facts of the world, he seems to turn in despair to other more practical agents attaining more sure results. What his real thoughts are as to the work of Christianity in the world, we may gather from the rash and irreverent words in which he classes those who, "content with Christianity, disregard science," with the enemies of light "who took away the keys of knowledge" in Christ's day, and then utters his final indignation thus:—"Assuredly they are graceless zealots who quote Moses against the expounders of a wisdom which Moses denied in vain, because it was reserved for a far later generation, for these modern men, to whom we may with accurate truth apply Christ's words and say that the least among them is greater than Moses." Charges such as we have now brought against this book have, it would seem, been urged by others. The writer refers to them in his new preface; but in such a way, it seems to us, as to show that it is far easier to write paradoxes than to defend them.

We here close for the present; not doubting that we shall meet the author of *Ecce Homo* again in these pages. In shutting the book after a careful reading, we cease to wonder at its popularity with a large class of the religiously disposed public. It is carefully adapted to meet the case of all who, "musing in their hearts" concerning Jesus of Nazareth, are repelled, on the one hand, by the coarse infidelity of the modern critical school, while, on the other, they think it freedom to spurn the restraints of theological Christianity. To them it offers a free, but not, on the whole, irreverent handling of the "mysteries of Christ." The style in which its investigations are conducted is graceful and eloquent, such, indeed, as to win most upon those who study it most carefully. But, for ourselves, we have no doubt that its charm will be gone when the song is sung out, and that it will sink into the mass of that spent literature which figures conspicuously for a season, excites an expectation which it disappoints, and sooner or later gives place to the teaching that gives a more "certain sound."



- ART. IV.—1. *Felix Holt the Radical.* By GEORGE ELIOT. Three Vols. London: W. Blackwood & Son.  
 2. *Elster's Folly.* By MRS. HENRY WOOD. Three Vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.  
 3. *Hereward the Wake.* By REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY. London: Smith, Elder and Co.  
 4. *Armada.* By WILKIE COLLINS. Three Vols.  
 5. *Chronicles of Carlingford.* Three Vols.  
 6. *Beyond the Church.* By MISS MAJORIBANKS. Three Vols.

THE statistics of novel writing and novel reading, if they could be collected, would present some curious facts. The total number of issues in a season, even if we exclude the novelettes, whose name is legion, which appear only in the pages of the monthly magazines, must be something extraordinary. The season which has just closed has, perhaps, hardly been so prolific as its predecessor, but it has contributed a sufficiently large quota to the already groaning shelves of Mr. Mudie, and will doubtless in due time furnish abundant stores to meet the demands of the trunk-maker and cheesemonger. We have no means of determining what is the average number of readers found by each of these works; but as publishers would not continue to publish works unless they could sell them, and as the circulating libraries would not buy books for which they could not find readers, we are driven to the conclusion that there are a large number of people who, at all events, skim through a considerable proportion of these books, and who are, to some extent, in many instances more than they themselves imagine, influenced by them, while there are not a few who derive from them almost their sole intellectual food, and are materially affected by their representations. It is useless, indeed, to deny that fiction is a very powerful instrument, and perhaps more powerful at the present moment than ever, because of the wide extent of area over which its influence extends. It is quite true that it is not the highest class of minds which is affected by it, and to them it may seem absurd that any lasting impression can be produced by writers of so inferior an order as those to whom, for the most part, the novel-reading world at present does homage. It

would, however, be a false policy to act upon such an impression, and to treat as unworthy of notice writers whose very popularity gives them a certain prestige and power, and whose constant reiteration of their views on men and things must produce more or less effect.

One of the most serious features in the case is the extent to which books of this character find their way into the families of devout Christian men. We can well remember the time when novel-reading was regarded, especially among Methodists and Evangelical Dissenters, as a grave error, hardly consistent with the maintenance of a Christian profession. Now the very opposite of this is the case, and *Lady Audley's Secret*, *Aurora Floyd*, or *East Lynne* may not unfrequently be found lying on drawing-room tables, from which in a former generation *Old Mortality* or *The Heart of Mid Lothian* would have been rigidly excluded. No doubt, as a matter of fact, the one extreme has produced the other; but however this may explain, it can hardly be accepted as justifying, the present state of things. A wise regulation of the reading, especially of young people, is undoubtedly more difficult than either of the extreme courses, but the difficulty cannot be regarded as a sufficient reason for renouncing every attempt to accomplish so important an end.

We are not disposed to claim a very high place for works of fiction, or to assign to them any important office in the work of mental discipline. But, on the other hand, they are not to be wholly despised. The imagination and fancy are talents given to us by God, and they would not have been given at all if they were not fitted to subserve some valuable purpose. They may be cultivated too exclusively, they may be suffered to usurp the position which belongs to the judgment or even the conscience, they may be so employed as to prevent the man from attending with proper calmness and sobriety to the practical business of life. But their frequent abuse does not prove that they have no use. Hence it may be pleaded that such writings throw a beauty over what would else be vulgar and mean; that they help to give a clearer insight into human character and actions, that they raise the mind to a higher tone of thought and feeling, that they provide a mode of pleasing relaxation for the overtasked brain and too sensitive nerves of a generation whose mode of life render such relief specially desirable, and even necessary. Works of imagination may in some degree accomplish all this. But it is undeniably true that they very frequently fall far below even the humblest of these ends; that, instead of refin-

ing, they deprave the taste, that they enfeeble rather than strengthen the intellect, that they stimulate the very feelings which they should have sought to repress, and that the recreation which they profess to furnish frequently degenerates into the worst forms of intellectual dissipation.

Our magazines are largely to blame for the multiplication of this species of literary trash. It seems now to be thought essential to the success of any periodical that it should have two or three serial tales regularly going on in its pages, and that it should secure the services of some writers whose names have secured a certain notoriety, and who often continue in this way to palm very inferior wares upon the market. Under such circumstances, indeed, the authors neither do justice to themselves nor to their readers. They are compelled to produce a certain portion at regular intervals, and it is almost necessary that every portion should produce some sensation. Hence the spasmodic, feverish, exciting style in which the tales are written, often regardless alike of the dramatic unities and of all literary finish. How much even a powerful writer may degenerate under such influences may be seen from a tale which is at present appearing in the *Argosy*. Mr. Charles Reade is a man of undoubted genius, and some of his earlier works possessed considerable force, and helped in the advocacy of some important social truths. There was always a certain tinge of eccentricity about his writings, and too great a straining after effect; but stimulated by the necessity for keeping up a continual excitement, owing to the exigencies of a monthly publication, he has in *Griffith Gaunt* run perfectly wild. Every successive portion of the story has presented some new phase, each one more extravagant and improbable than its predecessor. The characters are overdrawn, and, with hardly an exception, extremely repulsive; the incidents are improbable, and the absurdity of the whole destroys the very interest it was intended to create. If an author possessed of so much talent can suffer himself to be thus carried away, it is not difficult to understand how impossible it must be for those of an inferior order to resist the obvious temptation to cultivate immediate and startling sensations, rather than to aim at high permanent reputation.

*Chambers's Journal* furnishes one of the most signal examples of the baneful effects of the course at present adopted by our periodicals. It was long one of our most sober, sensible, and instructive publications, not altogether free from tendencies which many deplored, but still, on the whole, conducted with great judgment and propriety. Its

lighter portions in particular were marked by considerable talent, and were admirably calculated to divert and refresh the mind. Unhappily in an evil hour it was induced to follow in the wake of its contemporaries by commencing the publication of serial tales, and recently it has been distinguished by the extremely sensational character of the novels that have appeared in its pages. Sensationalism is the crying literary vice of our times. It has invaded other departments of literature; even theology itself has not wholly escaped its influence, but it is in fiction that it has worked the greatest mischief. Quiet pictures of common every-day life, with their great struggles and practical lessons, are at a discount, and there is an incessant craving for excitement. However it may seem to be in harmony with the spirit of the times, it is undoubtedly only a temporary mania from which there is sure to be reaction, and perhaps very sudden and violent reaction; but for the present the current appears to be so strong that even writers of a higher stamp are carried away, and deface the beauty of their works by the introduction of some element of this kind. Mrs. Oliphant does her spiriting very gently, but even she does not altogether abjure the common practice, and her *Chronicles of Carlingford*, though depending for their effect upon very different qualities, have their sensational portions, which are rarely more out of keeping than in her pages. Whatever may be thought of the theological tone of *Salem Chapel* and the *Perpetual Curate*, it will not be denied that both would have been works of greater art if the episode of Mr. Vincent's sister in the one, and that of Rose Elsworthy in the latter, had been omitted. They contribute so little in either case to the highest interest of the tale, and might so easily be taken away without any material interference with the main plot, that they would almost appear to have been inserted in deference to the prevailing taste. George Eliot has been still less infected by this tendency, but even she has not wholly escaped. *Felix Holt*, one of the greatest and most remarkable books of the day, if not fatally blemished, is certainly robbed of a great deal of its excellence by her inability to resist the temptation of interweaving a mystery into a tale that, so far from needing such meretricious attraction, is unquestionably degraded by its presence. Apparently our authors have so little reliance upon the discernment and taste of the public to whom they appeal, that they feel as if they could not afford to tell a simple story in a simple style, and, whatever their skill in the delineation of character or the

illustration of principle, dare not rest for success upon these alone.

It would not require much space to demonstrate the inferiority of the sensational story in a literary light, but it is the moral tone of such books which is especially objectionable. Their chief material consists of great crimes—crimes the very mention of which ought to revolt the moral feeling of the reader, but which, when presented so frequently before the mind, and especially with such accessories and surroundings as are, for the most part, to be found in these stories, are tolerably sure to lose something of their native repulsiveness. We have before referred to this point in these pages, but the evil has become so flagrant that we feel it necessary to enter a new and even more emphatic protest. We do not for a moment mean to say that the authors who appear to think that a tale would not be complete unless it contained a bigamy, an elopement, and a murder, are all disposed to extenuate the moral guilt of these offences, or would advise their fair readers to imitate the examples of those extraordinary heroines whom they are so fond of depicting, the beautiful women of elegant figure and golden locks, whose fascinating exterior only hides a subtle brain and a pitiless heart, who play so prominent a part in many of our modern stories, especially those from female pens. But we do say that it is impossible to cultivate extensively this kind of acquaintance—to have the mind engaged and the feelings interested in the plots and machinations of these ruthless schemers, to be almost unconsciously drawn into the habit of regarding such crimes as being neither very exceptional nor very monstrous,—without having the moral nature degraded. It may be said, indeed, that crime, though doubtless made very interesting and piquant, is rarely represented as triumphant, but, on the contrary, as the fruitful source of endless difficulties and troubles to those by whom it is committed; and that these pictures, therefore, serve as beacons to warn the young and inexperienced. As much could be said of the *Newgate Calendar*, which might on these principles be regarded as a very beneficial and moral study. It is hardly, however, the book which Christian parents would like to see their sons and daughters devouring with an eager interest, hurried on from volume to volume in the excitement awakened by the adventures of the remarkable men whose career it relates. Still we hesitate not to say, it would be harmless as compared with many of the novels which find hosts of eager admirers.

Mrs. Henry. Wood is one of the great offenders in this line.

After apparently hesitating for a time between the more sober and the more exciting class of works, and alternating one with the other almost in regular rotation, she appears now to have committed herself entirely to the sensational school. *Elster's Folly*, her last, is decidedly her worst, the least careful and elaborate in plot, the feeblest in style, and in many respects the lowest in moral tone. Yet she has in it a theme which, if wisely and thoughtfully treated, might have yielded great and valuable results. Elster, the hero, is a young man of considerable natural parts, with many noble impulses, with a heart that recoiled from deliberate baseness and crime, but yet so vacillating in purpose and so weak of will, so easily brought under the sway of any stronger nature with which he was thrown into contact, that he was continually led into follies so serious that in their ultimate consequences they became crimes. Such a character might in skilful hands have been employed to enforce lessons to which all would do well to give heed, lessons of sound practical wisdom and moral purpose; but, in order to this, it required delicate and skilful treatment, and Mrs. Wood's is very far from being this. The conduct of the hero, instead of revealing those nicer shades of character which might have been expected, is a compound in about equal proportions of idiocy and wickedness. A man who is the real husband of one woman and the reputed husband of another, while he is at the same time in love with a third, having been married in ignorance to the first, and in simple weakness to the second, while secretly he was sighing over the folly that has separated him from the only one for whom he ever cared, must be either a fool or a monster, and in either case is little fitted to point a moral or adorn a tale. Sometimes we pity him for his feebleness; at other times we condemn him for that innate selfishness which is the root of his moral irresolution, and at all times we feel that his conduct is too remote from that of men in the possession of their ordinary reason to constitute even a salutary and impressive warning.

Mrs. Wood may as well dismiss from her mind the notion that any moral good can arise from such representations. Such works as *The Channings* and *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* may be comparatively tame; but they will secure for her more of the respect of all whose respect is worth having, than those feeble attempts to follow in Miss Braddon's wake, to which she has recently devoted herself. She must surely have met with men and women of a noble type who are neither knaves nor fools, but are possessed of a strength of



character, which under the guidance of right principles, is directed to the accomplishment of worthy ends. How is it that she does not introduce some of these? It would not be complimentary to herself to suppose that she is incapable of describing them, as it is not complimentary to her readers if she believes they have not the taste to appreciate and admire them. In common, however, with a good many other writers, she appears to think that the public relish nothing so much as pictures of thorough-paced villany, unscrupulous, pitiless, and crafty; and hence these form the staples of her story. It is true that this is not the type of character represented in the hero of *Elster's Folly*. He is bad, mainly owing to his weakness, and we feel continually that that weakness is put forth as a plea to awaken a certain degree of sympathy in his favour. It would seem, however, as though it were impossible to write a tale without some one to play a darker part of crime, and this is no exception. The real villain, however, here, as in most of these stories, especially if they are written by women, is a woman. The Dowager Countess, who is the moving spring of most of the intrigues, is about as detestable a piece of selfishness as we have ever had the misfortune to encounter. She is not an Aurora Floyd nor a Miss Gwilt; she has neither their cleverness, nor their daring; she does not venture on bigamy or murder, but contents herself with the lighter offences of forgery and falsehood; in some respects, however, she is more repulsive than these more audacious heroines. Let us add, too, that hers is a portrait which, if somewhat exaggerated in some points, has more numerous prototypes, and may teach a more necessary lesson. We should hope few of our fair friends have such strong predispositions to murder as to need the warning supplied by Miss Braddon or Mr. Wilkie Collins; but the intense all-absorbing selfishness which was developed, though in rather a monstrous style, in the old Countess, is much more frequent, and it may not be unprofitable to see how far it may lead those who still wear the mask of conventional virtue and shrink from great crimes. But in order to the proper effect of such a portraiture, there ought to have been a contrasted picture of beautiful unselfish good. The nearest approach to this is in the case of the Rector's Daughter; but the character lacks force and impression, and in fact only serves to prove, if it proves anything, that the authoress is most at home in the delineation of wickedness. It is not difficult to see the temptation to which she and others yield. Whatever art a writer may possess, it is hardly possible to create a sensation out of



goodness. The gently flowing stream of purity, benevolence, and truth, pursuing its quiet way, and scattering blessings wherever it comes, presents but few attractions to the artist, who finds something more likely to call forth his powers in the wild waves of the tempest wrought sea of fierce and selfish passion, continually revealing some new feature of interest in its ever-changing phases, grand and imposing in the very wreck and desolation which it works. There is, however, a craving in the mind for repose, and he who forgets to minister to it, will, sooner or later, find that he has made a grave mistake. Our sensation-writers ignore this at present, and by their neglect prove that they are not masters of their own craft. The grave, earnest, and reasonable objections of moralists and religionists, grounded on the tendency of their writings, as serving to familiarise the mind with the worst forms of sin, to weaken that instinctive feeling which is one of the safeguards of purity, they will probably treat with little attention. They write to amuse the light-hearted, not to please the maw-worm taste of the Pharisee, they will probably say. They might give more heed, perhaps, if they could be made to understand that they are losing even their power to interest, by detaining their readers for ever in the contemplation of unrelieved wickedness. The better class of minds turn away in quest of something more natural, more pure, and more refreshing; while those who drink most deeply into their spirit, feel that the appetite grows to that which it feeds upon, and craves for something more exciting than they, with the remnants of taste and self-restraint still belonging to them, are prepared to supply.

A book of much greater merit, in every respect, than *Elster's Folly*, is *Armada*. Mr. Wilkie Collins has done more, perhaps, than almost any writer of the day to foster the taste for sensational stories. He is a pure story-teller, spending comparatively little care on anything but his plot; but in his own department he is unrivalled. There is no one who, with more consummate skill, can weave an exciting tale out of the most slight and unpromising materials, leading his reader on from point to point with ever-growing interest, concealing the mystery on which the whole depends, till the proper time for disclosure comes, and, meanwhile, ever dangling it before the eye with an art that tantalises even while it stimulates the curiosity.

Mr. Collins is a clever, and for a time is sure to be a popular, writer; and the moral tone of his books is, therefore, the more to be lamented. In *No Name* he has employed all

his genius so to gild one of the greatest offences a man can commit against the laws of morality and the well-being of society, as to hide its real character and excite sympathy for that which should be visited with stern reprobation. The tale is very powerful; the poison is distilled so subtly that the evil is wrought almost before suspicion is awakened; the art with which the whole is managed is so complete, that the mind unconsciously drifts on into an acquiescence in a state of things, which, were it free from the glamour which the author throws over the mental vision, it would at once condemn. There is no other of Mr. Collins's later books which is open to such serious exception; but we hesitate not to say that the tendency of all of them is to relax rather than to brace the moral tone of the reader.

In *Armada* we have a Miss Gwilt, a portrait drawn with masterly art, but one from which every rightly constituted mind turns with loathing. Is she, we ask, a type of any class to be found in society, or is she simply a horrible monstrosity? Are we to believe that there are women, holding respectable positions, received into honest and even Christian circles, who are carrying on a system of intrigue and wickedness which we have been accustomed to associate with the name of Italy, but which we fondly believed had no existence in this country? Apparently our novelists would have us receive this notion, so determined is the pertinacity with which they go on producing heroes and heroines of this style. Now it is a Count Fosco, now a Lady Audley, now a Miss Gwilt; and, however it may be said, that in these tales the Nemesis rarely fails to overtake the guilty, and that the retribution exacted is sometimes very terrible, it must still be felt that even this is insufficient to remove the impression produced by the continued reproduction of such characters. We go even further, and assert that the tendency of the multiplication of these tales is to create a class of such criminals, if they do not already exist. We can well believe that the writers themselves little calculate the extent of the evil they are helping to produce. They are pleased with present popularity and success; they find they have the power of amusing, and are satisfied to employ it, never pausing to look at the ulterior consequences they may produce in many minds. Not the less certainly, however, do they scatter impressions calculated to shake that mutual confidence by which societies and, above all, families are held together, to abate our love of simple unpretending virtue, in fact, almost to destroy our faith in its reality.

It is only due to the author of *Armada* to say that he does not leave his readers shut up to contact with wickedness alone. *Armada* does develop a great moral truth which cannot be too earnestly or too frequently enforced. It is so rare to find in these books any ethical lesson on which we can dwell with satisfaction, that it is the more incumbent on us to give this the mention it deserves. We think, indeed, it might have been developed in a wiser and healthier manner, that a Miss Gwilt was not necessary, even as a foil to Midwinter and Armada, and perhaps that the familiarity with her evil is more likely to leave a lasting impression on those young and susceptible minds, which ought most carefully to be guarded from such influences, than the spectacle of the good by which it was ultimately overcome. Still, we must acknowledge the presence of this element, and the implied recognition of the power that, notwithstanding the many adverse forces with which it has to contend, secures the ultimate victory for the good.

It may be objected that in judging of these books by their moral and religious tendency, we are ascribing to them too much importance, and testing them by a standard to which they cannot be expected to conform. They are intended, it may be said, only for those lighter hours in which the mind feels the necessity of unbending itself, and if they serve the purposes of recreation, we have no right to complain that they do not accomplish some higher end for which they were never designed. But such reasoning loses sight of some of the most important facts of our mental history. Our opinions and views are not due to any one class of influences, but to an infinite variety of impressions which are continually being made upon us, as much in our seasons of relaxation as in those of more serious and earnest application. We have other teachers besides those whom we distinctly recognise in that capacity, and perhaps the unacknowledged ones are often the most powerful. Their ideas are insinuated, rather than formally inculcated, and they quietly mingle with our currents of thought without being challenged and examined, as are opinions more elaborately set forth. They come to us when we are off our guard, and they gain their place and position before we have begun fairly to discuss them. These books of relaxation are, therefore, just those which need to be most carefully watched. They are instructors as well as entertainers, informal teachers, indeed, but not therefore less influential, and we have a right to demand of them that they show what spirit they are of, so that if we cannot altogether

commend, and perhaps cannot altogether shut them out, we may at least provide some prophylactics and correctives. Besides, many, we might say most, of these writers, are in the habit of dealing, more or less, with moral and religious questions, and with the latter especially, in the most unfair, ungenerous, and mischievous style. They announce no definite opinions—probably having none to announce—and the general tendency is to create the idea that there is no special value attaching to creeds, and no great power residing in spiritual emotions. They ignore almost completely the action of religious principles and impulses, and when they refer to them at all it is for the most part to pour upon them ridicule and contempt.

It is this spirit which prompted a writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* to occupy himself with an elaborate arithmetical computation of the number of sermons delivered every year, with the view of showing the immense waste of time, thought, and energy involved in the continuance of the present habit of preaching; this inspires the continual sneers in which the *Saturday Review*—never more keen and sarcastic than when dealing with ministers of the Gospel—indulges; and this leads certain quasi-philosophers, some of whom may be found even in the ranks of Christian Churches, to speak with hardly suppressed scorn of “popular preachers.” We should not pause, even if we had space, to defend the pulpit against these assailants; and it is the less necessary because the very bitterness and pertinacity of the attacks may be fairly accepted as the most certain testimony to the power of the institution against which they are directed. If the pulpit were really the feeble and obsolete thing which it is represented, if preachers were generally either poor twaddlers or wretched deceivers, if the great majority of sermons were listened to with simple weariness and produced no result whatever; if, in short, the pulpit only continued to exist at all because of the difficulty of dislodging a superstition round which the hoar of a venerable antiquity has gathered, we should have few of these sarcasms. It is the power of the pulpit which constitutes its real offence. It is because, after all the clever caricatures and cruel calumnies directed against preachers, large numbers of men will persist in believing that they are not mere actors, and that the preaching of the Gospel is something essentially different from the performance of an opera, that the attack is renewed again and again. We would charitably hope that those by whom such charges are indited have never had the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the men whom they

thus hold up to ridicule, so as to understand their real motives and characters. Ignorance, indeed, is but a poor excuse for those who might reasonably be expected to understand the things and people of whom they write, but it is a venial transgression as compared with the gross misrepresentation of which otherwise they must be convicted. Whether, however, it be to ignorance or malevolence that such portraits are due, the effect is alike injurious; and it surely would be well for Christians to consider how far it is right for them to allow their children to be exposed to influences so calculated to diminish the respect in which religious men and institutions ought ever to be cherished.

Mrs. Oliphant is a writer of a very different stamp from those already described, but she seems equally incapable of appreciating the motives and principles of spiritual life. She is anything but a sensational writer, although she has occasionally been tempted out of her own proper line into that which at present is more popular; but, as we have already said, her ventures in this direction have been invariably attended with ill-success. Her strength lies in representations of ordinary life, and she would do wisely if she confined herself entirely to them. Her works would gain immensely in coherence, consistency, and real force if everything in the spasmodic view were rigidly struck out of them. The "Thursday evenings" at Miss Majoribanks', the little parties, and even more, the *petits soupers* at Mrs. Tozer's, the conference between Mr. Wentworth's maiden aunt, the scenes at the Hall and Vicarage, occasioned by the Romish proclivities of the Rev. Guy Wentworth, the various talks among the gossips of Carlingford, are done with marvellous cleverness; and if there is a slight exaggeration, it is not more than might be safely predicated and ought to be readily condoned. Pre-Raphaelite artists are apt to paint the skies rather blue, and to give the grass a deeper green than it ever wears; and if Mrs. Oliphant has fallen into the same error, and makes vulgarity a little too snobbish, and inanity rather too empty and heartless, we must not be too severe in our critical condemnation of sketches which, taken as a whole, are wonderfully truthful and effective. The art with which she has thrown interest around Carlingford, a very common-place town with extremely common-place people, just the sort of people, in fact, that one might be sure of meeting in any third-rate provincial town into which he might be cast, is worthy of all praise. She has succeeded, by means of pure genius, in giving her readers an intimate knowledge of, and personal interest in, its little local celebrities. We

know the succession of its rectors and of its Dissenting ministers too; we feel as if, were we thrown into it, we could at once find our way into its aristocratic lane and its more vulgar business streets; we could point out the surgery of Dr. Majoribanks, or the shop of old Elsworthy, or the respectable mansion out of which the pretty Miss Woodhouse used to issue on her errands of mercy; we have before our mind's eye an exact picture of Salem Chapel, contrasting in the simplicity of its old barn-like architecture with the more ancient parish church and the more pretentious and ecclesiastical St. Roques. In thus digging into the almost unpenetrated strata of English middle-class life in a small country town, Mrs. Oliphant has discovered a vein of great richness which she has known how to work to the best advantage. To a less minute observer and less practised artist the opening would not have been of the slightest value, for in his hands the portraits would have been too dull and common-place, and the incidents too monstrous and wearisome, to have been at all attractive. But our authoress knows how to discriminate between even the minutest shades of difference, and to reproduce them with astonishing reality. Her pictures have all the correctness of photographs, and if they are not wholly free from their hardness, are so carefully finished that they have a good deal of beauty.

It is impossible, however, for Mrs. Oliphant to depict that of which she has no accurate knowledge herself, and hence her representations of religious men and their doings, and still more their motives, are singularly superficial and unsatisfactory. We have no idea that she intends to be unfair. She has doubtless her own preferences, liking (if we are able to judge at all) the Churchman better than the Dissenter, and the High Churchman better than his Evangelical brother; the reason for her feeling being the same in both cases, the superior respectability and moderation of her favourite over his rival. Still we do not believe she would knowingly allow herself to be unfairly influenced. She seems to have "got up" religious parties and their distinctions much as a novelist intending to write a romance of the Middle Ages "gets up" the costumes, manners, and general characteristics of the period. She has the sense to perceive that among the middle classes of a country town the affairs of their religious communities occupy too prominent a place to be left altogether without notice, and she has therefore sought to learn something about them. But her knowledge is, at best, extremely superficial. No one has painted so many different varieties of ministers, and it



cannot be denied that they present certain general resemblances to the classes they are severally intended to typify, but this is all. Of the real ground of the deep-rooted distinctions between them, of the influences that have united to mould them and make them what they are, of the impulses by which they are chiefly moved and the aims which they seek, she has but a very imperfect conception. If we understand her at all, she is rather disposed to regard these sectarian differences as "Much Ado about Nothing,"—more the result of temperament, or education, or social position, than real conviction. The Tozers are vulgar, fond of patronising their minister, democratic and levelling, from a consciousness of their own social inferiority, yet puffed up with a sense of their own importance, and therefore Dissenters. The Wentworths are refined, cultured, aristocratic in tastes and tendencies; hence they delight in crosses, wax tapers, and all the paraphernalia of modern High Churchism. Of the strong convictions that underlie and regulate the outward peculiarities of both, she takes no more account than if they had no existence at all. Hence her Tuftons and Vincents, her Burys, Beverleys, and Wentworths, though very clever sketches, really contribute very little to a knowledge of the ecclesiastical parties and clerical teachers of the time. Her portraits are nowhere ill-natured, but the general impression left is certainly not a favourable one to religious men; on the contrary, the tendency is to give the idea that Christian ministers are a very weak class, sadly wanting in manliness and, if the truth must be told, in ordinary good sense, miserably deficient in the qualities which would fit them to be guides and instructors of others. Mrs. Oliphant would probably say that she pays its deserved tribute to religious earnestness with whatever party it may be found, that she respects even the scruples of the Romanising vicar of Wentworth, that she does justice to the glowing eloquence and youthful enthusiasm of Mr. Vincent, that she recognises the honest and self-denying work done by the devotees of St. Roques, and that her great aim has been to inculcate a spirit of wider toleration by leading each party to see something of its own deficiencies and of the excellences of its opponents. All this is good enough, but unhappily the tendency is to produce a feeling of general indifference to anything beyond the maintenance of that external religious decorum which respectable society holds to be essential, a kind of spiritual dilettantism fatal to faith, love, and earnestness.

"Miss Majoribanks" is occupied mainly with more secular



matters. The heroine is a clever woman, who seeks to make herself a position as the leader of the fashions at Carlingford, and the story is filled up with accounts of her little devices to conciliate general support to rivalries she awakened, the difficulties against which she had to struggle, and the tact with which she was able to overcome them. If it were necessary to have a fresh illustration of the petty troubles and equally petty joys of the world, if we wanted a new sermon on the old texts, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," "The labour of the foolish wearith every one of them;" if we sought fresh corroboration of the truth that "he who liveth in pleasure is dead while he liveth," we might certainly find all this here. The pictures of a society which is "thoroughly of the earth, earthy," are striking and, if saddening, instructive in the highest sense. The utter emptiness and hollowness of a life which owns no high principle and leads on to no enduring end, which is unwilling to find place even for the influences of a pure and honest affection lest it should interfere with the designs of a small ambition, is here exposed with great art and power. "Miss Majoribanks" has no vices, and is free even from the government of strong passions; she is elegant, accomplished, lady-like, and in every way fitted to shine in the gay circles of fashion; she has that success which a desire to please and the untiring exercise of the art of pleasing is tolerably certain to secure, yet there is nothing to tempt any one to follow in her course. The tale would have been eminently useful if it had pointed out some more excellent way. As it is, the effect is depressing. Politics, business, science, social life, religion itself, appear to be only so many toys with which different classes occupy themselves for a time, but none of which yield any very high or satisfactory results. The clergyman of the story is Archdeacon Beverley, and he certainly fails to impress us with the idea that he has any nobler object or is inspired by any grander motives than the poor groundlings with whom he is associated. He is more precise and formal, more pompos, more inclined to stand upon his dignity, but hardly more attractive or more estimable than his companions. He is a "Broad" Churchman, a school on which Mrs. Oliphant has not touched before, and which, so far as giving any light as to its principles or peculiarities is concerned, she might just as well have left untouched now. In fact, we should doubt whether she has herself formed any very clear idea of the position which it actually holds. If we were to take our impressions from this work, we should define a Broad Churchman as one who believes every-

thing in general and nothing in particular, and whose rule of life is of a very liberal and accommodating kind, and who has a particular mode of speaking and acting—"his own Broad Church way"—though what that may be we are left to conjecture, for hardly a hint is given on the subject. The description of this worthy dignitary, who hoped to become a bishop if Carlingford should be made into a bishopric, is not very minute, and, so far as it goes, not very flattering to the party to which he belonged. The Broad Church way appears to have very much to do with the outward deportment, for in one place we are told "he fixed his eyes on the ground and entered, meditatively, without looking where he was going, in his own Broad Church way;" and on another occasion, when the unfortunate man had occasion to "wipe the moisture from his forehead," we are told that Miss Majoribanks "remarked at the moment that he had a Low Church look which she would not have expected from him;" nay, it seemed to be questionable whether such a fearful thing as wiping the forehead did not go beyond the follies of the Low Church, for it is added, "it was a very Low Church, not to say Dissentish, sort of thing to do." This certainly is a new badge of distinction for ecclesiastical parties. Mrs. Oliphant would not write such nonsense if she was dealing with the subject with which she was thoroughly conversant. Her ideas of the Broad Church, however, are of the most hazy, as will appear from the more detailed sketch of the Archdeacon:

"For there could be no doubt that he was Broad Church, even though his antecedents had not proclaimed the fact. He had a way of talking on many subjects which alarmed his hostess. It was not that there was anything objectionable in what he said—for, to be sure, a clergyman and archdeacon may say a great many things that ordinary people would not like to venture on—but still it was impossible to say what it might lead to; for it is not everybody who knows when to stop, as Mr. Beverley in his position might be expected to do. It was the custom of good society in Carlingford, to give a respectful assent, for example, to Mr. Bury's extreme Low Churchism—as if it were profane, as it certainly was not respectable, to differ from the Rector—and to give him as wide a field as possible for his missionary operations by keeping out of the way. But Mr. Beverley had not the least regard for respectability, nor that respect for religion which consists in keeping as clear of it as possible; and the way in which he spoke of Mr. Bury's view wounded some people's feelings. Altogether he was, as Mrs. Chiley said, an anxious person to have in the house; for he just as often agreed with the gentlemen in their loose ways of thinking, as with the more correct opinions by which the wives and mothers, who had charge of their morality, strove hard to keep them in the right way; and that

was the reverse of what one naturally expected from a clergyman. He was very nice, and had a nice position; and, under all the circumstances, it was not only a duty to pay attention to him, but a duty from which results of a most agreeable character might spring; but still, though she could not be otherwise than kind, it would be impossible to say that it was out of personal predilection that Mrs. Chiley devoted herself to her guest. She admitted frankly that he was not like clergymen were in her time. For one thing, he seemed to think that every silly boy and girl ought to have an opinion and be consulted, as if they had anything to do with it—which was just the way to turn their heads and make them utterly insupportable.”

We need not say that we are not champions of the Broad Church principles; but it is unfair to write of any religious party after this fashion. It is not thus that George Eliot deals with subjects of this character. Of the general merits of *Felix Holt*, her last book, it is not our purpose here to speak at length; but we are bound to commend the care with which she has sought to understand the exact points of difference between the various religious parties to whom she refers, and the accuracy with which she describes them, and let us say, too, the sincere respect which she shows to true goodness wherever she finds it. Churchmen, Independents, General Baptists, are all introduced in the course of the present story, and none of them have reason to complain that they are treated with intentional injustice. There are some capital hits which, though they are too pungent to be altogether relished at first, contain an amount of truth which it would not be wise to ignore, especially considering that it is not spoken in an unkindly spirit. Here is an excellent little bit, and it is the only one which we have space to introduce. “That is Lyddy’s fault, who sits crying over her want of Christian assurance, instead of brushing your clothes and putting out your clean cravat. She is always saying her righteousness is filthy rags, and really I don’t think that is a very strong expression for it. I’m sure it is dusty clothes and furniture.” We are never the worse for being reminded of the importance of practical religion. The only danger is, lest in the protest against a faith without works, there should be an attempt to have works without faith, and, looked at from our point of view, this is the great defect of *Felix Holt*. Goodness, and goodness of a very high pattern, too, is described and commended; but though we find it most conspicuous in some religious men, we do not feel that it is the necessary outcome and natural result of their deep religious convictions. On the contrary, we can hardly help receiving

the free impression that their religion is regarded rather as an evidence of weakness than as the source of all their strength. Thus Rufus Lyon, the Independent minister, is a perfectly unique and striking portrait, as unlike the Chadbands and Stiggins of Mr. Dickens or the Vincents of Mrs. Oliphant as a portrait by Sir J. W. Gordon is unlike the wretched daub we sometimes see on the walls of a millionaire, whose taste has not kept pace with the advance in his material wealth. His self-denying zeal, his passionate love for learning, his thorough consecration to his work, his singular simplicity of spirit and life, are very beautiful and are admirably drawn. Independents ought to be thankful to so accomplished a writer for the pains she has taken in depicting one of the class of men to whom they owe so much, and may reasonably profit by the kindly hints she gives as to their mode of treating such earnest workers. At the same time they will feel that there is a defect in the representation. The intense sincerity, depth, and beauty of Mr. Lyon's piety is fully recognised; but still we can hardly help feeling that the writer looks upon it as rather overstrained, as something which is quite as much fitted to excite our compassion as our respect, and the idea is strengthened by the mode in which *Felix Holt* deals with religious questions. In short, we must not conceal from ourselves the fact that, even with novelists most disposed to treat Christians and their work fairly, there is, for the most part, a deep-seated dislike of what they regard as mere dogma. They would have holy lives, and they do not see the connection between them and a pure Scriptural creed, and the error is so popular and so ensnaring that there is the greater need the more earnestly to warn the young against its delusions. It may be that, in some sections of the Church especially, the neglect of the ethical side of Christianity has induced a feeling of antagonism to that dogmatic truth which has been presented, not too decidedly and too earnestly, but too exclusively, and without a sufficient regard to its practical issues. Christian teachers will do well to profit so far by their observation of this as to give their exhibitions of the truth a greater completeness, and while resolutely holding fast by the doctrines they have received, to insist that the most convincing evidence of the Divinity of the doctrine is to be found in the beauty and holiness of the lives they fashion.

*Felix Holt* contributes some excellent additions to George Eliot's gallery of characters. Mrs. Holt, with her extraordinary ideas about Scripture and its interpretation, and her singular faculty of discovering some text to suit the purpose

of the moment, talks almost as amusingly, if not quite as profoundly, as the illustrious Mrs. Poyser. "I was born," she tells the unfortunate minister who had listened to her interminable talk, "in the General Baptist conviction, and as for being saved without works, there's many, I dare say, can't do without that doctrine; but, I thank the Lord, I never needed to put myself on a level with the thief on the cross. I've done my duty, and more, if anybody comes to that; for I have gone without my bit of meat to make broth for a sick neighbour, and if any of the church members say they have done the same, I'd ask them if they had the sinking at the stomach as I have." Equally good in her own way is Lyddy, the sharp, shrewd, somewhat satirical, but thoroughly good Lyddy, Mr. Holt's devoted servant. Parson Jack, with his *bonhomie*, his absolute devotion to his family, and his equally complete indifference to principles, is one of the cleverest portraits of the book. It is but fair to remember, however, that the writer lays her scene more than thirty years ago, and that both clergymen and Dissenting ministers are widely different from what they were at that time. Parson Jack has few counterparts left, and there are fewer of the Debarry class than was the case in the last generation. As a picture of the times immediately succeeding the Reform Bill, the book is remarkably faithful and instructive. Its greatest blot is the introduction of Mr. Transome's strange, repulsive, and, in our judgment, most improbable story.

A story from the pen of a clergyman of high repute, like the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and especially an historical tale, from the Regius Professor of Modern History, at Cambridge, might fairly be expected to be distinguished from the common ruck of the novels of the season, alike in artistic excellence and in Christian tone. We regret to say that so reasonable an expectation is certainly not fulfilled in the case of *Hereward the Wake*. As a story, it is dull and wearisome in the extreme; as a lesson on life, it is essentially defective and mischievous. There are, undoubtedly, materials sufficient for the construction of an interesting historical romance out of the records of that period of transition and disorder which followed the Norman Conquest, and there were heroic deeds done in resistance to the invader's power worthy of the artist's utmost skill; but Mr. Kingsley has sacrificed all such advantages in his desire to depict the achievements of a rude savage, and exalt him into a hero. Mr. Kingsley writes in his "own Broad Church way," as Mrs. Oliphant has it. He is a muscular Christian, and of course the heroes whom he

loves to honour belong to the same illustrious school ; but, unfortunately, each new creation exhibits degeneracy. There was something very touching about Amyas Leigh ; and Tom Thurnall, if less attractive and with faults less to be excused, considering the times in which he lived, had still a noble and generous nature ; but we are at a loss to see what to admire in Hereward, except mere physical courage and daring. He was a coarse drunkard, who sullied the glories of his victories by his revellings and excess ; he was a cold-blooded sensualist, who abandoned a noble-minded and long-suffering wife, who had sacrificed her all, country, friends, treasure, personal comfort, and imperilled her very life for him ; he was a recreant even to the country which he professed to serve ; yet this is the man, forsooth, whom Mr. Kingsley is permitted in the pages of a periodical, edited by one so honoured as Dr. Norman Macleod, to hold up to the admiration of the young men and maidens of England.

From first to last the tale is a glorification of simple brute force, unrelieved by any high genius, and undirected to any grand patriotic object. And this, we suppose, is muscular Christianity ! Let us say at once that we are not insensible to the importance of some points of his teaching. We have no sympathy with the namby-pambyism and sentimental dreaming, both in religion and politics, against which Mr. Kingsley has always so earnestly protested. We believe that an ascetic contempt for the body is as un-Christian as it is unphilosophical, and that an attention to physical law, and to the cultivation of that health and vigour which may render us capable of rendering good service to God and man, is essential to the completeness of our religion. But we do not, therefore, conclude that great strength and prowess, capability of endurance or gymnastic skill, are necessarily religious, or that athlete and Christian are convertible terms. We do not believe that in the present condition of our humanity, the world is ever to be governed on any rose water theory ; and, unfortunately, we do not see any signs of the dawn of that era of universal peace and charity, whose advent some sanguine prophets were a few years ago so fond of predicting. But, on the other hand, we cannot regard war as anything but a terrible calamity ; nor can we exult in deeds of sanguinary violence, often as purposeless as they were cruel. Mr. Kingsley's teachings were, undoubtedly, a reaction from an opposite extreme, and to a certain extent commanded our sympathy ; but the vehemence of his own feelings, unrestrained by those correcting influences which we might have



supposed, would have exercised great sway over him, have carried him to lengths from which we should have hoped that, as a man of taste and refinement, not to say as a minister of the Gospel of Peace, he would have recoiled. Some of the chapters in the present tale would have been admirably suited to the columns of journals which chronicle with a special gusto every detail of those horrible prize fights, the interest in which these apostles of muscular Christianity have done much to revive, but are singularly out of keeping with the professed aim and established reputation of *Good Words*. We have only to compare this extraordinary rhapsody with some of the tales that have appeared in the same journal, with, for example, the editor's own less elaborate but equally manly and far more healthful story of the *Old Lieutenant*, with Mrs. Craik's *Mistress and Maid*, or with Alexander Smith's novelette in the same volume, to be made thoroughly conscious of the intellectual, as well as moral, inferiority of this *Hereward*. If, indeed, it had had to trust to its own intrinsic literary merits, the book would have fallen still-born from the press, and even now, with all the prestige derived from Mr. Kingsley's great name, we doubt whether it will find many readers. The legends and traditions about white bears, Cornish giants, the mare Swallow, the magic armour, the sword Brainbiter, and all the rest of it are not particularly entertaining, and the idea of their being light reading must be regarded by most novel readers as a very sorry joke.

Mr. Kingsley would, probably, tell us that he never intended to represent Hereward as the type of a Christian hero; that, on the contrary, he distinctly points out how much of the old savage and heathen element there was in his character; that he is described as having "never felt the influence of that classic civilisation, without which good manners seem, even to this day, almost beyond the reach of the white man," and still more as "godless, sceptical of Providence itself," and withal strongly tainted by a dark superstition. Still, he is throughout the hero of the story, towering with all his vices above his compeers as the noble English champion. His brutal deeds are recorded without shuddering, if not even with a sort of grim satisfaction, and the impression is certainly conveyed, that though his coarseness, and drunkenness, and, above all, his disloyalty to his wife, were deserving of keenest censure and punishment, yet his feats of daring, accompanied though they were often by barbarous cruelties, were so worthy of admiration, that if his great offences were not to be condoned, yet they were to be treated with leniency because of



his dauntless courage, his marvellous prowess, and his love of English liberty. The feeling with which the author regards him is to be judged from the concluding passage relative to this fierce, ungoverned, sensual hero. "They knew not that Hereward was alive for evermore, that only his husk and shell lay mouldering there in Crowland choir, that above them and around them, and in them, destined to raise them out of that bitter bondage, and mould them into a great nation, and the parents of still greater nations in lands as yet unknown, brooded the immortal spirit of Hereward, now purged from all earthly dross—even the spirit of freedom, which can never die." What may be the exact meaning of this wild rhapsody we do not profess to determine; for we are certainly at a loss to find any interpretation by which it can be reconciled either with Christianity or common sense. It appears to us a poor parody on the song of the American War—

"John Brown is dead,  
But John Brown's spirit is marching on."

But in this there was some sense, for John Brown, by teaching and example, had kindled a spirit of enthusiasm and reverence for the rights of humanity, of resolution to break the chains of the slave, and overturn the power of the oppressor, which directly led to the election of Abraham Lincoln. But what is the spirit spoken of by Mr. Kingsley, which in one clause appears to be the "immortal spirit" of Hereward himself, "purged from all earthly dross" (where, how, and when we are left to conjecture), and in the next the spirit of freedom. In either case we equally object to the implication contained in the passage, in the one on theological and moral, in the other on historical, grounds. We should be sorry, indeed, to believe that the spirit of English freedom was incarnated in such a wild, lawless Berserk as Hereward, as we are certainly unprepared to endorse the theology which teaches that such a life as his was followed by an immortality of blessedness. But, perhaps, we are going too far when we attempt to extract any serious or rational meaning from such a piece of idle rodomontade and bombast.

On one point, however, we are bound to be clear. Such teaching may be very attractive to a certain class of young men; its high-sounding words about virtue and purity, and self-restraint, and fearless courage in vindication of the right, may deceive the unwary, but Christian teaching it is not. It insists upon one class of virtues to the depreciation

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and neglect of others quite as necessary, and it ministers to the growth of a spirit in decided antagonism to a Gospel whose highest blessings are reserved for the meek, the merciful, the peacemakers—its tendency is to justify the strong in their aggressions upon the rights and privileges of the weak. Its only logical outcome, however Mr. Kingsley may fail to perceive it, is to establish the most devilish of all maxims, that “might is right;” from first to last it fosters that “pride of life” which is “not of the Father, but is of the world.”

Broad Churchism has found another and more formal exponent in the anonymous author of *Beyond the Church*, who has undertaken to satirise the different parties within the Established Church, in order to justify the course of one who ultimately breaks loose from all his moorings and drifts away into a state of religious independence, which abjures all dogma and renounces fellowship with every sect, but still seeks to maintain a life of consistent practical godliness. The novel is one which deserves careful attention, as a very significant specimen of the kind of thoughts and feelings at present fermenting in the breasts of many young men. As a story, it is not particularly clever. Indeed, the plot is not the essential part of the book, being constructed manifestly for the sole purpose of introducing certain characters necessary to the working out of the ulterior idea the writer has in view. There is a great deal of smartness, to say the least, in the hits at some of the Church parties, and in the sketches of University life a vividness, truthfulness, and power which must produce impression. But it is in its keen and cutting sarcasms on the inconsistencies that mark respectable religionists, in its portraiture of clerical character, in its bold and daring comments on Christian dogma, that the power of the book consists. Before he became a free-thinker, the hero, a young Oxonian destined for the Church, had been a free-liver; but when the deepening earnestness of his character led him to examine the foundations of the faith, and, as the result, to doubt as to the rightfulness of subscription, he soon found that his father, a rector of the old port-wine and fox-hunting schools, would not treat these vagaries of opinion with the same tolerance which he had previously extended to his breaches of the moral law. With caustic and not altogether undeserved bitterness, therefore, he complains at a time when his refusal to take orders had clouded all his earthly prospects, led to his expulsion from his father's house, and exposed him to uni-

versal obloquy,—“I find that while I was a mere heathen and cared nothing about religion, no one was shocked, or said a word; since I have begun to try, and think, and act aright, all my friends reproach me.” There is also considerable justice in the description of the way in which the clergy deal with the formularies to which subscription is required. “He found that each guest read and interpreted the *carte* differently; then generally each selected his own favourite, or if he could not find it, called some other by that name, and then vowed *it was* in the *carte*. He found that many never looked at the bill of fare, but ate at random—that some said all dishes were to be found at the Church’s banquet, if you only know where to look; others that many viands were actually noxious and indigestible, and ought to be expurgated. So the end was frequent disputes and quarrels, and the unhappy *carte* being flung at the head of some guest.” No doubt the author here hits the weakest point of the Anglican Church; but if he wanted to reconcile men to the existing state of things, he could hardly have done it more effectually than by conducting his hero into a state of mere negation in reference to all distinctive beliefs.

The book abounds in sketches of the clergy of different classes, professedly taken from real life, and giving us, if we are to accept them all as genuine, a considerable insight into the penetralia of Anglicanism. But such artists are apt to overdo their work, and it is so here. The fiercest enemy of the Church of England will hardly believe that the Rector of Easimore, who had as much religion as a Zulu and as much feeling as a stone, is really a sample of a large class; or that the generation to which he belonged has only disappeared to make way for another of whom the Rev. Cyril Ponsonby is a fitting representative. The sketch of Marbecke is clever enough, and is, we fear, only too truthful an exposure of the spirit that animates too many wielding considerable influence at Oxford. The whole tone of the book, however, is irreligious; and the episode of Mr. Harcourt, if not absolutely immoral, decidedly low in tone and loose in principle. Fordyce loses all faith in the Christian system properly so called; he becomes a zealous devotee of science, and an earnest worker for the social and sanitary improvement of the poor; for, “most important of all, he perceived how that a man, desirous of benefiting the lower orders, must commence by improving their social and sanitary condition before preaching heavenly truths to their minds, and that science must be the pioneer

of Christianity." And this is the point to which the cold indifference of one class of the clergy, the Romanising puerilities of another, and the loose, illogical, often un-Christian, if not positively anti-Christian liberalism of a third, are driving a large number of thoughtful young men. We like neither the spirit nor the teaching of the book ; we are not captivated by its smart cleverness, but we accept it as an exhibition of the operation of some of the mighty influences which are at present hindering the progress of evangelical truth among us, and a reminder of the responsibility resting on all who desire earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. And this, perhaps, is one of the main uses of such books in general. They are a kind of barometers, whose indications we must study with thoughtfulness and care, if we would know what currents of feeling are stirring the popular mind, and be prepared to meet them with wisdom and effect.

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ART. V.—*La Guerre et la Crise Européenne.* Par MICHEL CHEVALIER. Paris: Garnier Frères, 6, Rue des Saints-Pères. 1866.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the events which are about to create a new Germany, to change the face of Europe, and to go farther towards the establishment of a real balance of power among the leading nations of the Old World than anything that has happened in modern history.

It has been observed with truth that wars in Asia are sometimes productive of great changes in a short space of time, while those of Europe have been generally long and yet comparatively barren of results. This is owing to the strong individuality and vitality of the races of Europe, and their consequent power to resist conquest and assimilation by strangers. We have now, however, reached a crisis in which considerable changes in the political geography of Europe also have been effected by short though bloody struggles. Coinciding as those changes do with ethnographical and, to a certain extent, with religious demarcations, they are apparently destined to be permanent, for the same reason that caused them to be so speedily brought about; instead of being so many laborious efforts against their nature, they have been wrought in the direction pointed out by the natural aspirations of the peoples concerned. The short Italian campaign of 1859, awakening Italy from the sleep of ages and giving her political existence, has had more effect upon the map of Europe for the future than all the wars of Napoleon I. The few days' shock between the armies of Protestant Prussia and Catholic Austria upon the upper waters of the Elbe has not indeed given Germany its definitive shape, but has set that shape within sight and reach, making its attainment, humanly speaking, certain. The incalculable sufferings of the Thirty Years' War secured an all-important yet barely negative end—they saved German Protestantism from threatened extermination; the seas of blood shed during the wars of the first French empire were the price of Europe's triumphant reaction against the ambition of Napoleon, but the campaign of 1866 has determined the supremacy of Protestantism in Germany,



and it has interposed an effectual obstacle to attempts at universal empire by any future rulers of France. Thus the treaties which are being negotiated while we write, and will, we hope, be satisfactorily concluded before these pages meet the reader's eye, will be distinguished by results complementary of those concerned in the treaties of Westphalia and Vienna, but positive and far more decisive.

To speak thus is to confess that we are among those who can look upon the weakening of the house of Hapsburg with equanimity, and we do so without any qualms of conscience. Our past alliances with Austria were dictated by expediency on both sides. It was our common interest that she should serve as a check upon the ambition of both France and Russia, and she was under tacit obligation to that effect towards us and towards all central Europe. So far as Russia was concerned, she proved unfaithful to the compact; in all other respects she was overpaid for her services, and she has used her power and her opportunities in a way with which no friends of liberty and Protestantism should sympathise.

The readiness with which the British Government, press, and people have acquiesced in the humiliation of an old ally, has been much criticised in France and in some other countries. It has been called a mean and ungenerous homage to mere success; we have been converted by the needle-gun, forsooth; what was wrong yesterday becomes right in our eyes to-day when we perceive in it any advantage for ourselves, and we waste no time in weeping over the vanquished. To all this we can reply that the advantages we see in the new state of things concern the general interests of Europe, and not those of England exclusively, and that the recognition of the beneficial tendency of the events in question involves no judgment as to the merits or demerits of the principal actors.

We cannot profess any very cordial admiration of either William I. or his prime minister. His Majesty remains as before, an arbitrary, narrow-minded, obstinate, old soldier, with the best intentions, but without the least idea of the meaning and conditions of constitutional government. The Count de Bismarck has, so far, gained by the revelations of this summer, that he no longer appears to have trifled with his countrymen's right to self-government merely for the sake of revelling in his absolutism. His internal policy, arbitrary and illegal as it must still be pronounced, was a means towards the accomplishment of a purpose which he was obliged to conceal; his foreign policy, vexatious and arrogant

as it was, came from the determination to put his country in a position which he knew that she was able to occupy, but from which she was debarred by existing arrangements. We will even go so far as to say that in political matters, within certain limits, might does constitute right; that is to say, what is wrong in the abstract, never can become right; but these are steps only to be blamed when undertaken precipitately by those who have not vigour enough to carry them out, and the indignation we feel at an apparently useless perturbation of the peace of Europe may be legitimately changed into satisfaction when some strong hand has averted evils greater than those it inflicted, and has set the public order of Christendom upon a more solid foundation. Notwithstanding these extenuating circumstances, however, we shrink from contemplating the responsibilities involved in the originating of war upon such a scale as that we have just witnessed without absolute and pressing necessity, and we feel that there are stains on the Count de Bismarck's proceedings which can be effaced by no utilitarian considerations. In 1848 he pronounced the attack of the Germans upon the Danes in Schleswig Holstein to be in the highest degree unjust and frivolous, *Ein höchst ungerechtes frivoles und verderbliches Unternehmen*. Fifteen years later he renewed it himself—renewed it ostensibly in support of the claims of the confederation, and then, when Denmark had succumbed, he shifted his ground, and rested the usurpation of the Duchies by Prussia and Austria on the incontrovertible rights of the King of Denmark, which had now been transferred by his formal cession to the conquerors. The same sort of unscrupulous dexterity was exhibited in his method of fastening a quarrel upon Austria, and of preparing for aggression, while professedly arming only in self-defence. He dragooned at home and violated the rights of the Prussian people, that he might play the successful sharper abroad. The liberal party among his countrymen may give him the bill of indemnity that he asks for; but it is a bad precedent at the beginning of their constitutional history that a minister should be allowed to govern for years in a manner confessedly illegal, for secret reasons, and with a view to possible future advantages. The results may reconcile England to such conduct in a foreign statesman; but most assuredly we would not allow it to be tried upon ourselves.

It must be added that the conflicts and the changes of the present crisis were inevitable; they must have occurred sooner or later. M. Chevalier, writing on the eve of the explosion

and strongly deprecating it, complains that Europe was like a ship drifting into the horrors and financial ruin of war without any real necessity. Like Napoleon III. he thought a congress could settle everything. Since the work of the Congress of Vienna was gradually going to pieces, European order, he says, rested on no solid foundation, it was at the mercy of incidents, or intrigues, or acts of successful violence. "The larger States are obliged to be constantly on the alert; the smaller are condemned to tremble incessantly; their sovereigns, when they go to bed at night, are not sure of finding their crowns upon their heads when they awake." To this uneasy sense of general instability and of undefined dangers, he rightly attributes the state of armed peace—that prodigious waste of resources, and of the years of millions of men in the flower of life who might otherwise have been employed in reproductive labours—a state which ties chain-shot to the foot of every country in Europe, a dead weight upon all moral and material progress. Neither M. Chevalier nor his master, however, perceives that what the nations of the Continent require is the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations; each nation wishes to be itself, and to be free; it is impatient of absolutism in a native government, and of every foreign government, even the mildest. If new treaties could have satisfied these two aspirations without war, they would have been received as a boon; if not, the whole world would have laughed our diplomatists and their work to scorn, and the state of instability would have been aggravated. Treaties, like other bargains, are only good when men gain by them.

Leaving the question of liberty in abeyance for a moment, there were until 1859 four countries in Europe, the populations of which felt themselves hindered in different degrees from becoming themselves, *i.e.*, realising a national life, and constituting themselves as political unities capable of asserting it. The Christian populations of European Turkey groaned under the sway of a handful of strangers; Poland agonised under the crushing weight of Russia. We can speak of neither here. Italy and Germany had less to complain of, Germany least of all, but the rank occupied by its people among the foremost of the earth disposed them and entitled them to feel peculiarly impatient of a political state out of keeping with their intellectual and general development and paralysing their strength.

France, England, Spain have long since emerged from the chaos of the middle ages as consolidated empires; the several provinces or petty kingdoms that once possessed a

partial or a total independence having melted into one. At a somewhat later period all the Russias underwent the same process. Italy and Germany, on the other hand, remained broken up into separate sovereignties. Both countries suffered thereby the consequence of their own inordinate pretensions. The Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor claimed to rule the world between them. Their perpetual antagonism, variously combined with the intervention of other powers, hindered Italy in the first instance from attaining to national unity: Italy was punished for her usurpation of a false spiritual supremacy by becoming the prey of all the neighbouring nations. The Popes were just strong enough or dexterous enough to prevent other potentates from consolidating the Peninsula into one state, and they never succeeded in accomplishing the task themselves. Germany in its turn was punished for its violences and injustices towards Italy by remaining itself also disunited. Every emperor who made expeditions south of the Alps, especially those of the house of Hohenstauffen, had to secure the fidelity of the great vassals by granting them guarantees of independence and practical sovereignty which his successors were unable to recall. Every Pope on bad terms with the reigning Cæsar raised up some new claimant to the Imperial dignity; and whichever of the rivals proved successful had to purchase the support of the princes, until, to borrow Voltaire's sarcasm, the Holy Roman Empire had the disadvantage of being neither holy nor Roman nor even an empire. The sceptre's becoming hereditary in the house of Hapsburg might have checked this tendency towards the dispersion of the national strength, but that it became so too late; the Reformation had intervened, and the difference of religious communions confirmed the isolation of the several populations. The Protestant States had to watch with jealousy over the means of professing their religion undisturbed, and their continued independence involved that of the Roman Catholic States.

For the last fifty years the only real obstacle to the emancipation of Italy was the iron arm of Austria; and, when Napoleon III. was provoked into breaking the rod of the oppressor, Italy started into life, unity, and liberty—to the astonishment of all men, to its own, and to that of the powerful neighbour who had intended to give Piedmont a province, but became the unintentional instrument of the liberation and reconstitution of a whole nation.

It was now the turn of the Germans to ask themselves

why they should be the last to attain the political unity which seems almost an elementary condition of national life? why the most intellectual people of Europe should be the only one remaining in the helplessness of feudal disorganisation, deprived of the power and influence to which it was entitled by its central position, its numerical strength, its wealth, energy, solid qualities, and high culture?

Here the obstacles to a satisfactory solution of the question were immense, and apparently insurmountable for the present. Of course, the most desirable method of communicating some capacity of motion and action to the unwieldy confederation would have been that of legal and peaceable reform by general consent—the assumption of real powers of self-government by the populations of the several States, and their association in a confederation so constituted, that, in a military and in a commercial point of view, in that of foreign policy, and that of general home interests, the federal relation should be predominant over all forms of sectional independence. The constitution of Switzerland is one of this order, and is found to work so well that it gives close practical unity to populations of different religious communions and speaking three languages. But then Switzerland is a confederation of Republics; its cantons, though unequal, are not so out of proportion with each other that anyone can ever be tempted to brave the rest of the confederation; moreover, it is under no necessity of having any foreign policy except that of keeping out of scrapes. If the power of Switzerland entitled it to the perilous honour of a seat in the council of European potentates, its two religions would soon make questions of foreign policy the occasions of fatal domestic strife.

No German State could be invested with the *hegemonia*, or executive power of the confederation, for that State would be thereby exalted to a real sovereignty over the others, and it would be too much to expect them to consent to this. If, indeed, an unquestioned predominance marked out some one State as the natural claimant of the *hegemonia*, then patriotism might lead the people of the minor States to mediatise their sovereigns and accept the leadership of that foremost member of the confederation. But Germany presented two great rival States with claims that balanced each other: Prussia being the most purely German of the two, and committed to no extra-German interests; Austria, on the other hand, apparently the most powerful, and clothed with the prestige of ancient imperial dignity. Neither

could be expected to yield to the other, and their rivalry was aggravated by difference of religion.

Again, were a really acting executive, instead of being selected from existing sovereigns, to be chosen by general election, as in Switzerland, Germany would have become practically a Republic, and for this, of course, its princes of all dimensions were equally indisposed. Nothing short of a complete, popular, and violent revolution could bring about such a transformation. The Germans were too wise to risk this dangerous and tremendous issue; and, even had they wished it, popular revolutions cannot be the work of conspirators dispersed over an immense surface. They require a focus of preliminary agitation, the signal must be given from some great centre recognised as such, and upon which all eyes are fastened; that is to say, the political unity wanting in Germany must already exist before a general revolution could be possible.

Reform and revolution being thus set aside, two other alternatives might be suggested—partition and conquest. At one time, during the year 1813, Stein and Hardenberg did actually bring Metternich to agree that the two powers should divide all Germany between them, taking the Mayne as their boundary. This would have simplified matters, but not exactly in the sense of German *unity*, and it is well that the project fell to the ground; it would have given the bigoted and despotic Hapsburgs immense power, and that so distributed as to facilitate its prolongation.

The only remaining solution of the difficulty was that by the sword—the complete weakening and humbling of Prussia, or else the defeat of Austria and its exclusion from the Confederation. But Austria seemed too powerful and Prussia too energetic for such a decisive result as either of these to become possible, and the interference of a neighbour strong enough, or complaisant enough, to help the German colossus to become master of its own formidable resources, was hardly to be looked for. In short, whichever way one turned, the issue seemed hopelessly blocked up. The old double-headed eagle was an emblem but too apt of the unwieldy organisation that was unable to put itself under the direction of a single and effective will. Ever muttering its “To be, or not to be,” Germany seemed like a political Hamlet, a satire upon its own habits of thought, conducted to an endless oscillation between *seyn* and *nicht-seyn*. The not having a country of their own in the full sense of the word, and the being thus shut up to literary and scientific pro-



occupations exclusively, may have helped to train the Germans of the present century to their wonderful power of comprehending past and foreign states of mind; but many a proud patriot like Gervinus mourned over the price at which this flexibility and universality were bought.

Under such circumstances it has been indeed a singular dispensation of Providence, and a remarkable illustration of the truth that—voluntarily or involuntarily—men and nations are members one of another, that recently enfranchised Italy should have played such an important part in helping Germany out of the labyrinth in which it was lost. Her ill-commanded battalions and crews fought valiantly at Custozza and Lissa; Bixio and his soldiers have shown the world that the Italians are not a mere people of artists; but, without discussing the relative merits of the men or the arms in the Italian and Prussian armies, it is certain that if there had been peace on the Venetian frontier, Francis Joseph could have had 150,000 more soldiers in the army of the North, and at the battle of Sadowa half the number would have been enough to turn the scale in his favour. If Italy had not been under arms, watching her opportunity, the Count de Bismarck would never have undertaken the war; and, as it was, he only did so when her exhausted finances and waning credit seemed about to constrain Austria to reduce her forces to a peace establishment. Thus, it was only when a German power gave tardy and interested help to long-injured Italy, that the unity of Germany itself began to be constituted.

Venice has been to Austria for the last half-century what all Italy so long proved to Germany—its temptation, its victim, and its punishment. The armies of the French Republic first substituted a short-lived democracy for the old oligarchy that ruled over the Queen of the Adriatic. After that, by the preliminaries of Leoben, General Bonaparte took upon him to cede it to Austria as a compensation for Flanders, and the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. The Directory did not dare to disavow the stipulations of the successful soldier, and confirmed them by the treaty of Campo Formio, without so much as consulting the French Assembly on the matter. Strange practical comment on the *Declaration of the rights of man*, and on all the principles which the French Revolutionists had been assisting! but the early zeal of the French for the Republic and for freedom had been already quenched in blood, and, if M. Quinet does not ante-date Napoleon's schemes of usurpation and conquest, the victorious



General was already taking his measures to prepare as wide an extent of territory as possible to become his own future spoil.

Were we to believe Napoleon's own statement made at St. Helena twenty years after the event, he handed Venice over to Austria "in order to strengthen the patriotism of the Venetians, to prepare their future emancipation, and make them ready by and bye to receive any kind of national government whatever!" Generally speaking, we have very little confidence in the liberalism so freely professed at Longwood; it is too suggestive of the repentance of the lamed and invalided fox in the fable. In the present case, at any rate, Napoleon must have reckoned very much upon the credulity of posterity when he gave utterance to such a barefaced piece of hypocrisy; it is remarkable, however, as a confession that he gave up Venice without any serious intention that it should remain prematurely Austrian. He ceded it to purchase a more valuable possession, but with the intention of resuming it on the first decent opportunity, reckoning meantime upon the beak of the Austrian eagle to tear and macerate the prey, and render it all the fitter for the future easy digestion of France. It is a meet judgment upon the injustice and selfishness of both the contracting powers that the vicissitudes of the poor Venetians have really had the effect, which Napoleon only pretended to anticipate, of preparing them to receive a national government at any price.

The Emperor had no right to cede the Rhenish provinces without the consent of the German Diet; but the house of Hapsburg has always used its "great position in Germany," as the language goes, for the furtherance of its own interest rather than those of the empire.

It was upon this concession of Venice that Napoleon rested his lever, with Machiavellian subtlety, for the gradual disorganisation of Germany. It was stipulated in the treaty of Luneville, which completed and ratified that of Campo Formio, that the princes dispossessed on the Rhenish frontiers, along with those of Tuscany and Modena, should have their indemnity within the limits of the German empire, through the secularisation of the ecclesiastical states, and the mediatisation of many of the smaller secular states. The Emperor of Russia was nominally to share with the First Consul the privilege of acting as umpire over the redistribution of territory; but Napoleon was really the final arbiter of the interests of the princes concerned, and this position enabled him to develop in them a spirit of cupidity and rapacity stifling all

sense of justice, shame, and patriotism, accustoming them to mean solicitation of the stranger and to every base intrigue.

In doing this Napoleon was only following the example of Louis XIV. When the day comes in which Germany shall be finally rid of its royal and august and serene highnesses, and can look back with opened eyes upon its history, it will be astonished at all that its patient people have borne with at the hands of their feudal masters. The Imperial Library at Paris contains a collection of original receipts by which a number of German princes, imitating the baseness of our own Stuarts, certified that they had duly received their pensions from the French treasury. The electors of Hanover, Mayence, Cologne, Saxony, Bavaria, Brandenburg, the son of the Elector Palatine, the bishops of Spire, Strasburg, and Munster, the Duke of Brunswick, the Marquis of Boden-Durlach, the Count of Cassel, etc., figure on these unhappy parchments. Their signatures are there, and—that no seal upon their infamy might be wanting—their arms, blazing in all the pomp of heraldry!

In the redistribution of territory under the auspices of Napoleon, Austria and Prussia had lion's shares; and by this means all the rest of Germany was rendered suspicious of them and hostile. After Jena and Austerlitz the empire was broken up, and both powers excluded from the new confederation of the Rhine. M. Thiers, in his History, lately expressed himself delighted with this combination, and finds it most favourable to the balance of power in Europe! So incorrigibly is the French mind bent upon surrounding France with mere satellites, or at best with weakened neighbours. The French Protestants in general, with a few enlightened and really liberal Catholics and freethinkers, eschew the selfish ambition of war and conquest, and are more solicitous about liberty at home than power to tyrannise abroad; but it is the reverse with the great body of the nation—they comfort themselves for being nothing at home by military renown and political prestige abroad.

The possibility of the German people having a will of its own, or claiming a voice in the disposal of its own destinies, does not seem to have presented itself to the imagination of Napoleon and his contemporaries. But the people awoke to self-consciousness at last amid the countless sufferings and humiliations imposed by the haughty foreigners; the national movement of 1813—14 was wholly their work, for their kings and grand dukes had neither the patriotism, nor the courage, nor the mutual confidence necessary to rouse them up against

the oppressor, and many of them were connected with him by marriages or by the gifts received at his hands. Even the much ill-treated Frederick William III. at first hastened to disavow General Yorck, when, after the retreat from Moscow, the latter had concluded with the Russians a separate arrangement of neutrality for the Prussian troops of the French army of invasion. When the War of Deliverance, as the Germans call it, was over, princes and people were, for one short honeymoon, all in raptures with each other, and full of mutual admiration: on one side abounded promises of liberty and self-government; on the other, vows of lasting allegiance: alas! all these fair visions were dissipated at the Congress of Vienna: Baden and Wurtemberg stuck out for the old system of absolutism in the several States of Germany and independence of each other, and the allied sovereigns and plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna were but too ready to disregard the rights and wishes of the Germans as they did those of all other peoples.

The reconstitution of Europe under the auspices of the Congress of Vienna was founded on no self-consistent principles of abstract right; or rather the monarchs and statesmen assembled there vacillated between the principles which had prevailed during past centuries, and those which were then beginning to shape themselves indistinctly in the minds of men, and have not even yet been fully recognised in theory, still less carried out in practice. It was a policy of expedients, sometimes appealing to the idea of nationality and making use of successful insurrections; at other times, and these the more frequent, disposing of populations just as Bonaparte had done, like flocks of sheep, careless of their wishes, of their remembrances, and of all historical antecedents. Not only is Europe still suffering from the acts of injustice then committed and the acts of reparation omitted, but both its statesmen and its public opinion are more or less labouring under that confusion of thought between contradictory principles of political right which still subsists, and is probably about to disappear under the influence of the events that have taken place and their inevitable consequences.

The feudal system, as it slowly grew up after the barbarian conquests, was founded in the first instance upon the fact that the strongest put themselves in possession of the lands of the weakest, then upon the recognition of this fact by the highest representative of the element of strength and its transformation into hereditary right, and, finally, to complete the ideal, upon the submission of all ranks to the authority of

a pontiff supposed to act as a disinterested arbitrator—a sort of visible tutelary Providence moderating the passions of unruly men.

The transition from this age to that of absolute monarchy was an epoch of calamities and crimes. Louis XI., Ferdinand of Arragon, the Hapsburgs, and the Tudors—all the monarchs of Europe—seemed to have graduated in the school of the petty princes of Italy, the cruel and unprincipled Borgias, Medicis, and their peers. The law of brute force prevailed as absolutely as it had done in the usurpations of the pre-existing system at its origin. The mass of the people, individually less wretched than before, because they were emerging from serfdom, reckoned for nothing in a political point of view; kings played with their subjects as with counters, and each nation was like a rudimentary being whose vital powers were concentrated in one organ. The whole science of international relations was summed up in two maxims—everybody who has it in his power to hurt us is our natural enemy, and anybody who has it in his power to injure this dangerous neighbour is our friend. The gains of any one nation in trade, as in war, were supposed to consist of the losses of others, and frontiers were considered from an exclusively military point of view, as if the world were nothing but one broad field of battle. There was room for no natural right in this system, except that of hereditary succession; internal policy was determined by dynastic, not by national interests; external relations and rights were founded upon positive treaties alone, and these passed between rulers who did not trouble themselves about the consent or participation of their subjects. The free cities, corporations, and privileged bodies, which had come into existence in the previous state, lost their relative power of reaction against despotism. The selfishness and perfidies of the occupants of the Papal chair had deprived them of their controlling political power even before the half of Europe had thrown off their spiritual yoke. In short, there remained no necessity for any saving hypocrisy; no check upon the ambition of any sovereign disproportionately strong, except the union of others in their common interest to resist his aggressions. It was hoped that alliances of this kind, reduced to theory and become traditional, would maintain a balance of power; but how complete a failure the system so-called has been, appears from the simple fact that during 400 years of arbitrary monarchy in Continental Europe, the years of war were nearly as numerous as those of peace.

The Reformation indirectly introduced germs of civil and political liberty into circulation; for the vindication of the supreme claims of God over individual man logically leads to the feeling of the individual's responsibility as an agent, and to the assertion of his value as the Lord's free man. It was in the spirit created by the Reformation that the States of Holland first boldly proclaimed that princes were made for their peoples, and not peoples for their princes. The *cahiers* of the *Tiers Etat* at Orleans in 1561, under influences more or less directly Protestant, asked to have the States-General assembled at regular intervals, called for the suppression of duties upon goods passing from one province to another, and for unity of weights and measures, recommended that priests having care of souls should be chosen as of old by the people, and bishops by the clergy and people, that tribute to Rome should be suppressed, and a college established in every town. Had France persevered in this direction, it would have anticipated its revolution by two centuries, escaped its horrors, and secured it against reaction; it would have put all the elements of its national life, civil, political, and religious, in a state of equilibrium.

Unfortunately for France, she rejected the Reformation. She afterwards at the Revolution attempted to appropriate and to improve the civil and political liberties developed as fruits of Protestantism in Holland, England, and America. The political part of this great experiment has proved a failure in France itself; but, notwithstanding the temporary eclipse, the principle of self-government is being more and more understood, honoured, and practised throughout Europe. It is now, therefore, time for thinkers at least to see that the right of self-government at home draws after it an equivalent revolution in the principles of international right; nations that have assumed their majority have a right to reconsider, and, if needs be, to recall treaties contrary to their true interests, made without their participation by arbitrary guardians. They who govern themselves should be allowed to stipulate for themselves, to make their own arrangements for external relations, as well as for internal legislation. Nay, more than this; they have the right to group themselves in the political circumscriptions that suit their natural affinities and interests as understood by themselves. If the people have a natural right to choose the governors and the form of government they please, how can they be refused the prior right to choose the national unity of which they are to form a part?

Of course if it were to be understood by this that the whole edifice built by preceding generations might be swept away, all historical associations and traditions broken up, all existing relations of human societies called in question until ratified by a series of new sovereign determinations,—if all Christendom were to be reconstructed, and all geographical masses redistributed, at a moment's warning, by the decisions of a ballot-box,—nothing but chaos could come of it; but there is no fear of the world's ever being disposed to try so wild a scheme. We only mean that the public opinion of Christendom tends to sympathise with nations that suffer from treaties they did not themselves negotiate, and with civilised races subjected unwillingly to alien rule. The old principle of vested rights founded on the stipulations of rulers is losing ground before an instinct of natural right, which would throw the world into confusion if attempted to be put in practice universally, immediately, and sweepingly, but will bring about a more contented and stable state when asserted gradually, and only in cases where the contradiction between positive convention and natural right is excessive, and affects large and nearly unanimous masses.

The ideal of civilised society would be the coincidence of positive and natural rights, the former being the expression and formal recognition of the latter—contracts formed by common consent and based on justice, *i.e.*, security for the liberty of each only controlled by respect for the liberty and interests of others—room for the exercise of every capacity, the pursuit of every good, and the satisfaction of every legitimate aspiration. As men are, and will remain, short-sighted and selfish, this ideal can never be attained; but we shall increasingly approximate to it, as society becomes more permeated by vital Christianity, and politicians are actuated by higher principles. A day is coming in which international arrangements, instead of passing as the recognition of successful craft and violence, will be respected beforehand as the dictates of justice in every case, until the contrary has been demonstrated by experience or by incontrovertible reasoning. Dynastic interests may be contrary to each other—and they have been big with wars and calamities—but we now know that real national interests are never contrary to each other, that the good of each is the good of all; therefore, the more dynastic interests are supplanted by national, the less probability there will be of conflict and aggression.

As the nations of Europe and America are now constituted, they present societies bound by certain conditions of common



origin, race and language, religion and manners, historical remembrances, geographical position, productive and commercial interests, and they group or tend to group themselves in political societies, uniting as many of these conditions as possible. Thus nature, history, interest, and consent, in varying unequal proportions, determine nationality. In Switzerland, for instance, common remembrances, interests, and consent are seen to form a really compact confederation of republics, notwithstanding diversities of origin, language, and religion.

We Englishmen are slow to understand the subordination of conventional to natural rights, because we are accustomed in all spheres to fictions that obscure thought, and we have an almost superstitious fear of abstract formulas, not knowing where they may lead us ; we feel less than our French neighbours do the necessity of reconciling our opinions and our practice, and our very practice has been forcibly one-sided, because of the medium surrounding us, for we assert self-government at home, and our Foreign Secretary has generally had to do hitherto with governments who did not consult their peoples. However, the fact that we feel the rights of which we are slow to proclaim the theory, is evident from the light in which the British public has been disposed to consider some of the most important political questions of the last forty years ; that feeling was the secret of the sympathy manifested for Greece, Poland, and Italy, and it is not the less real in cases where it is not so evident at the surface. Whence, for instance, the impatience or the disdainful indifference with which we turned away from the complicated questions of legal right and international jurisprudence involved in the Schleswig Holstein controversy ? We simply felt that the German part of the population ought to be allowed to become Germans, the Danish to become Danes, and so make an end of the matter. Why were many of the most zealous and consistent friends of the United States so little disposed to rest their disapprobation of the Confederate revolt on the technical question of the letter of the constitution being against it ? We felt that this was a mere lawyer's plea ; a nearly unanimous population of six millions had a right to try to assert its separate political existence if it pleased, even by revolution. We only wished the trial to fail because its object was not simple independence, but the forcible extension and perpetuation of slavery. Again, whence the indifference with which we at this moment witness the absorption of Hanover by Prussia ?



It is certain that up to the recent cession of the Ionian Islands, liberal Englishmen felt their conscience burdened by the forcible retention of this small subject population, while neither the Channel Islands, nor India, nor Ireland cost us a moment's hesitation. The reason is evident: the natives of the Ionian Isles are and wished to be Greek; the Channel Islanders, though French by their language, are English by all their associations and interests, and by their choice; India is not inhabited by a nation, but by a medley of races incapable of so much as conceiving the meaning of patriotism, and ready to prey upon each other if left to themselves; Ireland is not a nation, but a diseased member of England; in it, as in the west of England, the highlands of Scotland, and in every colony, Saxon and Celt are indissolubly wedded. It is in the English language that the Irish agitator harangues; it is under the shelter of English liberty that he plies his trade; Irish blood has been shed in all our battles; Irish genius has shone in our senate and in all our literature; the attempt to assert a separate nationality was settled for ever at Derry, and on the Boyne, at Athlone, Aughrim, and Limerick, a century and three-quarters back. The wealthy and the enlightened, with the soundest and most prosperous part of the working classes, are enthusiastically English, and all national hopes of future good for Ireland depend on its union with England.

After this long but not irrelevant excursion upon the domain of principles, we may return to 1815. Napoleon's mathematical genius and despotic temperament alike tempted and helped him to wield the sovereignty of numbers on the field of battle. He availed himself, for his own selfish purposes, both of the force that had been created by the recent enthusiasm for liberty, and of the sort of interregnum that prevailed between the old theory of political right and that which was just beginning to come into existence. He cared as little for formal treaties as for national aspirations, so that no check upon his ambition remained except the despair of the multitudes it armed against him and the unflinching resistance of England. Let us hope his will prove to be the last gigantic effort to imitate the old Roman method of imposing a mortal uniformity by oppression and conquest, instead of realising human unity by liberty and justice. When the Colossus lay prostrate, his conquerors assembled at Vienna had a sort of partial consciousness of the wants of the time. They felt that the Christian nations of Europe constituted one vast body, possessing, to a great extent, the principal elements of homo-

geneousness, adoring the same God, showing in different degrees the same culture ; and they saw that the opportunity then presented of establishing a permanent balance of power was one that had not occurred for centuries. Unfortunately the allied sovereigns saw nothing in the French Revolution except the crimes which had sullied and disfigured it. Animated with the best intentions, they failed to apprehend the principles on which a new order of things might be founded with some hope of stability ; they could not bring themselves to understand that the happiness, order, and prosperity of a people must be essentially its own work ; and, under the influence of the generous but Utopian and theocratically minded Alexander, the so-called Holy Alliance was formed—that mutual assurance of thrones against peoples, which patronised the interference of Austria to crush constitutional government in Piedmont and Naples in 1821, and that of France in Spain, two years later.

The resistance of Canning, supported by the enlightened public opinion of Europe, paralysed the Holy Alliance ; but the imperfections of the treaty of Vienna remained. France was only wounded by it in her self-love, but the Germans had more serious reasons to complain. It was something, indeed, to have the number of their absolute masters reduced to 38, for they had been over 800 before Napoleon I. Moreover, as they were generally governed in a way consistent with their material well-being, they were not wretched enough to lose all patience and break out in rebellion ; the more so that, as has been already observed, there existed no centre from which a revolutionary movement could originate with any hope of success. But they were heart-sick at seeing their country a cypher in the councils of Europe, and at having it supposed that they had no mission to perform except to dissect *coleoptera*, and dispute the existence of Homer. It was humbling to have no voice in the government of their own country, and more humbling still, for the natives of the smaller States at least, to find themselves absolutely without protection when they ventured into distant regions. In short, the Germans could neither change their condition, nor reconcile themselves to it ; they could but slumber or fret alternately under the guardianship of their thirty-eight nurses, and they revenged themselves for this state of political torture by feeling as ungenerously as possible towards all the weaker races in contact with them.

The Zollverein was a first attempt of Prussia to secure by legal and peaceable means a measure of national unity under

its own leadership. It so far entitled itself to the gratitude of Germany, and drew attention to its claims to grasp the *hegemonia*. Germany might, indeed, recognise in the northern power a much fitter representative of its instincts and aspirations than the southern. Prussia was a country in which primary instruction was obligatory and universal, honourably distinguished by intellectual and scientific achievements in every sphere, along with advanced industrial and commercial activity, general prosperity, and a desire for freedom similar to that which existed throughout the whole German Fatherland, but here stronger than elsewhere. Its people were themselves as ambitious as their government of acquiring the direction of the common national energies; they desired to wield the power they sought for purely German objects, and were rendered formidable beyond their numbers by discipline, military organisation, and administrative ability.

No circumstances could be imagined more favourable to the success of a great revolutionary movement than those of 1848, because the simultaneousness of so many insurrections hindered the absence of a common centre from being felt in Germany. But there was all the inexperience of leaders and parties unaccustomed to political life; there were the extremes and Utopias of revolutionists hostile to Christianity, and, therefore, ignorant of themselves and of the conditions in which human nature finds itself, impatient of the imperfections and limitations inseparable from all stages of progress, and disposed to assert their own views and supposed interests without any concession to those of others. Man's freedom is a summons to show what is in him; the freedom that is attained unexpectedly in a time of excitement awakes his slumbering tendencies with equal promptitude and intensity, and so a godless revolution is necessarily the emancipation of selfishness; it lets loose the demon that is in each breast, and then pits them all in internecine antagonism to each other. No sooner had the Frankfort Parliament assembled in 1848, than the masters and the workmen engaged in various trades clamoured against each other, or united to contend for the most absurdly superannuated system of protection. This parliament cheered for Radetzky, applauded De Radowitz when he said the Mincio was the German frontier, procured the incorporation of the Duchy of Posen in the Empire, thanked Windischgratz for bombarding Prague, tried to separate Limburg from Holland, and Schleswig Holstein from Denmark. In a word, the heretofore cosmopolite and good-natured Ger-

mans displayed the most reckless, unscrupulous, and suicidal selfishness towards each of the nationalities with whose interests their own were mixed up—Dutch, Danish, and Polish, Tchek, Magyar, Croatian, and Italian! After passing half a century in discussing the *ego* and the *non ego*, says a publicist, they showed a marvellous incapacity to distinguish between *meum* and *tuum*.

The episode of the mismanaged Schleswig Holstein crusade was especially fatal in its consequences, because it drew away attention from matters that should have been settled first of all; and, by revealing the weakness of armed mobs when not fighting behind barricades, it proved that the help of the princes and their armies was necessary. Frederick William IV. tried to obtain from the princes by negotiation the dignity and a part of the power which he scrupled accepting at the hands of the parliament; but the weakness, and the sterile and endless discussions, divisions, and rivalries of the popular leaders encouraged resistance. The upper classes were terrified by the socialism of certain agitators; religious men, and even the public, were disgusted by the impiety of others; and at last the high-handed intervention of Russia in Hungary restored the second head of the eagle. The great opportunity was lost. The irritated and disappointed people of Germany found themselves once more tied to their thirty apron strings, and had the mortification of seeing the franchises, granted by their petty despots in an hour of panic-terror, recalled one by one by a triumphant reaction whose pride it was to keep no faith with political heretics.

The usurpation of the imperial dignity by Napoleon III., and the general tendency of his policy, aggravated the uneasy feelings of the German public. They had been in the habit of sympathising with liberal and constitutional France, and even of looking to her to give the signal for their deliverance. But to them, as well as to ourselves, the resurrection of the empire was suggestive of war and not of peace, and its policy seemed to aim at the same objects as the First Empire, but cautiously, with more of the conspirator and less of the highwayman. France had become once more a dangerous neighbour; and, therefore, the sense of their weak and dismembered state was the more disquieting and galling. For two centuries back, ever since the great religious war, and the treaty of Westphalia, the concentration and unity of France made her the leading nation of the Continent, and her people comparatively the safest from the outrages of foreign armies; but, whoever stirred, or whoever suffered throughout Europe, dis-

united Germany was the first victim. We have somewhere met with an old song—

“ In Germany begins a dance,  
Shall lead throughout Italy, Spain, and France,  
But England shall pay piper.”

This characteristically British complaint is only partially true; not only has the dance generally begun and chiefly continued in Germany, but she has had to pay for it more dearly than we have done. Every quarrel has been fought out upon her soil, at the expense of the sufferings and the blood of her children. Every great war has proved for her a civil war; it was with Germany that Louis XIV., Louis XV., and Napoleon I. warred against Germans. Frederick the Great said of France that she need not allow a cannon to be fired in Europe without her consent. He might have added that, whoever applied the match, there was always some unhappy German at the muzzle of the cannon.

As the affairs of Schleswig Holstein in 1849 had illustrated the powerlessness of German democracy, Bismarck appropriately determined in 1863 to make them the occasion of exhibiting the vigour of a military government. He thus made the war with Denmark an experiment preliminary to the aggression he meditated, proving the practical superiority of the needle-gun, and the satisfactory working of the Prussian military organisation, and convincing him that he might venture upon the attempt to secure the *hegemonia* by the time-honoured methods of absolute monarchies—deceit and violence.

Now that the trial of strength is over, and that its results are manifesting themselves, the gains of Italy, if not as great as those of her ally, are more complete and final, so far as they go, and her progress less likely to be imperilled by future mistakes in policy. Discomfited Austria must needs make up her mind to exclusion from both Italy and Germany, and to leave the Pope's temporal sovereignty to its fate, so far as she is concerned. And yet, as has been observed on all hands, if Francis Joseph is wise enough to make a virtue of necessity, to accept frankly the place which has been left him, and to make peace with his own people, giving over to them without reserve or afterthought the liberties he has been alternately holding out and recalling,—if he does this, one of the grandest and most important spheres of political action in the world may yet perhaps be open to him. The influence of his house upon Italy was the misfortune and the bane of both. Its influence upon Germany has been the

great obstacle to German progress. But if he were now to become a Hungarian at heart? If he were to extend a really civilising sceptre over the broad and rich regions which still own his sway? If, instead of using men of many races and languages to keep each other down, he were to make himself the mediator, the interpreter, the federal link between them, developing the hidden resources of the soil, and calling out the untried capacities of races not yet spoiled and perverted by a false culture? To do all this would require no rare and mighty genius; he need but touch his people with freedom's magic wand, strive honestly and disinterestedly to keep the peace between them, and, for the rest, leave them to themselves. Were he to do this, the common voice of Central and Western Europe would hail in him the destined heir of the Sublime Porte, or at least of the greater part of its European territories—the head of the future Confederation of the Danube.

We fear it is too much to expect a Hapsburg to forget so far the traditions of his house, and the teaching of a Jesuit tutor. Yet of the five groups composing the population of the empire—Germans, Tcheks, Gallicians, Magyars, Southern Slavonians (it is hardly worth while to reckon the Roumans of Transylvania)—not one seems very generally or very cordially attached to the dynasty; the name Austria represents a court and not a people, and might therefore be blotted out of the map without the sacrifice of any nationality, but the contrary. The late Prince Metternich once said of Italy, in the pride and cruelty of his heart, that it was a mere geographical denomination. He little thought how truly it might be retorted that a nation without any political status has, from the simple fact of its existence, a better chance for the future than a conventional political denomination with which no nation is inseparably identified.

Austria's old *régime* of absolutism and Romish intolerance has left such an impression on all the neighbouring populations, that, at this moment, the one thing of which the Christian inhabitants of Turkey are most afraid, is that the Emperor Francis Joseph should seek compensation for his losses by taking possession of them with the concurrence of the other powers. They even prefer their precarious state under the nominal sway and occasional brutalities of the Ottoman Porte; Servians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Roumans, Bulgarians,—they are all so disposed that the spectacle of years of local liberty and prosperity enjoyed by the subjects of Austria would alone reconcile them to accept his protection.



The exclusion of the eight millions of Austrian Germans from the new political organisation of Germany will weaken the ascendancy of the German element throughout the Austrian Empire, and, to the same extent, favour the self-government and development of the other races ; but it will also leave these eight millions the more ready to secede, and cast in their lot with their northern kinsmen. Even the proverbially faithful Tyrolese, oppressed as they are by heavy taxes, and smarting from defeat, are said at this moment to betray the wish to become one day united to Switzerland ; and if Prussia shows herself wise enough and liberal enough to attract and absorb the Germans south of the Maine, those of Austria Proper will probably follow. In short, if the adoption of an altogether new system would secure for Austria an aggrandisement, such as is open to no other power of Continental Europe, failure to adopt it will almost certainly be followed by dismemberment.

As for the Prussians, they have attained the object of their national ambition at a moment when they least expected it, and through men who did not possess their sympathy or confidence. It has been a joyful surprise, and remains so, though bought by the most extreme and cruel sacrifices for so many families, and attended by so much that is still uncertain and menacing. They have, moreover, the satisfaction of feeling that it is owing to their own intelligent valour and discipline, as well as to the skill of Moltke, the vigour and promptitude of Bismarck, the hereditary generalship of Prince Frederick Charles, and the mechanical superiority of their arms. The detailed accounts of the battle of Sadowa show that if the use of the needle-gun made defeat more bloody and disastrous for the Austrians, the first cause of the victory was the disciplined intrepidity of the Prussian battalions. They engaged in the war unwillingly, but when they manœuvred upon the decisive field a really national interest nerved their arms. They had not merely to assert their own military honour and fidelity, but the rank that their country was to hold in Germany, and ultimately, though indirectly, the rank that Germany was to hold in the world ; it was with the consciousness of this that they fought and conquered. The same consciousness of the final bearing of Prussian ascendancy is leading populations who were at war with Prussia but yesterday to knock for admittance with almost abject haste at the doors of the new Northern Confederation, so that the world sees for the first time the spectacle of an unscrupulous ministry and an ambitious people almost obliged to preach moderation and



patience to the districts that solicit the favour of being taken possession of.

It was only last year that the courts of Vienna, Munich, and Stuttgart tried to avoid renewing their association with the Zollverein; because they felt that this community of interests was a danger for their policy of particularism. Austria did withdraw, but the Governments of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were constrained by their subjects to renew the connection. The centripetal feeling is much stronger now; it threatens to overcome even the antipathy felt for Bismarck personally, the indignation roused by the brutal treatment of Frankfort, the annoyance of having to pay heavy contributions of war, and the still strong feeling of the uncertainties and the dangers created for liberty by victories won under the flag of absolutism. There is a party south of the Maine doing its utmost to persuade the southern states to organise themselves in a strongly democratic confederation, a little rival Germany, provoking its more bulky neighbour to jealousy; but even this party would be disarmed if it saw Prussia reasonably liberal. The military organisation of the Northern Confederation is now extended over a population of thirty millions; it lies with the Court of Berlin to extend it in a very few years, without any further rough courtship, over seven millions more; and, though it is hazardous to play the prophet in such times as these, we venture to predict that if the Cabinet of Berlin begins to be wise, and that of Vienna continues to be foolish, the whole 45,000,000 of Germans will one day be united under the same flag, and a total and irrevocable political union accompany the extension of the military system. Meantime the provinces or states only partially annexed need be in no hurry to get rid of their princes; the various little capitals and provincial centres will retain all the more refinement, intellectual life, and healthy local feeling by continuing to be the seats of nominal kings and grand-dukes, who in any case will constitute a very high class of resident noblemen; while the common national interests are intrusted to strong hands, and their direction can be disputed by no domestic rivals.

Germany craved two things—unity and freedom. The great essential stride has been taken towards the former; but if unity is to become a blessing, nay, if it is to be supportable to the Germans themselves and to their neighbours, it must have freedom for its complement. If Prussia is to remain an absolute and military power, violating the constitution at home, trampling on the first principles of self-government,

persecuting its noblest children, stifling discussion in the Parliament and in the press, and at the same time wielding the energies of Germany in support of a foreign policy, pursuing the old selfish method of war and conquest—then the smothered fires of revolution will remain burning under Central Europe, ever ready to burst out, and this government, so little sure of its own stability, will not the less be a pest to Europe, such as France and Russia have been, forcing all nations to waste their resources in prodigious military establishments, and providing other powers as unscrupulous as itself with reasonable excuses for their grasping ambition; in short, the governments of Christendom will remain what they are now—a mutual insurance company against all liabilities of peace, confidence, contentment, progress, and prosperity.

We anxiously wait to see what the next few months—not to speak of a more distant future—may bring forth. There are optimists who persuade themselves that the Count de Bismarck's absolutism is only assumed in order the more easily to lead his narrow-minded master, and that he reserves for Europe the spectacle of a political *volti-face* more surprising than all his other performances. They point to the bill of indemnity he asks for, to the official recognition that it is the right of Parliament to fix the budget, to the royal apology which so scandalised the feudal party and its organ the *Kreuz Zeitung*, and to the adoption of the system of direct election, universal suffrage and vote by ballot, for the new Parliament of the Northern Confederation. We are ourselves persuaded that the Prussian minister is a most supple and versatile character, and a man of his abilities ought to understand that moral conquests are the only sure ones; but we must say that, if he has been dissembling, he has played his part too well and continues to play it too long. It was with unmistakeable pleasure that he insulted the representatives of his country, and heaped contempt upon their deliberations and decisions; and even since the war, the prosecution of Herr Jacoby, and of the only newspaper that ventured to insert his speech, are specimens of the genuine arbitrary temperament. Von Bismarck is the creature of an aristocracy proverbially insolent and domineering, and it is not in human nature that he should speedily change for the better after success so rapid, so brilliant, and productive of such immense results. It is rather to be supposed that he has recourse to universal suffrage because he thinks the multitude will be more easily dazzled, and its

representatives more easily managed than those of the middle classes.

We do not therefore hope much from the men who are at the head of affairs in Prussia. The poor old King is evidently incorrigible: he gets by heart a tolerably decent apology for having acted unconstitutionally, and then, with the tone of an indulgent father who has much to forgive, he extemporises to a parliamentary deputation the confidential assurance that in the same circumstances he would have to act in the same way. They had made him lead a hard life these last years, he told his liege subjects from Brandenburg; he could never forget it, but must bequeath it as a painful experience to his son. It is to be hoped that by-and-bye the Crown Prince and his people may understand each other better, and that future generations of Prussians will forgive and forget the shortcomings of William I., since his very wrong-headedness will have accidentally contributed to their greatness.

We believe that the best hopes for the political future of Germany rest on the Protestantism of the greater part of the inhabitants of the new Northern Confederation, and on the patience, perseverance, and intelligent resolution of the people themselves. Many of those who know Germany best say that there is a spirit abroad which must gradually wear out and bring to nothing the yoke that the reactionary party attempt to impose upon them once more. The Prussians may be dazzled momentarily by their astonishing success, and make an idol of the needle-gun; but a Protestant people which has begun to taste the fruits of liberty cannot long put up with arbitrary power, even though it has made them conquerors. They have both legal and natural right on their side, and they will persevere in asserting them with the tenacity of the German character. Political and social phenomena, it has been truly observed, proceed by oscillations. Influences apparently opposed, but really complementary to each other, prevail alternately, because the wants from which they proceed make themselves felt alternately; such is the rhythm of national as well as individual life. To-day the enthusiasm for national unity and strength absorbs every thought, but to-morrow the passion for liberty will revive all the more intense from its temporary retrocession. The circumstance that the edifice of German unity remains unfinished will doubtless prove favourable to the development of German liberties; for the Prussian statesmen must in the end, willingly or unwillingly, court the popula-

tions as yet unannexed, which are so strongly attracted towards the Northern Confederation, and must strive to outbid their local rulers. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden will not renounce their independent existence, except to become parts of a really self-governing Germany. We suspect that after having surprised both friend and foe, the Count de Bismarck will be himself surprised to find that he has contributed to bring about such a state of things as will render future Bismarcks impossible; and for this at least his countrymen should be grateful.

The work of the French Revolution has fallen to pieces, so far as political liberty is concerned. The work of Napoleon fell to pieces: instead of being the providential man of his times, as his nephew would fain have us believe, nothing that he created out of France survives. The arrangements of 1815 have now fallen to pieces, all their principal features have been superseded by new ones. The stability of the Europe that is to be dated from the summer of 1866, will depend essentially upon the political state and moral temperament of the people of Germany: the hour for the moral trial of Germany has struck. If this is to prove one of the grand opportunities of history lost, it must be the fault of the Germans, for no nation is so placed as to be able to spoil it except themselves. Were France or Russia wantonly to attack Prussia, the establishment of constitutional freedom would be delayed indeed by the importance thereby given to military men and measures; but it would not be finally hindered, and as for the union of Germany, it would only be precipitated by such an attack. When the resurrection trumpet sounds, and the separate limbs of a great nation leap up to meet each other, as the prophet beheld in the valley of vision, then no earthly power can put them asunder. United Germany would be as irresistible to-day as France was in 1792-4, when the invading armies recoiled in every direction, stunned and reeling, from her frontiers. And Germany would be as little disposed now as France was then to cede to the stronger one foot of her soil. Time was when it could be said, with Napoleon III. at Bordeaux, "when France is satisfied Europe is quiet," or, to borrow Alexander Humboldt's way of putting the matter, "when France has a cold in her head all Europe sneezes;" but now, this hitherto modest and passive Germany has taken to sneezing on her own account, and nobody can stop her.

However, the mischief that strangers cannot work, may be brought about by the fault of the Germans themselves, if

they fail in meeting the responsibilities and overcoming the temptations of the crisis. It is notorious that the Seven Years' War filled the Prussians with a presumption and an arrogance that indirectly prepared for the misfortunes of the beginning of this century, and that to this day renders them disagreeable to their fellow-countrymen. If the prodigies of the late campaign should make the Prussians servile sabre worshippers, docile admirers of their ignorant, corrupt and reactionary nobles, and in the same proportion void of moderation towards foreigners, then all is over with the liberties, perhaps even with the unity, of Germany, and Europe is plunged once more into the state of chronic uneasiness and insecurity from which it might have been freed.

Were a free, a united, and a contented Germany to be able and willing to give itself wholly to the cultivation of the arts of peace, without having anything to fear from its neighbours, or giving them any cause for fear, it would be the beginning of the organisation of liberty and a pledge of security throughout Europe. France is supposed, on this hypothesis to have no motive for distrust and no excuse for attack. Even smaller neighbours, like Holland and Denmark, might be at peace; for a happy, industrious, self-governing people would not be irritable, grasping, and ambitious of material conquest, as the Germans showed themselves in 1848, when in the act of escaping exasperated out of their several prisons. Italy might disarm, having nothing more to ask for; and Austria would have no longer to maintain unjust usurpations and a false position. The whole continent would experience immediately a feeling of relief, even greater than it did when the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 disengaged the minds of men from the constant dread of a universal military despotism, setting them free to sow in peace and reap the fruits of amended legislation, increased instruction, and of the wondrous scientific discoveries and applications of the succeeding period. Europe could not indeed altogether disarm, because two causes of agitation would still remain—the Polish question and the Eastern; but even these would offer means of solution nearer and safer than any previously presented.

It was with reluctance that Maria Theresa consented to share the spoils of Poland, and ever since, for various reasons, Austria has invariably shown herself the least unwilling of the three dismembering powers to release their victim. When the full correspondence relating to the negotiations respecting Poland, during the years 1814 and 1815,

was published by order of the House of Commons in May 1863, it appeared that in a memorandum of December 2, 1814, Prince Metternich presented to the Congress of Vienna a proposal for the restoration of Poland with its frontiers of 1772, or, in default of the consent of Russia, with those of 1791. He offered on Austria's part to yield Galicia without asking for any compensation. The resistance of Russia and Prussia put an extinguisher upon the project; but when Prussia shall have become co-extensive with Germany, she will no longer need the Duchy of Posen to give some cohesion to territories straggling in disorder across the map of Europe. Now, if two of the three powers that effected the partition, together with all Western Europe, should be unanimous, Russia would be constrained to consent to the restoration of unhappy Poland to its own people.

Again, with respect to the Eastern question, the great danger for the last generation has been the possibility of an alliance between France and Russia. Since the Crimean war in particular this has been the sword of Damocles suspended over our heads. Had Napoleon I. and Alexander agreed at Tilsit, they could have divided the world between them; and it is startling to think how easy it would have been up to this summer for Alexander II. and Napoleon III. to do almost as they pleased with Turkey, its magnificent territory, vast resources, and unrivalled position. At such a conjuncture, between the antagonism of its two greater powers and the complicity of its kinglings and their courts, running after Russian pensions and decorations, all Central Europe would have counted for nothing. Austria and Prussia would have taken opposite sides, neutralising each other, and England would have found herself practically alone against the two colossal military empires. This danger is now averted, we trust, for ever. It may now be possible for the leading powers, perhaps even without going to war with each other, to arrange the succession of the expiring Turk, and to provide for the emancipation of the native Christians, without allowing any nation an undue predominance.

When the electricity is expended, the clouds disperse. If it should please God to allow this century to bequeath to the future a state of things in which slavery shall have been abolished; Italy and Germany constituted as nations; Poland recalled to life; the south-east of Europe organised as a confederacy of Christian states; the temporal sovereignties of the Pope and the Sultan annihilated; Mahometanism definitively humbled even in Asia; religious liberty become



universal; self-government, a free press, and free trade recognised as fundamental principles by all Christendom; Australia fairly occupied from end to end by a growing English population;—if these labours of Hercules shall have been accomplished at the close of the century, and it is not impossible that they may, then, notwithstanding the frightful battles it has witnessed—notwithstanding Wagram and the Borodino, Leipzig and Waterloo, Antietam and Gettysburg, Solferino and Sadowa, *the nineteenth century will bequeath peace to the future.* The temptations to war will have in a great measure disappeared. The nations will know each other then, and respect each other's independence, and be so consciously dependent on each other's welfare that none can hurt another without feeling that it injures itself. The strong will as little think of oppressing the weak as the rich man in civilised society thinks himself entitled to ill-treat his poorer neighbour; the reign of law will succeed that of brutal force between nations as it has already done between individuals; the three millions of men in the flower of life who annually learn all manner of demoralisation in the armies of Europe may be sent home to reproductive labour. The debts that weigh down the nations—remembrances of former wars—may be gradually paid off, and the accumulating capital of the civilised world devoted to useful labours and conquests over nature, on a scale we cannot now conceive. A new era of rest and prosperity shall have dawned upon mankind.

As the experience of the past has given us all but too much reason to distrust each other, the removal of apparent causes of strife and aggression will not of course induce the nations to leave themselves without means of defence. But even at this moment we can anticipate that impending revolution in military matters which will henceforth make defence easy and aggression difficult. All adult males were once held to military service at the bidding of their feudal chiefs. The time of service was short, the conflicts of large armies comparatively rare, but the injuring of one's neighbours by innumerable acts of hostility on a small scale was the great business of life. Then followed the period of absolute monarchies, and standing armies, and conventional international right. The military profession became a science; the exclusive occupation of a small number of men who fought at the bidding and at the expense of the head of the state in wars that were pursued more methodically, vigorously, and uninterruptedly than before, but were separated by intervals of real peace. The spiral progress of mankind



has now brought us to a third period just beginning to open, parallel to the first, but happier far; a period in which all the able-bodied men of every land will once more have arms in their hands, but only to use them at their own bidding, and therefore ultimately only to use them if necessary in their own defence. It is because the present century is a time of transition that its wars have been upon a scale of such fearful magnitude, and so destructive of human life: the reign of despotism is not yet over, that of universal military service is begun. It is this coincidence that gives our times a horrible pre-eminence in mutilation and murder; but this cannot last—the universal conscience protests against it—nations in arms can no longer be brought to shed their blood for mere dynastic interests. Witness the collapse of Austria after the battle of Sadowa: what a difference between the immediate prostration of the power representing antiquated principles in religion, politics, and war, and the untiring Titanic energy and elasticity of the Americans, after a long series of defeats, or bloody and indecisive victories!

Napoleon I. was able to dispose of a million and a half of soldiers, because he turned into a new channel the boundless enthusiasm awakened by the French Revolution, and as it waned he supplied its place by the intoxication of military glory. The United States, in the hour of national peril, found multitudes ready to die for their country. Prussia and Italy would both have shown perseverance in the late struggle, if necessary; but Austria could not call up army after army before the scythe of the destroyer, because it was not really her people's quarrel.

The system which, we venture to prophesy, is about to be more and more generally adopted, can already be studied in Switzerland. The militia of that country are pronounced by good judges to be trained to a very respectable state of efficiency, including even the artillery, and are such soldiers as would prove formidable for defensive purposes at a day's warning. The weakest arm in this system is the cavalry, as must be more or less the case in all militias; but the use of breech-loading rifles is about to render cavalry a mere luxury in war. Now, with a population of two millions and a half, the Swiss are ever ready to meet a foreign enemy on their frontiers with two hundred thousand men, armed and disciplined, and this at an expense altogether trifling compared to that which would be necessary to keep up a standing army of one-fifth of the number. To test the difference between the two systems in an economical point of view, one need

only compare the Swiss Confederation with Belgium; the latter country has a population of five millions; it would, therefore, have a militia of four hundred thousand men. As it is, it can command a regular army of seventy thousand, costing about five times as much as the four hundred thousand would, if we take the expenditure of the Swiss as a measure!

The American militia before the war were little better than an armed mob; but the United States have at least shown that a country not exhausted by a large annual expenditure upon the army and navy, is best able to bear the strain that an unexampled crisis can put upon its resources. Of the great powers, Prussia is the one whose military system approximates most nearly to that of Switzerland. It is more expensive in proportion; but less so than that of the unmodified standing army, and we have just seen it prove as formidable a military power as France, even for aggression, with half its population. There can be no doubt that all the nations of the Continent will try to approximate to the Prussian system more or less; but the substitution of armies of citizens for armies of soldiers, yielding a blind mechanical obedience to their chiefs, must tell with incalculable weight in favour of liberty and peace.

The insular position of Great Britain spared her people much of the suffering and anarchy of the feudal times. It afterwards enabled us to assert and secure our liberties, civil and religious, earlier than others. It has since enabled us to do without a standing army in proportion to our population and means. Our weakness for aggressive purposes is the price we pay for the liberty of our people to give itself almost wholly to useful labours; it is a part of the position we hold in advance of the rest of Europe,—an experiment that we have tried upon ourselves, and that the whole world will imitate when a sense of common interest shall have made the frontiers of every land as sacred as the shores of this island. England may safely abstain from copying Prussia, and sending all her sons to the drill-sergeant; but she participates in the general tendency of the age after her own way, and according to her own instincts and traditions. Our volunteer force is the English shape of the general law that standing armies are being *supplemented* by citizen soldiers, preparatory to their being *supplanted* by citizen soldiers. The necessities of our vast colonial and foreign possessions may, perhaps, in a future day force us to retain a regular army, after all the other powers will have made the bonfire foretold by Isaiah—

“For the greaves of the armed warrior in the conflict,  
And the garment rolled in much blood,  
Shall be for a burning, even fuel for the fire.”\*

The immediate danger for Europe is that of war between France and Prussia, or else the usurpation of a great part of Belgium by France with the countenance of Prussia. It is now certain, as it had been all along suspected, that Napoleon III. was privy to the plans of the Count de Bismarck, and encouraged him in his enterprise. Like most people, he probably thought Austria stronger than she has proved to be, and supposed that in allowing her to be weakened by the united arms of Prussia and Italy, he was continuing the policy of Henry IV., Richelieu, and Louis XIV.—i.e., helping to weaken the leading German powers. It was natural enough that he should reckon upon sharing the spoils of Prussia, if successful, but exhausted; or upon preventing her dismemberment if unsuccessful, on condition of receiving an accession of territory for himself. He miscalculated the strength of Prussia, as well as the intensely national spirit and fierce patriotism of the Germans generally; just as he had previously underrated the strength of Italian aspirations towards unity, and of the American reaction against dismemberment. Thrice within a few years has this keen politician been misled by not making sufficient allowance for the strength of one and the same order of national instincts; he should have read the history of the nations in their looks.

Napoleon III. seems to have carried with him to the throne the habits of the silent conspirator. They form a part of his temperament, and he apparently believes it a necessity of his position that he should be ever laying plans to strike the imagination of the French by some new acquisition. And all his sagacity has ended in the procuring unity for Italy against his will in 1859, 1860, and unity for Germany against his will in the period beginning with this famous year 1866. From the traditional French point of view he has made matters worse than the treaties of 1815, by giving France stronger neighbours, and by a sort of irony of destiny he has had to stand a godfather for the two new-born nations, and to serve as the principal mediator and negotiator of arrangements that were so mortifying, like a man whom circumstances have made groomsman at his rival's wedding.

With Napoleon III. himself we believe in “providential men,” and we further believe that he was raised to his present

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\* Isaiah ix. 5 (Lowth's Translation).

position precisely in order that he should make these two blunders. At least they are the two great services that his house has hitherto rendered to mankind. When great political changes are necessary in Europe, it is generally France that is used to bring them about, and France as a disturbing power is more readily put in motion and worked by a Bonaparte than by a Bourbon. And here we may in passing confide to the reader a secret that may be of use to him: we are no gamblers; we have never speculated in the funds; but we have observed for many years that the man who, even when appearances are to the contrary, reckons upon events turning out in the way best suited to promote the real interests of mankind—that man is less likely to be mistaken than the most sagacious and best informed politician. Let a man only be a true liberal, evangelical Protestant, and withal a true friend to the Anglo-Saxon race as a whole, and he need only consult his own wishes in order to know, in the long run, better than Napoleon III. when to buy in, and when to sell out!

It is not in the instincts of the French people that they should acquiesce without mortification in the aggrandisement of Prussia, and in their own ceasing to be the arbiters of Continental Europe. Even those liberal Frenchmen who only seek for their country the sort of greatness that is compatible with the independence and dignity of the other nations of Christendom, are not unwilling that France should be surrounded by weak neighbours, and that her forbearance should be the result of magnanimity rather than necessity. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* calls the spectacle of a united Germany, “a weight upon the breast of every Frenchman.” To understand this feeling, we need only ask ourselves what would be our own, if we were suddenly to find that we had ceased to be the first of naval powers, and that, in a great measure, through the intrigues of our own rulers. It is galling, indeed, to liberal Frenchmen to see their country's relative pre-eminence sacrificed by the mismanagement of a man who does not allow them to govern themselves.

On the other hand, the sagacity of both the Emperor and his critics seems to have taught him and them that the mischief is irremediable: the concentration of strength in Germany is the result of an internal revolution which it was possible for a foreign power to help forward, but which it is impossible to check. The feeling of France ought to be, that she has only lost relatively, not absolutely; she has been wounded in her self-love, but her safety is not endangered,

and no real interest suffers. The true way to recover her foremost position would be to become once more the consistent advocate of liberal ideas in Europe, practising self-government at home, and recommending it abroad. Alas! so far from this, the *senatus-consultum*, limiting the right of discussions in the French Assembly, appeared contemporaneously with Bismarck's triumph. The Emperor's position is now a very false and difficult one; the safety of his dynasty is more endangered than ever by legitimate discontent, and he is perhaps obliged to draw the reins tighter at the moment at which he has shown himself least entitled to substitute his genius for the good sense of the nation. His whole tone, and the dismissal of Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys, prove that there are not to be immediate hostilities; but that he is arming is certain. Whether this is merely a preparation for armed negotiation, or the result of a determination to lay hands on Belgium, or merely a kind of momentary satisfaction given to the self-love of the least reasonable part of the French people, time will show. It is something also to gain time, but it is painful to see that the evils of a state of armed observation of each other are for the present to be aggravated rather than diminished.

For our own part, we believe that the independence and general progress of the nations of Europe have much more to fear from Russia than from France; and in Asia, Russia, not France, is the natural enemy of England. Hence we hail the prospect of a united Germany as a check upon Russian ambition, much more than as a barrier against the French. Moreover, we repeat it, whatever present or nearer danger may arise from France, the real perils of the crisis are elsewhere; the new order of things can only miscarry through the fault of the Germans themselves; and if our hopes for them predominate over our fears, we are not without fears. The changes taking place in the heart of Europe are equivalent to a real revolution, and all experience proves that no revolutions are successful except those that are attended by a certain amount of religious life in harmony with the aims of that revolution. The independence of the United Provinces was asserted in the sixteenth century for the sole purpose of securing religious liberty: the Dutch would not have staked the lives and fortunes of every family in their land as heroically as they did, for any pearl of inferior value. The first civil war of England was another temporarily successful revolution, accomplished for the sake of surrounding religion with the guarantees of civil and

political liberty. The finally successful revolution of 1688, if effected by a more worldly-minded generation, was not the less the carrying out of the objects which the nation had learned to prize—a new oscillation of the pendulum that had been set a-going in 1641. If the country was slow to appreciate the change, if its stability was precarious for more than fifty years, if the London mob, and probably the numerical majority of Englishmen, was strongly Tory, it was because the religious life of the preceding period had declined.

The war of independence in America was undertaken for no directly religious purpose; but the doctrine that taxation without representation was tyranny was a corollary from the great principle we have already quoted, proclaimed by the disciples of the reformation in Holland, that princes were made for the peoples, not peoples for the prince. The arms of the colonists were nerved by the remembrances of the seventeenth century, and the war was carried on with most self-devotion and firmness by those districts which had participated most largely in the great revival of 1735. Moreover, the success of the great experiment made in America is undeniably owing to the general intelligence, moderation, and self-control, accompanying the diffusion of a relatively high degree of religious life.

Of the French Revolution we need only say with M. Edgar Quinet, in his eloquent despair, that it proclaimed all the liberties and all the rights of man. “ Torrents of blood were shed throughout Europe for the sake of these conquests. Immense assemblies acclaimed, strengthened, constituted these new rights one after another. Two millions of men died in this cause. All the energy and power contained in human nature was spent in its service. Never will more self-devotion and more public virtue be exhibited by the multitude. Of the usual means of success in human affairs, orators, captains, magistrates, none were wanting. Every one lavished whatever he possessed; mothers gave their sons, and these sons their blood. Nor was even victory wanting, for all they that attacked this revolution perished without shaking it. And, after all these victories accumulated at home and abroad; after these immense assemblies, with all the noise that power, and genius, and glory can make, have passed away; after this crash of a society falling to pieces and another rising on the ruins; if I look around for the political results of such magnanimous efforts; if I seek the living echo of these words of fire, and these triumphal acclamations; if



I would contemplate at leisure the liberties acquired by such gigantic labours ; if, after witnessing the seed cast into the furrow, I would measure the tree in its full growth ; if . . . No ! I cannot finish ; the pen falls from my hand."

M. Quinet is not himself a believer in Christianity, and yet he confesses that the causes of the failure he deplures were that the revolution was not consecrated by any corresponding religious movement, and that persecution had weeded out of France the men of granite that were distinguished by firm religious convictions. Religious revolutions succeed, he tells us, because they alone create a spirit of unwearied self-sacrifice, a spirit all the stronger in isolation, defeat, and persecution. What a difference between the men of the sixteenth century and those of the French Revolution. "The former, conquered and scattered, carried the Reformation along with them into whatever regions chance, or ruin, or proscription threw them. Every man of them became a focus radiating it around him. The men of the Revolution, on the contrary, when they were conquered, hid themselves underground ; engaged in other occupations ; took another countenance, became other men ; they purchased the privilege of being forgotten by being the first to forget themselves. No Jacobin ever published his memoirs."

France for two short intervals possessed political liberty, and it still possesses civil, but with a low degree of religious life, an imperfect measure of religious liberty, and with the religious ideas and institutions of the middle ages. There are two men in the vast majority of Frenchmen : the citizen—the merchant, the landowner—dates from 1789. The religious man belongs to the old *régime*, and, when apparently absent, is only asleep. Hence there is no equilibrium : France is condemned, for we know not how long, to oscillate between anarchy and despotism in one sphere, between superstition and unbelief in another. There has been until very recently an equivalent want of equilibrium in Northern Germany from a state exactly the reverse. The religious revolution had carried along with it the majority of the people, but the political institutions remained mediæval. The time has now come to adjust these relations, so that all the elements of national life may be in harmony, and this great country no longer suggest the prophetic symbols of a bear with one shoulder higher than the other (Daniel vii. 5), or a chariot with an ass and a camel yoked together (Isaiah xxi. 7). For this, the political eman-



cipation must be completed, the religions must be real and healthy. Lutheranism, the dominant system, is the least liberal and the least Protestant form of Protestantism, and then it is tainted almost to the core by Rationalism. If it is to continue thus, if the people are to remain practically Deists, or worse, then Germany must pass through many a bitter experience before she realises the blessings that seem within her grasp; for nations, like individuals, only find rest in the truth. A minority of earnest Christians are indeed enough to raise the general moral level of a country, to give a Christian character to its councils and to its public spirit; they are the salt of the earth. The great question then is,—will there be found salt enough in Germany? Has she the leaven wherewith to leaven the mass?

Happily, for the answer, we are not limited to the amount of religious life already manifested. Early in the eighteenth century, England was far more openly and cynically irreligious than France. Voltaire wrote in 1726, *à propos* of a Unitarian movement, "Arius' party has chosen a bad time in which to re-appear, for the present age is sick of disputes and sects; neither new religions nor new shapes of old religions can make their fortune now-a-days." Montesquieu visited England in 1729, and says in his *Notes*, "In France I pass for having little religion; in England I pass for having too much. . . . If any one speak of religion here, everybody begins to laugh. . . . Money is in sovereign estimation here; honour and virtue in little. . . . The English are no longer worthy of liberty; they sell it to the king, and if the king were to give it back to them, they would sell it again." At the present moment no serious writer would speak so strongly of the state of Germany.

Certainly, in 1861, the American people were not fit, in a Christian point of view, for the great crisis which came upon them. Men are never prepared. At none of His comings does the Son of Man find faith in the earth. But, by the grace of God, the Christian feeling, and self-devotion, and heroism—aye, and the Christian self-searching and self-reproach—called out during the struggle itself, like streams pouring into a river whose waters were too low, carried the ship over the bar in the perilous years 1863 and 1864. It may be thus with Germany now. The national movement of 1813 was attended by a religious revival, the first awakening from the rationalism of the eighteenth century, and it may be given us to see a new outpouring of the Spirit of God inflicting a mortal blow on the intellectually more formidable, but less

universal, unbelief of the present day. The Lord reigneth. His arm is not shortened. He must have blessings in store for the land in which He once raised up Luther and his fellows. But why speak of subordinate remembrances, when there is one that contains in itself the gems of all others? Germany is part of a ransomed world—a world that has received the gift of One greater than Luther. Every crisis in history is a preparation—direct or indirect, immediate or gradual—for the sovereignty of the true King and the spread of true liberty. We cannot but look *around* with some misgivings; but we may, and we should, look *up*.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Jésus Christ, son Temps, sa Vie, son Œuvre*. Par E. DE PRESSENSE. Paris: 1866.  
 2. *Jesus Christ: His Life, Times, and Work*. By E. DE PRESSENSE. Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1866.

THIS work may be regarded as the French antidote to M. Renan's *Life of Jesus*, and, as such, its value in France can hardly be exaggerated. It bears comparison with its rival in ponderous learning, and is not much inferior to it in the graces of style. By a happy coincidence M. de Pressensé has been long prosecuting researches in the same field on which M. Renan has been employing his eminent powers—the historical origin of Christianity. But while the one exhausts all his strength to show that the Christian faith is only of the earth, earthy; the other spends his strength in demonstrating, so far as the subject admits and demands demonstration, that its Founder is the Lord from heaven, and His religion the direct gift of God to man.

We do not purpose to make M. de Pressensé's work the basis of an extended essay on its great subject, but shall content ourselves with a sketch of his general design, and the manner in which he has accomplished it; with a few hints of a cautionary kind that we think highly important for the English reader of this essentially French work.

The most valuable part of it is the long and elaborate Preliminary Dissertation, in which the great *Præparatio Evangelica* is treated in the most comprehensive manner. Making the tendencies of the present day his starting point, M. de Pressensé first devotes a chapter to the removal of the peremptory and unphilosophical interdict which modern science, falsely so called, has laid upon the Gospel evidence as such. In a high style of declamatory but earnest eloquence, he exposes the emptiness of the Pantheistic system that sets out with the *à priori* refusal to admit a supernatural order, or anything but a blind order, in the universe, and of which M. Renan himself, with all his rhapsodies about the Celestial Father, makes himself the exponent in the following words:—"The historical sciences are based on the supposition that no supernatural agent comes forth to trouble the progress of humanity; that there is no free existence superior to man, to whom an appreciable share

may be assigned in the moral conduct, any more than in the material conduct, of the universe. For myself, I believe that there is not in the universe an intelligence superior to that of man; the absolute of justice and reason manifests itself only in humanity; regarded apart from humanity, that absolute is but an abstraction. The infinite exists only when it clothes itself in form." Having done this, he proceeds to argue with the Theists, who, admitting a Divine order, refuse to admit that the perfection of that order, the perfection of its immutability, can be interfered with by miracles. He shows that God is not dependent on natural order, and that miracle is no more than the intervention of Divine liberty to save man, conformably with the laws of moral order. The supernatural is not only the freedom of God, it is also His love. As to the Christianity of those semi-Deists who substitute for redemption the notion of a simple development of human nature reaching its consummation in Jesus Christ, he pleads with much force that they sap the foundations of their own faith, that Christianity is bound up with the folly of the supernatural, and that God's dealings with men are utterly incomprehensible without it.

Proceeding to the work of preparation for the coming of Christ, M. de Pressensé traces the two lines in which it was carried on—that of direct revelation in Judaism, and that of free experiment in Paganism. The modern critics assert that Christianity was not *prepared for*, in the ancient world in the strict sense of the term, but simply *born* of its various elements, a happy product of all its influences at a critical period in the history of mankind. A sounder philosophy here traces the history of the imperious religious instinct of the soul from the fetish to the refinement of philosophy, and shows by a luminous and eloquent induction of facts that the world at length, "weary in the greatness of its way," waited for a religion "that with light should bring strength."

"If we press more closely this ideal in the aspiration of Pagan humanity, we shall see that it goes far beyond the vague intuition of the Divine unity or the presentiment of some social reforms. That which the soul asks is a reconciliation between himself and God; it is the restoration of the union between the human nature and the Divine. Under the most diverse fables and athwart gross errors, we discover the same fixed and ardent craving for a great expiation. There is more than this. The idea of a Deliverer, of a Messiah, is not less universal. It is found in India, in the legend of Buddha, the saviour reformer; in Persia, in that of Mithra, the future vanquisher of evil powers; in Greece, in the fable of Prometheus; and in Scandinavia, in that god,

mightier than Odin, who is to save the world, and whose name may not be uttered. Thus does the general aspiration of humanity find expression when freed from all the ancient forms of worship, and when these old faiths were drawing near to each other in a common decay; when to the exultant youth of valiant races succeeded a premature decline, an era of slavery and decadence, though abundant in material and intellectual riches. The Greco-Roman Paganism of this epoch might have used, to express itself in its better tendencies, that mournful utterance of a young Roman—‘Tossed from doctrine to doctrine, I was more unhappy than ever; and, carried along by a whirlwind of conflicting ideas, from the depths of my soul I sighed.’—P. 48.

The religion of the Old Testament rises gloriously out of the general religious aspirations of the old world—one with them, and yet infinitely superior. The universal testimony which priesthood and sacrifice in every land bore to the fact that man cherished always the hope of mediation and reunion with God, was borne in a higher degree and in a peculiar manner by the Jewish nation—a nation which in the realm of religion maintained the same pre-eminence that Greece had maintained in art and Rome in power.

“The existence of a priesthood is the widest and strongest expression of the desire after salvation, for it betokens at once the estrangement in which man finds himself from God, and the presentiment of a future reconciliation. Now, this idea of priesthood is the very essence of Judaism, since there is not one of its institutions which does not rest on the separation of a people, chosen from the rest of mankind for the service of the whole race. It realises, therefore, the universal idea of the priesthood; but, in doing so, raises it to a height where it is freed from all that marred it in the Pantheistic and Polytheistic religions. Thus Judaism is nothing else than the general religion of the period of preparation, purified indeed and spiritualised, but resting on the same ground of feeling and inspiration as all the other worship of that age. Only there is a difference so great between the form which this general religion has assumed in the holy books of the Jews and the degraded forms under which it appears elsewhere, that it is impossible to attribute this superiority to a mere historical and natural development.”—P. 50.

The history of the great Messianic hope is then depicted in a very striking manner. The dominant thought of the Old Testament is brought out with a synthetic skill and felicity of presentation almost peculiar to the French style. But, by an abrupt turn, the artist shows that there was one thing still wanting to the work of preparation; and that was the total ruin of the glories of the Theocracy, in order to show that the Law could “make nothing perfect.” This thought is only hinted: it would bear much enlargement;

and few things would be more important than to show that the seeming failure of Judaism was absolutely in harmony with the design of its Author in the history of the Jewish economy.

As a mere sketch of the declining stages through which the Jewish religious institute passed towards its utter decay, the third chapter of this work is of much value. Among the causes of this decline he lays stress upon the alliance between patriotism and religion after the return from Babylon, degenerating into a legalism which came to regard it rather as a means of retaining their pre-eminence among the nations. Political passions and national pride would exert their miserable influence; the Jew felt the grandeur of his destiny, and the dignity of his vocation to be the guardian of the only true religion in the world, even when he had lost the real essence of that religion. To this was added the complete cessation of all prophecy, and the reign of tradition, the guidance of the rabbi, the substitution of knowledge for feeling, the letter for the spirit, the dispersion of the Jews, and their multiplying commercial relations, tended to worldly concessions, a stiffening of devotion. Moreover, "the temple lost in importance as the synagogue gained." The study of the law was their only safeguard; but that study itself was a snare when separated from the religious symbolism that kept the thought of redemption and purification present when they were in the holy city, or within reach of its sacred influences. "Sacrifice played but a small part in their life; religion, habitually despoiled of those solemn ceremonies which set forth its positive character, dwindled little by little to a doctrine, an idea, a book."

The successive tides of influence which set in upon Judaism for its modification or corruption are described with some care; but with a broad and general style of treatment demanded by the limits of the work. The better we understand the state of religious thought in the time before Christ, the better are we prepared to estimate the true originality of the Christian faith, and the result will be to show how little ground there is for the reckless assertions of those who would make the glorious fabric of Christianity a concretion of all the residuary relics of the centuries that preceded it. Passing by the sections which forcibly describe the growth of the theology of the Decline, as affected by Persian and Greek influences, and exhibited in the Apocrypha, we are arrested by that on "Alexandrian Judaism," which gives us an admirable sketch of Philo, its chief representative, a man who

on many accounts must always occupy a conspicuous place in the history of the origin of Christianity.

“ With Philo we never leave the region of metaphysics. History is a continuation of the cosmogony ; it is nothing more than the eternal realisation of the necessary laws which preside over the formation and organisation of the world. . . . Now Philo revived the old dualism, enveloping it with ingenious allegories as with a veil ; it is easy to recognise it under the sincere homage which he pays lavishly to the religion of his fathers. His god, let him say what he will, is not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God who reveals Himself to His worshippers ; He is an abstract Being, raised above unity itself ; He is placed above the good and true, and all the categories of thought. He did not produce the world from nothing by a free act of creation ; He can never cease to produce any more than the fire can cease to burn, and light and life emanate from Him like the beam from a star. Matter cannot be an emanation from Him ; it would else represent the element of diversity, disorder, passivity, which is in direct opposition to absolute being. It exists, then, eternally before Him, and has like Himself neither beginning nor end ; He educes from it a perfect world by a process of organisation. As God cannot come into direct contact with matter, He uses as media the ideas or powers which emanate from Him, and which are the types of all the realities contained in the world ; these are the Divine seals which, impressed upon matter without order, give to it form and beauty, and bring out of it the cosmos. These ideas, or powers, are called angels, when regarded in their multiplicity ; they form, in combination, the ideal world of archetypes, or the world of the Word. In vain Philo ascribes to this Word the most eminent attributes, calls him the Son of God, the Sovereign Priest ; he never for a moment lifts him out of the brazen region of abstraction.”—P. 90.

Evil in Philo's system is natural and necessary, inherent in the material element that could not emanate from God. With the mass of mankind the passive elements preponderate, and they gravitate to evil ; but there is a sublime sacerdotal race which rises to the region of ideas. Moses is at their head, and they raise themselves by contemplation to the ineffable God. Hence asceticism takes the place of sacrifice. Reconciliation with God is needless in a system which makes all things evolve from an immutable law. All that revelation has to do is to deliver man from ignorance by telling him his place in the order of the universe. That Philo's sacred books everywhere contradicted him, he could not see ; but his system of arbitrary allegorising makes the Word of God a plastic material which he moulds at pleasure to suit his Platonised Judaism. He has not a single hint of the glorious doctrines of redemption, the incarnation, and the salvation of man



from sin. It seems as if the perversion of the Jewish faith could not go further at the threshold of Christianity than to declaim about a God for ever by the eternal laws of His being sundered from the creature, a "Deity that cannot touch what is material," and cannot unite Himself with His creature.

Such was Philo, whom it pleases many superficial writers to make "the elder brother of Jesus and the inspirer of St. John." With all the points of contact between his theosophy and the New Testament theology, the contrast is as wide as anything in human thought upon all the essentials of Christian teaching. The same is true of the Essenes, who, "despite some wholly external analogies, remained without any relations to the new religion; hence the silence of our Gospels with reference to Essenism, which wove on its solitary dream while at Jerusalem the destinies of the whole world were at issue." The Sadducees, with their maxim, "Sever not thyself from the majority," and the Pharisees, with their "scenic devotion," "pursuing earthly ends by religious means," have severally been made by infidelity to serve as formative elements in the new faith; with how little reason M. Pressensé elaborately shows. Proceeding then to a rapid but faithful view of the tendencies and teaching of Rabbinism, he demonstrates by a masterly induction of particulars how absolutely alien to the faith of Christ was the Judaism of its corruptors, and his labours seem to us a complete antidote to the many dissertations which have appeared lately with the design of proving Christianity to be no more than an amended edition of later Jewish speculations. The whole is closed by the following suggestive paragraph:—

"We have hitherto spoken only of official Judaism at the time of Christ, the Judaism which reigned in the schools and in the temple. The pure religion of the Old Testament had also its representatives even in this age of decline. More than one heart was waiting for the fulfilment of the promises, without mingling in its hopes any earthly passion. We shall see this little body of the moral ideal of the nation (whom we shall have to seek among the humble and despised, or at least in the more obscure ranks of Jewish society) reaching the crowning point of the religious development of the old covenant, and gathering the ripened fruit of that long work of preparation that commenced at the Fall. The sufferings and bitternesses of the time strengthened and purified their holy aspirations. If the work of preparation resulted, in the Pagan world, in disengaging from all religions and all philosophies one grand ideal, not to be realised by unaided human powers, has not Judaism the same issue? But there is here more than a simple aspira-

tion; there is a glorious promise, the sacred legacy of the fathers. The decline of Judaism proves that it could not find the fulfilment of the promise within itself. All attempts to realise its ideal within the enclosure of Judaism deplorably misrepresent it. Therefore right hearts and pious, in the midst of long obscurity, are panting after a great divine manifestation. Thus they offer to Jesus that point of contact without which there would be no moral link between Him and the race He came to represent and save."—P. 122.

We have only thrown a very cursory glance over the important subjects discussed in these introductory chapters; our only design being to commend this part of the volume as of very special interest and moment in the present state of theological inquiry into the origin of Christianity.

The sources of the history of Jesus Christ are examined and vindicated in a very luminous manner, with a special reference to the question of the relation of St. John to the earlier evangelists. In this part of the work there is nothing which adds to the treasures of our own English defences of the New Testament canon—defences that extract the essence of all modern learning, and scarcely leave any corner of the fortifications of our faith undefended.

The last chapter of the Preliminary Book contains the "Doctrinal Bases of the Life of Jesus," and here the reader must be on his guard. M. de Pressensé is one of those divines who, unconsciously perhaps, receive the mysteries of the Christian faith with a secret desire to divest them as much as possible of their repulsiveness to human reason. He is too much given "to grand and simple ideas;" and hence is apt to lose himself and bewilder his readers with vague and rhapsodical statements that give no real meaning. For instance, he accepts the prologue of St. John's Gospel, as "the necessary introduction to the life of Jesus;" and speaks well of the sacred veil hanging over the relation of Father and Son, which no human theory can pierce, for which analogies are wanting, and the weight of which language is unequal to sustain. There he should end; but he does not. Language is forced to sustain a weight it cannot bear: "the lightning gleam which illuminates these depths reveals to us a living, loving God, who does not need to seek in the created world the object of His love, but finds it in the Being like Himself, who is His perfect image." "Creation is a free act, an act of love, accomplished by the Word." He then goes on to say that "the moral creation is not His work only, but also His reflection and manifestation. There is, then, a natural and primordial relation between mankind and the Word. The

nobler life of man is a communication of the Word. On this relation is based the possibility of the incarnation of the Son of God ; for it is evident that human nature attains its ideal in Him, since in Him it finds the plenitude of mortal life."

This is the "uncertain sound" that has had only too certain effects in modern theology. It is hardly consistent with the sequel, that "the uncreated light of the Word shed some rays into the night of a world separated from God." It finds its full issue in what follows. We must quote the whole passage, which will not admit of abridgment :—

"But when the world is to be redeemed and saved, and man lifted up to God, then 'the Word is made flesh;' which signifies, not simply that He put on a human body, but became truly man, and subject to all the conditions of our existence. Jesus Christ is not the Son of God hidden in the Son of Man, retaining all the attributes of Divinity in a latent state. This would be to admit an irreducible duality which would do away with the unity of His person, and would withdraw Him from the normal conditions of human life. His obedience would become illusory, and His example would be without application to our race. No; when the Word became flesh, He humbled Himself, He put off His glory, being 'rich He became poor, and was made in all points like as we are, only without sin;' that He might pass through the moral conflict, with all the perils of freedom. He is the Son of God who has voluntarily abased Himself; and this humiliation is the beginning, as it is the condition of His sacrifice. Of His Divinity He retained that which constitutes, in a manner, its moral essence; and He is not the less man on that account, because man is only complete in God. Unless we would fall into a doctrine which would make a phantom of Christ and an illusion of the Gospel, we must needs admit, in all its import and with all its mystery, this humiliation of the Word—a truth far too much lost sight of by the theological school of the fourth century. In the preceding age, in the midst of hesitations and uncertainties of formula, there never ceased to be faith in the truly Man-Christ; there was no recourse to the dogma of two natures, but a faithful adherence to the beliefs of apostolic times, too living and too profound to be lost in such metaphysical distinctions. 'Homo factus est,' said Irenæus, 'ut nos assuefaceret fieri dei.'

"Thus, then, the Christ whose life we are about to trace, is not that strange Messiah who possesses, as God, omniscience and omnipotence; while, as man, His knowledge and power are limited. We believe in a Christ who has become truly like unto us: who was subject to the conditions of progress and gradual development of human life; and who was 'obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.' From such a point of view the Gospel is living and human; it ceases to resemble a Byzantine painting, stiff and motionless in its frame of

gold, with all individual expression merged in conventional colouring. 'It behoved Him,' says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'to be made in all points like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful high priest. . . . for in that He Himself hath suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted' (Heb. ii. 17, 18).—P. 207.

What that "moral essence" of the Divinity may be, which "in a manner" the Saviour may be said to have retained, it would have been hard for the writer to explain. Whatever he may mean by it, there can be no doubt that it is far wiser to leave the glory of our Saviour's higher nature absolutely unimpaired. The stress of human redemption needs it; the Scriptures, fairly interpreted, never suggest any obscuration of the higher nature; and such a lowering of it as that which is here suggested involves many things that are most objectionable in themselves and full of danger to the Christian faith. To say that the two natures of Christ is a dogma that the fourth century imposed upon the Church by its metaphysical subtlety, is to surrender the doctrine of the Incarnation, and to rob the Church of the best foundation of its confidence in the atonement of Christ. We may safely grant that the humanity of our Lord was perfect, and that it was endowed with the most supreme liberty; but, on the other hand, we must remember that the link between the Divinity and the humanity was one that never could be severed, and therefore that the Redeemer did not approach the tempter and go on the way to the cross amidst "all the perils of liberty." We do not believe that this humiliation—the marvellous and inconceivable humiliation that the author hints at—was either the "beginning" or the "condition" of the sacrifice of Christ. It is perilous to represent Him as vanquishing in the wilderness when He might have fallen; but it is yet more perilous to represent Him as approaching the cross in the strength, or rather in the weakness, of even perfect human nature.

We would hold fast the fact that our Saviour's human nature passed through all the "developments of human life;" and even admit that this "development" has been too much lost sight of by theologians. But we cannot admit that the human development of Jesus was conducted otherwise than in ineffable union with a Divine nature that could know no development as it could know no exinanition. We cannot conceive the accomplishment of human redemption to have ever been in any sense whatever conditional. And the sacrifice of the cross derives, in our judgment, its un-

speakable value to the soul of man from its having been offered by one whose unimpaired and unhumbled Divinity gave His humbled human nature an infinite strength to suffer and an infinite worth in suffering.

But these are only notes in passing. We would advise the reader who studies this work to be on his guard against every hint that tends to the disparagement of the fourth century, and its theological settlements of doctrine and Christian terminology. If the decisions of the Church by which Sabellian, Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian errors were repelled or obviated, are once regarded as subtle and precarious additions to the simplicity of the faith, there remains no safeguard. At a great price we obtained that freedom which is subjection to dogmatic doctrine; and we should carefully guard it. Nothing is more characteristic of the present time, and nothing more suspicious among its characteristics, than its impatience of all definitive theology, and especially of the grand old divinity of the fourth century.

We do not propose to review the remainder of the volume, which does not very greatly differ from other attempts to set forth the life of Christ. We find nothing to demand any emphatic notice, either for praise or blame, in the general exhibition of the Gospel history. It is orthodox, learned, reverent, and, save for a certain touch of sentimentality and forced diction, exceedingly attractive. The vice in the theology, however, to which reference has been made, taints the page very often.

For instance, the Saviour's temptation in the wilderness is made the scene of "a great trial of the free will without which no moral destiny is complete." Not content with demanding that Christ's human nature might be tempted and was tempted, the author seems anxious, like many other modern divines, to establish the proposition that the Person of the God-man was peccable, capable of sinning, and determined the fact of His sanctity through resistance to temptation. He strives hard to prove that, if the Messiah in the presence of Satan is regarded as beyond the possibility of sinning, He is withdrawn from the condition of earthly life, His humanity is only an illusion, as it were, a transparent veil through which His impassible Divinity shines. "Being no more like unto us, He is no more ours." Seized with this idea, he goes on to declaim in a style scarcely fit for sober theology, and at length reaches his climax in the following unmistakeable words. "*He learned obedience*, which signifies that, from the state of natural and instinctive innocence He had to raise

Himself to a holiness of choice, a perilous transit in which the first Adam fell, but in which the Second conquered by the sole arms of faith and prayer, and not by girding on as an impenetrable panoply His eternal Godhead."

The youngest reader must see what grave consequences follow from such a statement as this: "He is called to decide if He will fulfil the one supreme law of the moral world, the sum of which is obedience and love, or if He will seek His own satisfaction, His own interest. The question is not stated in a vague and general way; it is as Messiah that He is tempted; that which is aimed at is the miraculous power that He possesses, or at least with which He is invested by God day by day." Is there any one who does not see what fearful error lurks in such words as these? Is it not plain that the exigency of his theory pushes the writer to a conclusion which he would not willingly adopt, and to use language which would precisely become the lips of a Socinian? But into this great point we shall not enter now; it has been discussed by us already, and will come up for discussion again. Suffice to say that no difficulty in the way of sound theology on this subject is comparable to the danger of dividing the Saviour into two persons, or in some incomprehensible way suppressing the omnipotence of His Divinity. When our Lord took flesh He made His own lower nature sinless, and incapable of sin, in virtue of that sacred bond itself.

It is pleasant, by way of compensation, to pay a tribute of admiration to the energy with which the reality of the concomitants of the temptation is maintained. How shadowy has Satan become in some modern theology, how all but gone; but here he is himself—

"In the temptation in the wilderness we witness the appearance of that mysterious being, who is represented in the first book of the Bible, as connected with the history of the fall. Satan, as we have shown, is not the Persian Ahriman who represents the element of evil, in nature as well as in moral life; he is a fallen angel, created in light and purity like all God's creatures, but having failed to abide in them. Doubtless he also fell under the trial of moral freedom, universally imposed on intelligent beings, made in the likeness of God. We know nothing of the nature of this trial, of the manner of his rebellion, nor of the sphere in which it took place.

"It is impossible to admit or reject with any certainty the hypothesis so often sustained, that the gigantic wrecks on which the new life of our planet has flourished give evidence of a tragical history before the human era, in which man was preceded on the earth by beings higher than himself in their origin, who have therefore fallen lower, and are



become the natural and desperate enemies of the race which has succeeded them.

"We are bound to hold the reality of the existence of devils; nothing in reason opposes the possibility of moral beings different from man, more utterly perverted and endowed with a subtlety of nature which allows them wider and more rapid action. There are times when the imperceptible barrier which divides us from the invisible world—so far from our eyes, so near our hearts—seems to fall altogether.

"Such are the great religious crises of humanity; now there is no crisis comparable to the opening of the era of Christ. We do not think, then, that we are yielding to any superstition, in recognising in the temptation the direct intervention of the chief of those evil spirits, who are the worst enemies of man."—P. 260.

We heartily approve of M. de Pressensé's remarks on the unity of our Saviour's "plan," if the term must be used, and the necessity of supposing that He did not reach it by careful combination and minute calculation. But his theory has everywhere an element of peril, and here we read, "It was rather a determination of the will than a conception of the mind. It was the first triumph of love over the spirit of pride and selfishness, the trophy brought from the great conflict on the desert." Rather, it was the great design always present to His Divine mind which assumed all its glorious proportions to His human intellect as it grew to maturity. If there is difficulty in understanding this, it is a difficulty which belongs to the subject, and springs from the limitation of our minds, not one that imperils the foundations of the faith.

Speaking of the teaching of Jews, M. de Pressensé is obliged, of course, to give up His omniscience. But he is exceedingly anxious to guard against "confounding the relative imperfection of His religious knowledge with error." Now, that infallibility which our Saviour claimed, and which must be conceded to Him, is here stated to be only in the religious domain, and only as the result of His supreme holiness. And we are required to think of our Lord, not as having in the bosom of the Father all knowledge—though as the Son of Man "He is in heaven"—but as being under a clear light within the circle of Divine truth, while ignorant, like others, of all things beyond. To us it seems that such views of our Lord's knowledge were designedly obviated, or protested against beforehand by those last revelations concerning the Son which St. John has given: concerning the Son who, speaking from that One Person through His own human lips, "I and the Father are one." What knowledge might actually be stored in His human mind, and what knowledge He might see fit to



display or use, what knowledge He might hold in reserve unspoken of—are questions we may speculate upon, but cannot resolve. Of this, however, we may be sure, that whatever knowledge the Eternal Son of God had before the world was, that Divine-human Person possessed; it was His, though not passing through the processes of His human mind, or employed by His human lips.

The following remarks will show how M. Pressensé meets the tendency of the age to deny the possibility of miracles. It occurs in the midst of an eloquent and vigorous sketch of the miraculous element in the life of Christ:—

“It follows that a miracle is not a mere prodigy; it implies a manifestation of holiness and love. It is a sign, a revelation, of the invisible; it is designed to raise those who witness it from the merely external to the higher and moral sphere; it is, in fine, a work, and it is by this name that Jesus most frequently designates it. A work implies the development of moral activity; it is the manifestation not only of a particular force, but of the worker himself. ‘The works that I do,’ said Jesus, ‘they bear witness of Me.’ Each individual miracle is, then, a revelation of the Saviour, a reflex of His moral perfection, a sensible expression of His character. Jesus is Himself the great miracle, for He represents at its culminating point the saving and special intervention of Divine love for the redemption of the world. He breaks the chain of natural causes and effects to make a new beginning. He is the incarnation of redeeming love, and we recognise in Him the supreme manifestation of the pity of the Father remedying the ruin of the fall. Particular miracles are only emanations from this living and central miracle. Peculiarly, by the simple fact that they are the impression of natural laws, miracles denote the extraordinary character of the mission and work of Jesus; they mark Him as the great Ambassador of God, who restores the kingdom of heaven with power; the special and local supernatural springs from the general and permanent supernatural element of the work of redemption.”—P. 310.

The doctrine of atonement that pervades the volume is, as may be supposed, from all that has been said, somewhat one-sided; it looks too much at the perfection of our Saviour's obedience as man, and too little at the Divinity which gave the final sacrifice its propitiatory virtue. Not, indeed, that there is any positive error in the statements made on the subject, and made generally in an incidental manner, dogmatic theology not entering into the author's design. When the sacrifice of the cross is represented as the consummation of a life of perfect obedience and self-devotion, an offering rendered as the representative of a sinful race, we cannot but

concur in this. But when this absolute obedience of the perfect man is spoken of as "giving His death its redemptive and reparative power," we feel that we are on the threshold of serious error; and that such language may be perverted, as indeed it is perverted, into a very latitudinarian view of the penal substitution of the Redeemer. It is more dangerous in reality than the words might seem, to say that "by accepting in all their vigour the consequences of sin, He brought back the heart of man to God." Whether in the desert, or in Gethsemane, or on Calvary, we see our Redeemer doing more than "fulfil the great law of creation which is to do the will of God," more than "in the name of mankind retracting the rebellion of Eden." While heartily agreeing with the writer's glowing vindication of love as the supreme principle of the Atonement, we are painfully conscious of the absence of the strictly propitiatory element, and think that there is a wide field of doctrine in St. Paul's Epistles, and, indeed, throughout the later New Testament, which is here pretermitted. This omission is in strict harmony with the recent tendencies of speculation on this awful subject; but it robs the doctrine of half its glory and all its strength.

Here we close, and must, with these cautions, commend the reader to a book which takes rank among the best of the Lives of Jesus that this generation has produced. Its apologetic tone, as a reply to Strauss and Renan, gives it a special interest and value, while its completeness as one branch of a vast subject which the learned author has in hand, secures it an independent and permanent position in Christian literature. We have only to add that the original is exceedingly graceful French, and nothing is more pleasant than to read clear French theology. The translation is an admirable one, marred, it is true, by a few venial errors in the notes, which we hope there will soon be opportunity of correcting.

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**ART. VII.—***Memoirs and Correspondence of Field-Marshal Viscount Combermere, G.C.B. &c. From his Family Papers.* By the RIGHT HON. MARY VISCOUNTESS COMBERMERE and CAPT. W. KNOLLYS, 93rd Sutherland Highlanders. In Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

WE have lately described in this *Journal*\* the careers of a man of letters and of a statesman, each of whom lived to an age far beyond the ordinary limits of human life. We have now to speak of a soldier who in longevity exceeded both. Lord Palmerston survived his 80th year, Walter Savage Landor died in his 90th; but when, like them, Lord Combermere painlessly dozed out of this world, he had passed his 91st birthday. While the second was still at Rugby, before the first had gone to Harrow, the third had done with school life and had entered upon that profession which he afterwards so greatly adorned. It is, of course, because Lord Combermere was a distinguished soldier, not because he was a long-lived man, that we devote this article to his life. But though length of years alone constitutes no claim to biographic commemoration, it adds interest to the narrative. The time when Washington fought against us on one continent and Tippoo Sahib on another is now so remote, that we have little chance of hearing from contemporaries what they thought of the conflicts which ended in the loss of our American colonies, and in the establishment of our Indian empire. Until a few months ago there was living a man who had been contemporary with both events, and who took an active part in the latter. Stapleton Cotton, the Lord Combermere of our own time, made his first essay as a commander at Malavelly, where "Citizen Tippoo," as the French Republican plotters against our power in the East called him, was routed; and he had been a soldier for nearly ten years before this.

The subject of this notice came of a good, old family. In fact, the Cottons were so proud of their position and descent, that they twice refused a coronet, preferring a foremost place in the list of baronets to a low one in the list of peers. They could trace back their lineage well nigh a thousand

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\* See the *London Quarterly Review* of April, 1865, and January, 1866.

years, and they were in the country before William the Norman slew the last of the Saxon kings. They became landed proprietors in the time of John. Henry VIII. bestowed upon them Combermere Abbey, which they still enjoy. Some part of the old Norman work survives. William III. passed a night in this building on his way to the battle of the Boyne. Just before this a Sir Robert Cotton had been committed to the Tower by James II. for alleged treasonable correspondence with the Electress Sophia, but he was released without harm. The common belief that the owners of Church property are never succeeded by their eldest sons is favoured by the history of this family. A strange transaction took place about 160 years ago. Admiral Sir George Herbert, afterwards Lord Torrington, had a wealthy niece and ward, and he proposed to the Sir Robert Cotton who paid the above-mentioned involuntary visit to the Tower, that Thomas Cotton, then seventeen years old, should take the heiress to wife on the condition that he—the guardian—should be put in possession of a considerable portion of her property as payment for his consent to the marriage. It is not to Sir Robert's credit that this proposal was accepted by him and carried out. The husband died young, and his widow was married to a Mr. King, upon whom she bestowed the whole of her fortune. To one of the sons born under this marriage she gave her first husband's surname. The conjunction of the two names did not sound so so eccentric then as it would since the American saying became current, "Cotton is King."

This lady had for niece Hester Salusbury, afterwards well known as Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Johnson, and then less favourably known as Mrs. Piozzi. The Salusburies were closely connected with the Cottons, and Lord Combermere was a descendant who represented both families. The Salusburies were not quite so ancient as the Cottons, for they did not come over with the Conqueror. To make up for inferior antiquity, they claimed descent from royalty in the person of Alexander, Sovereign Duke of Bavaria. In Elizabeth's reign the Sir John Salusbury of that time was married to Katherine of Berayne, a ward of the Queen's. Katherine's husband died, but though she followed him as a mourner to the grave she did not persuade the other mourners that she was inconsolable. One of them, thinking that her loneliness and her wealth would secure her as many suitors as Penelope while Ulysses was on his travels, and deeming that no time ~~was~~ like the present, proposed to her on their return from

the funeral. The widow refused him, but she was not scandalised by the offer, for she had accepted the hand of a still more enterprising aspirant on her way to the funeral. She consoled the unsuccessful and dejected suitor by promising that if occasion offered he should be her third husband. She kept her word. She did more. She buried him and married a fourth. In striking contrast with this light-hearted polygamist stands the father of Lord Combermere. Between himself and his wife there was a difference of twenty years, but so devoted were they to each other that when she died he expired of grief within a week of her death, and the two were buried in the same grave on the same day. This Sir Robert Cotton was quite the fine old English gentleman. He represented Cheshire in Parliament for thirty years, of course in the high Tory interest. He was passionately fond of field sports. He kept open house, not only for his sporting friends, but for his constituents. Good cheer was always to be found as well in the servants' hall as in the dining-room. He received small thanks for his hospitality and almsgiving. That which he freely gave came to be considered as a legal right by many of the recipients, who declared their belief that the deed by which the Cottons held their estate enforced a periodical distribution of money and food. Sir Robert's hospitality was beyond his means. He had succeeded to an encumbered estate, and being himself a bad man of business he made matters worse. Being much in want of money, he determined to sell the Salusbury estates in Denbighshire, and parted with them to a brother of Lord Shelburne's for £110,000, a price quite inadequate to the value, for the estate was subsequently resold to Lord Dinorben for £280,000. Bad as the bargain was for Sir Robert Cotton, it was long before he could get his money. In fact, he was not paid till Lord Shelburne became minister. This politician was the Morny of his time, and made a large fortune by turning to private account on the Stock Exchange the knowledge which he acquired of Government secrets. By way of atoning to Sir Robert for the long delay in the payment of his money, Lord Shelburne offered him a peerage, which was declined.

Stapleton Cotton, the subject of this article, was one of the eight children of the open-handed and imprudent baronet just described. He was the second son, and his elder brother having died at the age of thirty-one, Stapleton became the heir when twenty-six years old. At eight years he was sent to an obscure and inefficient school at Audlem, where he was

so noted for his adventurous exploits that he received the name of "Young Rapid." Among his few schoolfellows was Vernon, afterwards Archbishop of York. When three years had been thrown away at Audlem, Stapleton was sent to Westminster, where he was placed in the fourth form under Dr. Dodd. Henry Petty, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne and the Nestor of the Whigs, was a Westminsterian at this time, and his coldness and reserve made him little popular. The Earl of Strafford, who was also at the school with Cotton, was far more of a favourite than Petty, if we are to judge by the favourite name—Jack Byng—whereby he was known. Robert Southey and Sir Robert Wilson likewise were schoolfellows of Cotton. Sir Robert Cotton had a town house in Berkeley Square at this time, and whenever his father was in London it was Stapleton's fate to spend every Sunday with his godfather, the Marquis of Buckingham. The Marquis bored the lad. Far more popular was his other godfather, Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, who, Welshman that he was, used to visit the school on St. David's Day, give to all the Welsh boys whom he knew, a guinea, and to his godson two. It is not always easy to distinguish boyish fancy from innate genius, a transitory caprice from a permanent disposition. Many a boy, after reading Marryat's and Cooper's novels, has been filled with a love of the sea which was entirely quelled long before the end of the first voyage. Cotton might well have been dazzled into a short-lived military ardour by the stirring achievements of our generals about the time that he was at Westminster. Yet, though in very early life he longed to enter the army, his desire was not a fleeting impulse, but the result of his mental constitution. If any man ever had a natural vocation or original instinct towards the profession of arms he had. After he had spent four years at Westminster, Stapleton's desire was granted to him; his father consented that he should be prepared for the army. The preparation was scarcely more than nominal. It was entrusted to an old Shropshire militia officer, whom Sir Robert had known for many years. He taught the boy probably all that he himself knew, but this was limited to the mode of cleaning firelocks. The lad had a higher ideal of the duties of his profession, and desired to be sent to a military college, where he might learn foreign languages; but Sir Robert was clannish, and as the militia major had the credit of being a Salopian, young Stapleton had to put up with the knowledge which was imparted to him.

The future Field Marshal entered the army on February 26,



1790, as second lieutenant without purchase in the 23rd or Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Thirteen months later he became captain by purchase in the 6th Dragoon Guards, and accompanied his regiment to Flanders in the August of that year, 1793. The chief danger to which the regiment was exposed at this time was not the fire of the enemy, but its own "fire-water." It was an Irish regiment, and indulged in deep potations. Cotton was the only English officer in it, and his friends were greatly concerned in his behalf, prophesying that he would either fall in a duel or die of the monstrous revelry which, according to the Irish tradition, was incumbent upon an officer and a gentleman. A bad example was set by the highest officers in command. In Flanders, General Erskine was never to be seen after a certain hour, however urgent the necessity for his presence; while at head quarters the officers of his staff were generally assisted to bed at night by attendants nearly as tipsy as themselves. A special Providence is said to watch over drunkards; certainly our troops seemed to fare none the worse for the want of prudence on the part of their commanding officer, easily as the enemy might have made havoc with them after dinner, unless indeed the French also, like the English, were giving to toping. Cotton had much strength and independence of character. He was not prepared to ruin his constitution because it was the fashion among his comrades to do so. Now and then he indulged with the rest to prove that he could do so if he liked, and that he was not afraid of carrying a large supply of liquor. But he refused to follow the general example by becoming drunk every night. He was none the less generally popular in his regiment, and "little Cotton" was an especial favourite with his colonel.

"Little Cotton" first smelt powder shortly before he was of age; in an action fought April 16, 1794, near Prémont, a little town between Lille and Tournay. It was a sharp, though now little remembered, contest, and the position of the allies was for some time very critical. The British troops had got separated from each other in the night, and an aide-de-camp conveyed to them the unwelcome intelligence that the Austrians had been surprised and surrounded, and that he feared English assistance would arrive too late to offer available help. But the day turned out far better than at first seemed possible. Cotton's regiment did brilliant service, and, though far inferior in numbers, completely routed the French carabineers, killing about 800, and forcing as many more to lay down their arms. The English loss was but trifling; nevertheless it included General Maunsell.



It was by a lucky accident that Cotton was present at this affair. Family influence had obtained for him rapid promotion, and before the battle of Prémont letters should have conveyed to him the news that within a few days he had been promoted to the majority of the 59th regiment, and then to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 25th Light Dragoons, and should have ordered him to join the latter regiment at once. Some delay occurred in the transmission of these letters, and it was to this that he owed his presence at the above mentioned engagement. Shortly after it he returned to England, and found his regiment quartered at Margate and Ramsgate. The young captain had been victor in the Netherlands village, but the young lieutenant-colonel was compelled to run away from the Kentish watering place. He had made acquaintance at Margate with a very pretty and fascinating Jewess, and at last found himself so dangerously captivated by her that he took refuge in flight. The step which he took showed more prudence than most men of his age and personal attractions would have exhibited. But his mode of counteracting the influences of Venus was quite in accordance with his resistance to Bacchus already mentioned. He himself was a worthy son of Mars. The portrait prefixed to the first volume of the most interesting biography whose title stands at the head of this article, shows that he was very good-looking; and his biographers speak of his profusion of dark hair, thick eye brows, bright hazel eyes, of rapid glance, shaded by long lashes, small and well-proportioned head, aquiline nose, massive Saxon chin, and well-knit agile body. Perhaps the Margate Rebecca was hit no less hardly than her Ivanhoe. However that may be, it is satisfactory to know that neither died of a broken heart. Miss Barnett became Mrs. Rolls, and Stapleton Cotton lived to marry three wives. Cotton showed as much prudence in his place of retreat as in the retreat itself. He went to Weymouth, which at that period of the reign of George III. was as fashionable and as gay as Brighton became in the reign of George IV., though in a more decorous manner. Weymouth was always a favourite watering place with the "best of monarchs." The old King was not old then; he had got only stolid and obstinate after the fashion that Peter Pindar has depicted. His Queen was as selfish and exacting as Frances Burney found her to be. Nevertheless their presence helped to make some stir in the otherwise dull town, with its broad treeless esplanade, and Cotton benefited from the diversion and the excitement caused, especially when he had to accompany the King on his visits of

military inspection. There was another member of the royal family who helped still more to change the current of his thoughts. The Princess Mary, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester, was at the time beautiful and charming, and she often singled out the young hussar for her partner at the gay balls which enlivened Weymouth. In such a presence he must have felt more than ever the undesirableness of closer intimacy with the Margate Jewess.

But after all, balls, at least of this sort, were not the business to which Cotton had intended to devote himself. Cannonballs were more to his mind. He panted for active service. At first his applications obtained for him nothing better than a removal to that cold bleak down of Roborough, which lies between Plymouth and Dartmoor. But while encamped there he heard the joyful tidings that his regiment was ordered to India. Seventy years ago the Admiralty found no such difficulty as their successors of to-day experience in maintaining the efficiency of the navy both as to vessels and men. The First Lord of 1866 tells us that we have not enough ships for reserve. In 1796 three hundred vessels started together for various parts of the world. They were not all ships of war, it is true ; but those that were not were transports. Cotton was on board the *Nottingham*, and after various minor events, such as the encounter between the English and French fleets in Simon's Bay, he arrived in India in June, 1797.

India at this time was a land of Ophir for officers who were prepared to undergo a long expatriation and a diseased liver. But though throughout the whole country there was "abundance of gold," there were certain districts of it richer than others. The Bengal Presidency, for instance, far surpassed that of Madras. Cotton, writing to his mother soon after his arrival in India, said, that while an officer commanding any station received full *batta*, on the Bengal establishment every officer received double *batta*, and the commanding officer double full *batta*. "A command in Bengal," he added, "is a certain fortune in the course of five years." General Floyd was at that time receiving from fifteen to sixteen thousand a year. As for Cotton himself, he asked only to be made Colonel. He was to have been sent to Bengal ; but another regiment having been ordered there instead of his, through the interest which the commanding officer had with the Duke of York, or perhaps the Duke's mistress. Cotton's stay in India was not of long duration. He took part in the battle of Malavelly and in the siege of Seringapatam, and immediately after the capture of that city he received the

news that his elder brother had died, that he himself had thereby become heir to the baronetcy, and that his father, anxious for his return home, had effected an exchange of regiments for him. As he took leave of some friends at Madras, he told them that they never would meet again. Whereupon one of them jokingly replied, "Not until you are our commander-in-chief." The jest was prophetic, and thirty years afterwards Lord Combermere, then Commander-in-Chief of the army in India, shook hands with the prophet. He returned to England with the despatches announcing the fall of Tippo Sahib's stronghold, and found that during his journey home he had been made full colonel of the 16th Light Dragoons. After a brief round of gaiety in London, he joined his regiment at Margate. That place was destined to be memorable in his career. Six years before, as we have seen, he fell in love and ran away in order to avoid awkward consequences. This time he fell in love and did not run away. His new innamorata was no Jewess, but a high-born English girl of nineteen, beautiful as well as noble, Lady Anna Maria Clinton, daughter of the third Duke of Newcastle. The young officer yielded on this occasion, and by yielding triumphed. He became an accepted suitor, and a little later, in 1801, the bridegroom of the young lady. After this event he spent two years with his regiment at Brighton, which even then was expanding beneath the favour of the builder of the Pavilion. The Prince of Wales was a constant visitor to the town, and rumour said that he found special attractions in a certain house on the Steyne, where dwelt a lady of great personal attractions, Mrs. Fitzherbert to wit. The Prince, for some reason, scarcely for shame, kept his visits to this lady very quiet, or thought that he did so. On one occasion he fell at Mrs. Fitzherbert's door and sprained his leg. The *contretemps* and its *locale* soon became the subject of Brighton gossip, and Colonel Cotton mentioned it in a letter to Lady Liverpool. So flavoured a morsel of scandal was sure to be made the most of by a lady in the *beau monde*, and the wife of the long-lived minister regaled her friends with it on every possible occasion, mentioning from whom she received it. The Prince, who, if he forgot his friends, at least never forgot his enemies, or those whom he considered such, never forgave Colonel Cotton's indiscretion, banished him from the Pavilion, and took subsequent opportunities of showing that he was not in the royal good books. Nor was Cotton the only guest of the "first gentleman in Europe" who fell into disgrace. The "first gentleman" was a fair musician, and used to play

duets on the violoncello with Captain Bloomfield. Afterwards, as Lord Bloomfield, the Prince's friend expressed a patriotic objection to exact from the national generosity the cost of some jewels, which the Prince, liberal with money not his own, bestowed upon another favourite at his own coronation. This opposition was remembered during the whole remainder of the life of the man of many waistcoats.

In 1802, Colonel Cotton was ordered with his regiment to Ireland. It was quartered at Gort, and in that then miserable village his first child, a son, was born. After eighteen months' existence in this dreary place, he was moved to Dublin. The Irish capital, and, indeed, the whole of Ireland was at that time on the verge of insurrection. Robert Emmett, chivalrous and brave, though a plotter of treason in secret places, was preparing his abortive rising. On July 23, 1803, it broke out. The firing of a small cannon was the signal for atrocities which Emmett himself did his best to stop. Sallying forth from his house, with sword drawn, he placed himself at the head of an unruly mob, which he might indeed head, but which he could not control. An officer passing quietly along the street was shot dead. The carriage of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice, was stopped; he and his nephew were dragged out, and in spite of the cries for mercy from his niece, the judge and his companion were felled to the ground and pierced with innumerable wounds. Emmett, finding himself powerless to check these crimes, fled from the city in disguise. He was soon taken, tried, made an eloquent defence, was condemned, and executed. Colonel Cotton had a narrow escape during these disturbances. The Commander-in-Chief had received information of the outbreak previously to its occurrence, and summoned the officers in the city to a secret council. Colonel Brown was one of these, and as he was obeying the summons he was shot as above mentioned. Colonel Vassal was another, and he had to flee from the howling mob to the hospital gate for very life. Colonel Cotton was a third, and he escaped the danger by prudently traversing the back streets. He lost one of the best men in his regiment. The poor fellow was employed in conveying despatches from the Commander-in-Chief to the Lord-Lieutenant; but, finding the street through which he had to pass thronged with rioters, he, in order to save his despatches, as well as his life, returned to the Castle. Some foolish aides-de-camp taunted him with cowardice, and declared that he could pass the crowd without danger if he liked. He answered them that there was danger; but as they ordered him to proceed

he would do so. A few hours afterwards he was found dead with seven pike wounds in his body. Colonel Cotton had to perform the sad task of keeping the ground at Emmett's execution. Though he had evidently expected a rescue, the condemned man bore his fate with great fortitude. His early and tragical death excited very lively sympathy, the more so as it was generally known that he was betrothed to the daughter of Curran, and that the lovers were passionately fond of each other. With terrible alternations of hope and despair, she listened to his trial; with the highest pride she heard his most eloquent defence, and when the sentence was passed she seemed so stunned and paralysed with grief that it was thought she would not survive her *fiancé*. Yet she did survive him. And after mourning for him as though he had been her husband, she reappeared in society, where her sad history, written in touching characters upon her face, and told in the plaintive notes of her voice, captivated many a strong heart that would have been proof against the seductions of light-hearted happiness. She refused all suitors, however, until at last the persuasions of her friends and her own poverty induced her to marry an officer, who, by the most devoted attachment, endeavoured to arouse her out of her sorrow. For a time he seemed to have succeeded, and she endeavoured to reward his devotedness by cheerfulness; but her constitution had been undermined by grief, and so the sorrow of the widow proved stronger than the happiness of the bride, and she died in Sicily, where her husband had taken her in the hope that the restorative influence of that lovely climate might prove of service to his wife. The well-known lines of Moore, beginning—

“ She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,”

refer to this unfortunate girl. Strange to say, and difficult to reconcile with what has been already said, her funeral, as described by a magazine writer of the time, took place in Ireland, and was unattended, and the irreverent haste with which she was committed to the ground struck the writer so forcibly that he, not knowing who it was that was thus being buried unattended and unwept, inquired, and learnt with surprise and sorrow that it was Emmett's betrothed, the girl who had once been the adored of a brilliant society.

In 1805, Colonel Cotton became Major-General, and in 1806 he entered Parliament as member for Newark, the pocket borough of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Newcastle. In 1807, he sustained the most grievous of all bereavements.

His wife, Lady Anna Maria, showed signs of pulmonary disease, which she neglected for a time. Induced at last to pay attention to her condition, it was then too late for cure, and she died at Clifton, tended by the loving care of her husband, and of her mother and brother. Her body was taken to Combermere Abbey, and all the tenantry attended it to the grave, while the church bells, which but six years before had welcomed her with wedding chime, now tolled her funeral knell. General Cotton felt this loss acutely, and he seized the first occasion which offered of seeing active service. A splendid opportunity soon arose, one such as does not come to many men, however brave, however long-lived.

It was at this time, that the all-absorbing ambition of Napoleon had seized upon Spain; and, having ousted the lawful sovereign, he had placed his own brother on the throne. The inhabitants of Madrid, attached to the old dynasty, had risen in revolution, and a desperate battle had been fought in the royal city. No sooner did the news of this uprising reach England, than an expedition which had been fitted out under Sir Arthur Wellesley against Spanish South America was sent to Spain, and entered upon that famous Peninsular War, which has been recorded for the admiration of all time by the masterly hand of a combatant, as skilful with the pen as he was valiant with the sword. There is no need for us to describe here that memorable campaign. It will suffice to mention the share taken in it by the subject of this notice. Sir William Napier has, in the opinion of Lord Combermere's biographers, not done that nobleman justice. His services were brilliant; though, being a cavalry officer, necessarily not so frequent as the officers of corps which could be more actively engaged in the sieges and storms for which the war is so celebrated. Major-General Cotton sailed from Falmouth with the 14th Light Dragoons, early in December, 1808. Arriving at Vigo, he heard of Sir John Moore's retreat, and received orders to occupy different points between Lisbon and Coimbra, and to watch Marshal Soult. In addition to his own regiment, he had command of the 9th, and of two battalions of stragglers from Sir John Moore's army. He spent the winter sometimes with one portion of his command, sometimes with the other. It was not until July that he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. It was at Talavera that this occurred. The battle was an obstinate one, and the combatants were most unequally proportioned. The French allowed themselves to be 45,000 strong, while the British



were but 17,000. The Spaniards, as was their wont, looked on. The fighting lasted from 10 a.m. of the 27th, to the evening of the 28th, and during the whole of that time Cotton was under fire. Writing afterwards to his sister, he said, "The loss of the enemy was immense; on our side considerable—really, every third man fell. How I escaped, every one considered a miracle, and I even wondered myself, seeing so many continually falling around me." The victory which crowned the British arms, was in great measure due to Cotton. On the 28th, the Guards having advanced too far, were thrown into momentary disorder, and the German legion was at the same time in confusion. The British centre seemed broken, and victory within the grasp of the French. "Cotton, sitting immoveable in his saddle in front of his gallant line of horsemen, saw the peril, observed the hostile waves rushing through the breach in the living wall before him, and determined to check the advancing current. He had no orders from Sir Arthur Wellesley to quit his post, but he was one of those who on such occasions are satisfied with the commands of honour, and he prepared to advance. Aided by the 40th, he did so, and the furious tide ebbed sullenly back, leaving behind it men and horses to mark where its track had been. The battle was saved. Though Cotton received the personal thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for this exploit, he was unmentioned in the official despatch. The Duke of Wellington was never prodigal of praise." And yet the achievement was worthy of mention. The newspapers were full of eulogies. Cotton himself, referring to it in the letter to his sister above mentioned, says that out of the two squadrons containing about 160 men, all were either killed or wounded, except himself and six or seven dragoons. In the intrenchments before Badajoz, our army suffered fearfully from fever, and the loss from this cause was no less than 5,000 men. Half of Cotton's force were in hospital at one time, but though he visited the men daily, he escaped unscathed; and attributed his immunity to early rising, great temperance in eating and drinking, and taking a ride every day before breakfast.

At the close of this year, he received intelligence of the death of his father, and obtained leave to return to England. On March 8th, 1810, the Speaker, Mr. Abbot, presented him with the thanks of the House of Commons for his services at Talavera. In returning thanks, he said, "To receive the thanks of Parliament, is one of the highest rewards to which a soldier can aspire; and believe me, sir, I shall ever consider



it my greatest pride to have been so honoured. This, I may venture to say, is the feeling of all my brother officers and soldiers, who had the good fortune to be commanded by one of the most able and distinguished generals that has adorned the annals of this country, and who will, I trust (should an opportunity offer), again prove to the world, that a British army is not to be beat by a French force of double its numbers." In these words Cotton did but express the belief entertained by all Englishmen, as to the superiority of the British soldier over the French, the belief which did so much to make the first victorious in their combats with the second, and which Lord Combermere, the hero of Talavera, had good reason to hold.

Though Cotton had now become a baronet, and the owner of large estates that greatly needed his superintendence, and though he was the father of a son who was now of an age to need parental care, he was not to be detained in England. The struggle going on in Spain had too keen an interest for him to remain long absent from it. After only a few weeks' stay here, he returned to the army, and was appointed first to the command of the first division, and then to that of the cavalry. He was just the man for such a post. Handsome, active, brave, and yet prudent, he was to the British army what Ney and Murat were to the French. Though somewhat hot tempered, he always had a kind word for his subordinates, and, though abstemious to a degree remarkable in that age of hard-livers, he was fond of society and well qualified for it. Frequently, say his biographers, "during the intervals of active operations or in winter quarters, he amused himself by assembling the ladies of the neighbourhood at these little parties, called *tertullias* in the Peninsula, at which dancing, music, and flirtation, all combine for the amusement of the guests. Like his illustrious chief, he was a great dandy, though with more success. Resembling Murat in personal fearlessness and enterprise, he also resembled that prince of *beaux sabreurs* in carrying his love of dress into the very field of battle. On the most perilous occasions he was to be seen attired in the rich uniform of a general of hussars, and mounted on a horse covered with the most gorgeous trappings, exposing himself recklessly to a storm of shot. So notorious was this habit, that it obtained for him in the army in Spain, the name of the *Lion d'Or*." His courage never led him to expose his men unnecessarily, and on many occasions he disregarded the chance of personal distinction, rather than expose his troops to the risk of a

heavy loss. He had that excellent quality in a leader—cheerfulness under the most depressing circumstances. Moreover, he was admirably acquainted with all the *minutiae* of the regiment, and possessed a peculiar aptitude for the inspection of troops. “The Duke of Wellington thought so highly of his prudence and fidelity, that he used to say, that if he gave an order to Sir Stapleton Cotton, he felt sure it would be obeyed, not only with zeal but with discretion.”

In April, 1812, Cotton took the chief part in a brilliant exploit. He had received instructions to engage the attention of the French while Wellington was moving in another direction, and he had discretionary orders to attack them. His plans were somewhat disconcerted by the failure of a message which he sent to one of his officers, who unwittingly exposed his leader's design, and caused the whole army to be drawn up in line of battle. The French soon discovered the numerical weakness of that portion of the English force, under Ponsonby, which they saw opposed to them, and bore down upon it. Ponsonby retreated slowly to a narrow defile, and just at that moment Cotton and the 16th appeared. The French, seeing that there was a stone wall between them and the enemy, took no notice of this reinforcement until the English dragoons, leaping the wall in a line, came down upon the French and began sabreing in all directions. The latter, believing then that the whole British army was at Cotton's back, were routed with a loss of about 300 to our 57. In this affair Sir Stapleton's favourite charger fell, and was so injured that it had to be shot. Its owner escaped with a few contusions. This fight was followed by a long ride of fifty miles, and that by a ball. A few weeks later Cotton held the whole French army at bay, with only two divisions of infantry and one brigade of cavalry, from day-break till seven, thus giving Wellington time to come to his assistance. Then came the battle of Salamanca, which, with the exception of Waterloo, was the most splendid day in the annals of the British cavalry. At a critical period in the engagement Cotton ordered Le Marchant to advance, who, in doubt as to the line of advance, asked in what direction he should front. Cotton, losing his temper, replied sharply, “To the enemy, sir.” “High words ensued,” add his biographers, “and but for Le Marchant's death the matter would not have ended where it did.” As it was, the necessity for action cut short this dispute, the charge was sounded, and like an avalanche Le Marchant's heavy dragoons crashed down on the enemy. The imposing nature and sud-

denness of the onset seemed to paralyse them ; the division was pierced through, and the French soldiers cast away their arms, and, running blindly between the British squadrons, piteously demanded quarter. Le Marchant and many officers had fallen ; still Cotton hurled the remnants on with unrelenting fury, and in another minute had broken, with terrible slaughter, a fresh column of infantry and captured five guns. Lord Wellington, who, as usual, was always present at the decisive point, now rode up to Sir Stapleton, and, fired with unusual enthusiasm by the brilliant feat which had just taken place, said "By —, Cotton, I never saw anything more beautiful in my life ; the day is yours." If Wellington did, as Lord Combermere's biographers think, neglect his previous services, he took good notice of this. In his official despatch he expressed his desire that Cotton should have the red riband, and added, "No cavalry could act better than ours did in the action, and I must say for Sir Stapleton that I don't know where we could find an officer that would command our cavalry in this country as well as he does." Cotton was made a Knight Companion of the Bath, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and obtained several decorations. Shortly after the brilliant victory of Salamanca, he was fired at in the dark by a Portuguese picquet, which took him and his party for foes. One of the bones of his left arm was broken by a bullet shot. Though badly hurt, he contrived to ride on to a miserable village, where he was laid in a pig trough, as the most comfortable place that could be found. Wellington sent him a surgeon, who advised amputation. Cotton refused to submit to it until he had seen the principal medical officer of the army ; and passed a night of great suffering. The next morning he was rewarded by being told that the arm might be saved, which it was, though to the end of his life it remained partly disabled. A little later he returned to England, received the thanks of Parliament once more, and became engaged to Miss Greville. He was at home only one month, but arrived just three days too late for the battle of Vittoria. It fell to his lot to convey to Soult, whom he was then pursuing, the tidings of the abdication of Napoleon. Soult affected to disbelieve the news, having had no official intimation of it. Cotton replied that if the French Marshal did not remain where he was, he must prepare for an attack. The authorised announcement soon arrived, and spared further trouble. The war was at an end, and Sir Stapleton addressed a kindly farewell to the cavalry whom he commanded.

On once more returning to England, Sir Stapleton Cotton was raised to the peerage by the style of Baron Combermere, with a pension of £2,000 a year for two generations. A month later he was married for the second time. It was the 18th of June, and he had to be present at the banquet given by the City in honour of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Marshal Blucher. It was a very grand festival, and the Lord Mayor went in state to Temple Bar to receive the Prince Regent. Withdrawing from the dinner at an early hour, Lord Combermere hurried to Lambeth Palace, where, between eleven and twelve at night, he was married by the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was a difference of twenty years between the bridegroom and the bride, but he looked much younger than forty-one; and the pair seemed admirably matched. Lady Combermere was a most accomplished woman, and like her husband was passionately fond of music. He himself had been a performer until his Salamanca wound forced him to lay aside his violin, and then he was forced to satisfy himself by singing duets with his wife. On going down to Combermere Abbey, the newly-wedded pair were received with every public demonstration of rejoicing; the horses were taken out of their carriage, and the Corporation of Chester turned out to welcome the chief personages of the day. But all these marks of popular favour could not console him for the disappointment which he shortly afterwards received. Napoleon had escaped from Elba. There was to be a fresh war, Wellington of course taking the supreme command. Lord Combermere equally of course expected to have the command of the cavalry. But the Regent had a long memory. He had not forgotten the *morceau* of scandal about Mrs. Fitzherbert, and so the *Lion d'Or* was pushed aside and the command given to Lord Uxbridge. Wellington was by no means satisfied with this arrangement, but he could not get it altered, and thenceforward Lord Combermere could never bear to speak of Waterloo. Immediately after the battle, when Lord Uxbridge's wound incapacitated him for active service, the Duke sent for his old companion in arms, who, responding to the summons, saw among other events the entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris.

In 1817 Lord Combermere received the appointment of Governor of Barbadoes and Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands. He landed at Bridgetown on June 3rd. The time was not auspicious. There had been a negro insurrection in the previous year, and that had been followed by a

fearful outbreak of yellow fever, which had carried off his predecessor. The planters were full of anxiety about the question of emancipation, then much discussed in England. Moreover, party politics ran very high in the island. In many respects Barbadoes at that time presented the same unsatisfactory aspect that Jamaica did a year ago. For a period, however, all went well. In his address at the opening of the Legislature the new Governor showed himself zealous for the welfare of the colony, and proposed various ameliorative measures, while at the same time he proved his disinterestedness by requesting the Assembly in fixing his income to take into consideration the great expenses which the island had lately had to incur. The first reform that Lord Combermere effected was sanitary. He found the troops encamped on ground where there was no drainage. He at once set engineers to work, who corrected this deficiency, and at the same time he gave orders that each soldier, before he turned out for morning parade, should receive a cup of warm cocoa. The consequence of these measures was, that whereas the average rate of mortality among the troops had been 75 per 1,000, it was reduced to 29 per 1,000; in other words, the mortality of troops in a tropical colony became as low as that of civilians living in the temperate climate of England. If such care and consideration rendered the Governor popular among the military, his splendid hospitality no less won the hearts of civilians. Always fond of outward show, so much so that when in the field he and his horse were said to be worth £500 to any enterprising detachment of the enemy who would carry them off, he astonished and flattered the Barbadians by the brilliancy of his staff, and the profuseness of his hospitality. He was well supported by Lady Combermere, whose balls and receptions were notable events in the island history. About four months after the Governor's arrival in Barbadoes, a most destructive hurricane visited that and the adjacent islands. St. Lucia was especially devastated, and the inhabitants were reduced to great distress. Lord Combermere took active measures to relieve it, but out of this event grew the misunderstanding which ultimately became a very serious quarrel. He had expended some of the public money in behalf of the St. Lucians, and to this the Barbadians, while quite willing to grant it, took exception on technical grounds. In courteous words they pointed out that this was a deviation from constitutional usage, and that, though they had no fear Lord Combermere would take advantage of it, yet it must not be considered a precedent; and they recommended that here-

after no arrangements should be made involving an expenditure of the public money "without the previous sanction of the legal and constitutional guardians of the public purse." Lord Combermere was, we think, unnecessarily offended at this, his annoyance being increased by the fact that the message was forwarded through the clerk, instead of through the Speaker. He returned an angry and by no means judicious reply. He justified himself so far as the expenditure of the money was concerned, declaring that it was a loan for which he had become personally responsible until the Assembly had sanctioned it, and he then went on to protest against the insinuation that he had acted illegally. It was now the turn of the Assembly to be irritated. They drew up a series of resolutions, in which they declared their perfect confidence in Lord Combermere, that they had never intended to insinuate anything against him, and that they claimed for themselves the right of free speech. The soreness which the controversy caused had not been healed, when another unfortunate incident occurred. Lord Combermere, as we have said, was always fond of pomp and show, and having on one occasion ordered the militia to attend him when he went to church, an island newspaper attacked him in violent language. With singular ill-judgment he prosecuted the journal for libel, and at once aroused a tempest in the island. The publisher of the journal was tried and acquitted amid a storm of cheers which could not be repressed, and Lord Combermere in revenge struck off the commission of the peace two magistrates who had taken an active part in the journalist's behalf. These persons being looked upon as martyrs were subsequently elected as members of the Assembly, and moved for and obtained the appointment of a committee to enquire into their removal from the magistracy, and they applied to Lord Combermere for evidence on the subject. The Governor gave a very haughty answer, declaring that the appointment of the committee was an interference with his prerogative; and on the same day he took the extreme measure of dissolving the House without assigning any reason. At the end of three years he requested to be relieved from his duties, and in 1820 returned to England. It is satisfactory to know that, in spite of the quarrel above mentioned, in which his official career as Governor was not unlike that of another Peninsular hero, Sir William Napier, Governor of Guernsey, he received many expressions of goodwill at his departure, including a handsome testimonial and an address signed by one thousand of the principal inhabitants. More satisfactory still, he had the



consciousness that his rule had been of benefit to the colony, especially in promoting the moral welfare of the Barbadians.

Shortly after Lord Combermere's return to England, he sustained a severe loss in the death of his eldest son—the only child of his first wife—a most engaging youth of eighteen. By way of relieving the melancholy which this event caused, he travelled abroad, and while on the Continent he received the news of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. He held this post only about two-and-a-half years, and then undertook the far more serious duties of Commander-in-Chief in India. He owed this promotion to the Duke of Wellington, whom Lord Combermere's biographers somewhat unjustly charge with being coldly insensible to the merits of his leader of cavalry. Certainly the Duke was not so on this occasion. When the Court of Directors came to him and asked him whom he would recommend for the command in India, the Duke replied, without hesitation, Lord Combermere. The directors were not satisfied. They said they wanted a man of genius, and that they had no faith in Lord Combermere's. The Duke's reply was characteristic of him: "I don't care a ——— about his genius. I tell you he is the man to take Bhurtpore." The directors were somewhat astonished at the uncourtliness of this language, but they were convinced by the Duke's earnestness, and so Lord Combermere was appointed, and he did take Bhurtpore. It was well he did so. The honour of the country was committed to the enterprise, and had it failed the authority of the Company would have received a severe, if not fatal, blow. The stronghold had baffled Lake, and the soothsayers confidently predicted that the new commander would be equally defeated, for, said they, the foundations of Bhurtpore, having been laid during a most auspicious conjunction of the planets, the town could be taken only by an alligator, which should drink up the water of the ditch surrounding the town. A six weeks' siege and a storm put the place in possession of our troops. But the soothsayers were nothing daunted. Was not the Sanscrit for alligator *combeer*, and was not that substantially identical with Combermere, and had not the British general stopped up a cut which supplied the moat with water? The loss of life during the siege was fearful. Thirteen thousand out of a garrison of 25,000 were killed and wounded, of whom 4,000 were slain during the assault. The British loss was 1,050. The treasure captured amounted to nearly half-a-million sterling, of which Lord Combermere's share was £60,000.



He shewed great wisdom in inducing the Government to pay five per cent. until the whole of the prize money had been distributed. It need hardly be said that under this arrangement there was none of that disgraceful delay which we have seen in the distribution of the prize money captured during the mutiny. Indian life suited Lord Combermere admirably. Himself a most abstemious man, at a time when hard drinking was the prevalent and destructive custom of the country, he kept himself free from—to quote a bad pun—all the miseries of a notorious evil *liver*. The magnificent durbars and military progresses, in which he took the most prominent part, were quite after the *Lion d'Or's* own heart. The King of Delhi, whom he visited, evidently thought him worthy to be associated with the Great Mogul, and bestowed upon Lord Combermere the titles of Champion of the State, Sword of the Emperor, and Lord of the World. He was not quite this last, but he did hold for a brief period, during Lord Amherst's absence, the magnificent position of Governor-General of India. Here, as in the minor position at Barbadoes, he used his influence for the social improvement of those beneath him, and declared himself in favour of the abolition of suttee, at a time when it was a canon of Anglo-Indian policy to admit no interference with Indian usages, and even to provide guards of honour to Indian idols. There seemed every prospect that Lord Combermere would have a long and honourable career in our Eastern Empire, when that unfortunate order was issued which Sir Thomas Seaton, in his recently published, most interesting autobiography ("From Cadet to Colonel"), declares to be the originating cause of the mutiny. "Batta," it may briefly be stated, was an allowance given to the troops in India, in consequence of an agreement made in 1796, by which the grievances of the army were removed, and the then threatening disaffection was remedied. The Company being in pecuniary straits, and finding its military position firmly established, determined to curtail the privileges of those by whom its power had been consolidated. Orders were thereupon issued to reduce the batta of all troops below Benares, on the ground that within 200 miles of Calcutta the cost of European goods was small compared with the price farther up the country. This measure was so direct a breach of the compact of 1796, that it was twice referred back to the council in England by the local authorities. It was in vain that they did so, the orders were imperative to carry out the reduction. The indignation of the officers was extreme, the more so as it soon appeared that the measure

was to be applied to themselves only, and not to their men. The latter became very insolent and swaggering when they found that while they were spared their officers were to be mulcted, from that time the authority of English officers over their sepoy was fatally shaken. The alteration was vexatious out of all proportion to the advantage derived by the Company; since the saving was but £20,000 a year. The Governor-General in carrying out his instructions became exceedingly unpopular, and he was excluded from all the balls and invitations given by the officers. Lord Combermere's position was one of much difficulty. He could not deny that the order was unjust, but he attempted to allay the irritation of the army. This did not satisfy the Court of Directors, and they determined to recall him, a step which he anticipated by resigning his command. He left India, January 6th, 1830, after a term of four years and three months' service.

Soon after his return to England, Lord and Lady Combermere unhappily found it expedient to separate. No other reason is given than incompatibility of taste and habits; a melancholy explanation when their warm attachment and harmonious lives in Barbadoes are remembered. Lady Combermere died about seven years afterwards, and at the last she absolved her husband from all blame or unkindness throughout their union, lamenting the years of happiness lost to both by their unfortunate misunderstanding. About twenty months later Lord Combermere was married to his third wife, Miss Gibbings, who is one of the writers of the biography which has furnished the substance of this article. From this time forward Lord Combermere's duties were those of the courtier instead of the warrior. Soon after the accession of William IV. he was summoned one morning to Frogmore, and arriving there he found that two other colonels of the household cavalry, the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Cathcart, had received a similar summons. After waiting for some time the King entered to them, and seemed much heated and very busy. He told them that he had sent for them because whenever the gold stick was wanted it was sure to be absent, and he had therefore had three sticks provided, whereof he gave one to each nobleman with the intimation that they were never to appear at court without their badge of office. It came to Lord Combermere's knowledge afterwards that the Duke of Wellington, who was then Premier, had strongly opposed the conferring of this honorary office upon the captor of Bhurtpore, and that it was only because the King had been resolutely

bent upon the appointment, that it had been made. More successfully the Duke withstood the King's intention to make Lord Combermere an earl. It is difficult to guess the reason of the Duke's hostility to the interests of his old companion in arms. It could scarcely have arisen from professional jealousy, for other officers had attained to higher distinctions, notably the Marquis of Anglesea. Nor did political considerations interpose. Lord Combermere, though scarcely sharing the glowing apprehensions which many of the members of the peerage entertained at this time on account of the Reform Bill, was nevertheless a very strong Conservative, and remained so throughout his life. The biographers are quite at loss to account for the Duke's apparent unfriendliness, though they consider it to have been not confined to this occasion, but to have been manifested at several periods of Lord Combermere's career. King William always had a liking for him, and when upon his death-bed sent for his Gold Stick and held out his hand by way of taking the leave which he was too weak to utter in words. By virtue of his office Lord Combermere had to attend the young Queen Victoria on several important State occasions. He often spoke of the first Privy Council which followed her Majesty's accession, and of the manner in which the youthful Sovereign, then a graceful girl, having been introduced by the Duchess of Kent, and left alone with the "reverend, grave, and potent signiors," presided over and listened to their discussions with perfect self-possession and fixed attention. He formed acquaintance about this time with a personage then well known in London society, though little suspected to be capable of taking the distinguished part in European politics which he has since played. Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was an occasional guest at Lord Combermere's house; so, too, was Mademoiselle Montijo, who little thought she saw before her her future husband, who would make her Empress of France.

Soon after his third marriage, Lord Combermere made a tour of the Continent, from which he was summoned back to serve in his official capacity at the baptism of the Prince of Wales. While he was at Rome during one of his foreign rambles, he was by some strange misunderstanding placed in a procession with a palm in his hand to follow the Pope, and walked round St. Peter's a spectacle to his wondering fellow-countrymen. He certainly had no proclivities towards the "Latin obedience;" and when the Romish hierarchy was established in England, Lord Combermere was

among the most earnest in denouncing not only the "Papal aggression," but also, to quote his own words, the "treacherous conduct of those unworthy sons of the Church who receive Protestant pay to promulgate Popish doctrines." In the year 1852 he sustained two bereavements, which he felt greatly. The first was that of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Newcastle, and little did he think as he stood at the grave by the side of the young and strong chief mourner that this the nephew would be taken before himself the uncle, then all but fourscore years old. In the September of the same year Lord Combermere, while seated at dinner, received the news of the death of his old chief, and was a good deal affected by it. He acted as first pall-bearer at the splendid funeral. The Duke's numerous appointments were dispersed among a large number of persons, and Lord Combermere received that of Constable of the Tower. On the fall of Sebastopol he was made a Field Marshal, and having already been appointed Colonel of the 1st Life Guards, he now completed the sum of his honours. He still appeared from time to time in public. At the centenary festival of the Grenadier Guards in 1860 he made, though then about 87 years of age, a vigorous speech in clear strong tones. His last official appearances were at the grand Volunteer Review, which he attended *cap-à-pié* in the Life Guards' uniform with helmet and cuirass, and carrying in his hand the gold stick; and the marriage of the Prince of Wales. Both occasions were somewhat trying. At the first he had a very bad-tempered horse to manage, and was so nearly thrown that he was fain to take refuge in the carriage of the Duchess of Cambridge. At Windsor he sustained a long and fatiguing day. There were no seats in St. George's Hall, but a friendly page gave him a comfortable chair in a quiet place, where, by a strange coincidence, he, the only warrior who remained to wear the medal for Seringapatam, sat beneath the plate taken from Tippoo Sahib. On his return from the wedding Lord Combermere had to fight his way through the crowd that gathered at Paddington Station to witness the return of the royal guests. The next morning he was on horseback as usual, in spite of his ninety years and the fatigues of the previous day. Those who live to such an age as Lord Combermere's, live to see committed to the grave many of those who should have been mourners instead of the mourned. It was with deep sorrow that the aged veteran heard of the death of his nephew and godson, the late Duke of Newcastle. His own end was now near at hand. He left Combermere

Abbey on his 90th birthday, while the bells of Wrenbury church were ringing in commemoration of the festival so often honoured. He went to Clifton for the winter, and the last notable spectacle that he witnessed was the opening of the Suspension-bridge. From that time his faculties daily failed, and he quietly passed out of existence on February 21, 1865.

Enough has been said in this brief sketch of a long career to show that Lord Combermere, though scarcely to be reckoned among our great generals, had abilities of a high order. He was a most brave and gallant soldier, but he was something more. His skill as a commander was shown conspicuously by the way in which he covered Wellington's retreat to Torres Vedras; so that, as his biographers say, "not a gun was lost; not a regiment hurried, not a baggage waggon abandoned." The crowning achievement of his career was the capture of Bhurtpore in the face of works of a very formidable kind and a garrison nearly equal to the besieging force. Perhaps if he had had more abundant opportunities of displaying his talents, he would have attained an even higher reputation than he has left. As it was, we do not think that England is open to the charge of having treated this one of her brave sons unworthily. If his biographers seem to say so, we must remember that one of them is too nearly connected with him to be able to speak with entire impartiality. The difficulty of forming a due estimate of him is shown in the over voluminousness of the biography. Interesting as the work is, it would have been improved by compression. A book of half the size would still have left upon the reader the impression that its subject was a gallant soldier, a skilful commander, and as fine a specimen of an English gentleman as one could find within the four seas.

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ART. VIII.—*The Albert N'yanza, Great Basin of the Nile, and Explorations of the Nile Sources.* By SAMUEL WHITE BAKER, M.A., F.R.G.S., Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. Two Vols. London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

It is not long since one of the newest but most able of the daily papers, pointed out the difficulty of describing a really good book. Critics so completely exhaust their adjectives in dealing with inferior works, that when a first-rate book does issue from the press, nothing more can be said of it than has already been said a hundred times of very common-place writing. Language has been abused until it has lost its power, and now fails to convey the writer's meaning when he most desires to be understood. The remark had reference to a striking work of fiction; but it applies with equal force to this book of travel and discovery.

Mr. (now Sir Samuel) Baker has proved himself worthy to rank among the group of African explorers, of whom England is so justly proud—with Livingstone, Barth, Burton, Speke, Grant—men of rare enterprise and endurance, some of them of high scientific attainments, and all of them possessing the intrepid courage of the ancient heroes. With Mr. Baker's name must be joined that of his wife, who, young and delicate woman though she was, shared his fatigues and countless perils; privations which were only one degree short of actual starvation; sickness, and all but death; and finally shared splendid triumph.

It is chiefly as a record of geographical discovery that we propose to glance at this extraordinary Journal. It will be remembered that in 1857-8, Captains Burton and Speke discovered in Central Africa an extensive lake (Tanganyika), running nearly due north and south. This lake extends from 3° S. to 8° S. of the equator, or about 300 miles in length, its width varying from thirty to forty miles in the centre, but narrowing towards each extremity. The same expedition discovered a still more important lake, though little more could be accomplished beyond ascertaining the fact of its existence. Captain Speke reached its southern shore and looked out upon what, both from the conformation of the country and the appearance of the lake, was evidently an



immense reservoir of waters ; but he could neither explore it himself, nor learn anything definite about it from the natives. It was in order to confirm this new discovery that in 1860 Speke undertook a second expedition in company with Captain Grant. Having reached the lake with much difficulty, they skirted part of its western and northern shores, and gathered sufficient information to map out its entire boundaries, of which the equinoctial line may be said to mark the northern shore. They heard of another lake to the westward ; but owing to the disturbed state of the country were unable to explore it, or to make any approaches to it. On reaching Gondokoro, where they met Mr. Baker on his way up the Nile in search of them, this omission was the subject of much regret, and the "Little Luta N'zige Lake" and its bearing upon the Nile problem was carefully discussed. But notwithstanding Mr. Baker's friendly gloss, it is clear Captain Speke had no idea of the true importance of this lake, which he considered to be a sort of shallow lagoon, though of great extent. He held firmly to the existence of Ptolemy's Mountains of the Moon, with their snow-capped summits ; but he evidently did not suppose that the ancient philosopher was right in the main fact, that the Nile has its rise in *two* immense lakes, lying respectively *east* and *west*, and that while he had happily discovered the eastern lake, the mass of water to the west, respecting which he received such obscure information, and which he supposed to be a back-water to the Nile, was in reality the twin source of the Father of Waters—an inland sea even more extensive than the one which he had so carefully explored.

It was, however, arranged that Mr. Baker should explore the country thus unfortunately missed, and which he was approaching from the opposite direction, he having come up the river from Khartoum. It should be here stated, both as an important fact and as significant of the character of the man, that Mr. Baker's journey was commenced the previous year (that is, early in 1861) ; but, finding after a short experience of travel that his ignorance of Arabic was a serious disadvantage, he altered his plans until he should have acquired the language. He, therefore, turned off to the north-east to examine the affluents to the river, which have their rise in the Abyssinian range of mountains. To this journey he resolved to devote a year, and adhered to the resolution literally and strictly ; for, leaving Berber on the banks of the Nile, on the 11th of June, 1861, he returned to it at Khartoum, on the 11th of June, 1862. During this interval the



seven great feeders of the river—the Atbara, Settite, Salaam, Angrab, Rahad, Dinder, and Blue Nile—were thoroughly explored, and the record is to be given in a future volume. Without this supplementary journey, notwithstanding the discovery of the true sources of the Nile, the annual inundation of the river would have remained a mystery. It is the immense body of water poured into the river by these Abyssinian feeders during the rainy season which causes the annual overflow. The copious rains of the equatorial region are sufficient to keep up the volume of water throughout the year; but their influence is steady and uniform. It is in the lower portion of the river that the causes of the inundation must be sought. Mr. Baker says that the Atbara and other Abyssinian affluents are subject to violent fluctuations, and that at the commencement of the wet season so enormous is the rainfall that the river from being a mere thread comes down suddenly like a flood, with a roar like thunder, carrying all before it, and that this excess of water continues for three months, the commencement of the flood and its duration agreeing accurately with the period of inundation of Lower Egypt. We need hardly say that this is in itself a most important discovery, and if no other result had followed, the expedition would have been rightly deemed a success.

At Khartoum, the next point of junction, the Blue Nile pours its waters into the main stream. The latter, or White Nile, after flowing sluggishly through 700 miles of morasses, is abundantly charged with vegetable matter, is foul to the taste and unwholesome. After receiving the clear waters of the Blue Nile its character is changed, and for the remainder of its course it is sweet and wholesome.

Khartoum was our travellers' nominal point of departure. From thence to Gondokoro the Nile is the most dreary of rivers, even to look at; but to sail upon, making indifferent progress and working up stream slowly for weeks together without any break, is something to be remembered years after in dreams. The river itself is from a mile and a half to two miles wide; banks flat, and almost level with the water; and soil sandy and barren, except for a few mimosa trees. Farther up, the channel narrows. For half a mile within either bank is a mere reedy swamp, a tangled mass of water plants. Masses of these reeds and plants frequently break away and float down the stream, gathering in size as they go along, perhaps to be caught by some projection of the bank, and so continue the rushy, swampy, unwholesome border. For some portion of the river's course the water is all but stagnant,

moving at the rate of about a quarter of a mile per hour. The clear water here is not more than 150 yards wide, a mere channel through a forest of water-grass, which on either side spreads right away to the horizon. The river in its countless windings is "like an entangled skein of thread." And again, after five weeks of this sort of progress, we are told, "The windings are endless; one moment our course is due north, then east, then again north, and as suddenly due south; in fact we face every point of the compass within an hour. Frequently the noggors (boats) that are far in the rear appear in advance. It is a heart-breaking river, without a single redeeming point; I do not wonder at the failure of all expeditions in this wretched country." These complaints, which fill page after page, are not uttered by a mere *dilettante*; but by a seasoned traveller, and one moreover fresh from Abyssinian experiences. Near Gondokoro the character of the scenery improves, the marshes disappear, the banks rise some four feet above the level of the stream, the mimosas give place to well-grown trees, and the eye is gladdened by the sight of mountains.

At Gondokoro the travellers met Speke and Grant on their return journey, as already stated, and they were shortly joined by Consul Petherick, his wife, and Dr. Murie; and, as three priests connected with the Austrian Mission were already on the spot, the number of Europeans so far up the country was almost without precedent. In about ten days the camp broke up, the several portions of it taking different, and indeed opposite, routes, and, as so often happens, friends parted and never met again. While the new expedition, going straight into danger, survived everything and returned safely, poor Speke, who had escaped all manner of peril both in India and Africa, and was an adept in the use of fire-arms, perished at home by a miserable gun-accident. Like Bruce, he never knew that his discovery was not complete and final.

Mr. Baker, instead of going direct south, was compelled by the mutiny of his men to leave the river altogether and take an easterly course, trusting to the chapter of accidents for eventually getting southward. This part of the journey, extending over eleven months, is full of strange interest. During great part of this time the travellers occupied a fixed abode, and were more like settlers than explorers. They had thus ample opportunities of observation, and made good use of them. The results are even more unfavourable than those given by Captain Speke, and would seem to show a lower degree of intelligence among the peoples north of the Equator

than among those south of it. After reading the evidence of the mere animal existence which these African tribes lead from a European point of view, eating, drinking, sleeping, living almost without labour,—the only interruption to the monotony of their existence being a bloody razzia on some neighbouring village, or the repelling a similar attack on their own,—one is anxious to know what is the state of feeling on the other side. What effect is produced on the African mind by the industry, energy, intelligence, and, in this case, the blameless life of their white visitors? The contrast in every particular, from complexion and clothing upwards, must be perfectly startling. Does it leave any other impression than that of wonder? The white man's fire-arms, and his skill in using them, excite boundless admiration; and the comparative inferiority of spears, and bows and arrows is admitted without hesitation. But there is no evidence that any of the other results of civilisation are at all appreciated, rather the reverse. It may be that the repulsion is mutual. Cleanliness, for instance, may to these tribes be quite as disgusting as filth; it is very much a question of habit.

The details of this long sojourn occupy a large portion of the journal, but we cannot give any intelligible account of it without extending this paper to much too great a length. One extract we give in order to show the difficulties which beset any attempt to advance. It is easy to say "The Nile is won"—not easy to see by what slow and painful steps the end was reached.

"*July 1st.*—This Obbo country is now a land of starvation. The natives refuse to supply provision for trade; nor will they barter anything unless in exchange for flesh. This is the curse that the Turks have brought upon the country, by stealing cattle and throwing them away wholesale. We have literally nothing to eat except tullaboon, a small bitter grain used in lieu of corn by the natives: there is no game, and if it existed, shooting would be impossible, as the grass is impenetrable. I hear that the Turks intend to make a razzia on the Shoggo country, near Farajoke; thus they will stir up a wasp's nest for me wherever I go, and render it impossible for my small party to proceed alone, or even to remain in peace. I shall be truly thankful to quit this abominable land; in my experience I never saw such scoundrels as Africa produces—the natives of the Soudan being worse than all. It is impossible to make a servant of any of these people; the apathy, indolence, dishonesty, combined with dirtiness, are beyond description; and their abhorrence of anything like order increases their natural dislike to Europeans. I have not one man even approaching to a servant; the animals are neglected, therefore they die. And were I to die they would rejoice, as they would immediately join

Koorshid's people in cattle stealing and slave hunting—charming followers in the time of danger.”—Vol. i. pp. 373, 374.

Besides this, both the travellers were so ill of bilious fever that the natives thought them dying. Their only accommodation was a wretched hut swarming with rats and white ants, the former racing over their bodies during the night, and burrowing constantly through the floor, while now and then a snake was visible within the thatch, sheltering there from the continuous rain. Add that provisions were scarcely to be obtained on any terms, that the small-pox was raging throughout the country, the natives dying like flies; and, what was perhaps still more depressing, the last luggage animals of the expedition were dying, not like flies, but by the flies, bitten by the fatal tsetse. And they were in the heart of Africa, a thousand miles away from help and civilisation, bed-ridden, as often happened, and their task still before them. Call it stubborn energy, enthusiasm, what you will, their purpose never faltered, and whenever circumstances permitted, they pushed forward, determined to succeed or perish in the attempt. And, as all the world knows, they did succeed. Having exhausted the whole catalogue of perils, they were furnished with a guide and escort by King Kamrasi, and at length reached the second Equatorial lake on the 14th of March, 1864.

“The day broke beautifully clear, and having crossed a deep valley between the hills, we toiled up the opposite slope. I hurried to the summit. The glory of our prize burst suddenly upon me! There, like a sea of quicksilver, lay far beneath, the grand expanse of water—a boundless sea horizon on the south and south-west glittering in the noon-day sun; and on the west, at fifty or sixty miles' distance, blue mountains rose from the bosom of the lake to a height of about 7,000 feet above its level.

“It is impossible to describe the triumph of that moment;—here was the reward for all our labour—for the years of tenacity with which we had toiled through Africa. England had won the sources of the Nile!

“The zigzag path to descend to the lake was so steep and dangerous, that we were forced to leave our oxen with a guide, who was to take them to Magungo and wait for our arrival. We commenced the descent of the steep pass on foot. I led the way grasping a stout bamboo. My wife in extreme weakness tottered down the pass, supporting herself upon my shoulder, and stopping to rest every twenty paces. After a toilsome descent of about two hours, weak with years of fever, but for the moment strengthened by success, we gained the level plain below the cliff. A walk of about a mile through flat sandy meadows of fine turf, interspersed with trees and bush, brought us to the water's edge. The waves were rolling on a white pebbly beach: I

rushed into the lake, and thirsty with heat and fatigue, with a heart full of gratitude, I drank deeply from the Sources of the Nile."—Vol. ii. pp. 95, 96.

This was the lion asleep. Take the companion picture of the lion awake and ravening:—

"I looked at my watch, it was past noon, and I felt sure we should catch a south-wester by about one o'clock. My men looked rather green at the ominous black clouds and the increasing swell, but exclaimed, '*Inshallah*, there will be no wind.' With due deference to their faith in predestination, I insisted upon their working the spare paddles, as our safety depended upon reaching the shore before the approaching storm. They had learnt to believe in my opinion, and they exerted themselves to their utmost. The old boat rushed through the water, but the surface of the lake was rapidly changing; the western shore was no longer visible, the water was dark, and innumerable white crests tipped the waves. The canoe laboured heavily, and occasionally shipped water, which was immediately baled out with gourd-shells by my men, who now exclaimed, '*Wah Illahi el kalām betār el Hawaga sahhé!*' (By Allah, what the Hawaga says is true!) We were within about a mile and a half of the point for which we had been steering, when we could no longer keep our course; we had shipped several heavy seas, and had we not been well supplied with utensils for baling, we should have been swamped. Several bursts of thunder and vivid lightning were followed by a tremendous gale from about the W.S.W. before which we were obliged to run for the shore. . . . Every one was at work baling with all their might; I had no idea that the canoe could live. Down came the rain in torrents, swept along with a terrific wind; nothing was discernible except the high cliffs looming through the storm, and I only trusted that we might arrive upon a sandy beach, and not upon bluff rocks. . . . I told my men to be ready to jump out the moment that we should touch the sand, and to secure the canoe by hauling the head up the beach. All were ready, and we rushed through the surf, the native boatmen paddling like steam-engines. 'Here comes a wave; look out!' and just as we almost touched the beach, a heavy breaker broke over the black women who were sitting in the stern, and swamped the boat. My men jumped into the water like ducks, and the next moment we were all rolled in confusion on the sandy shore."—Vol. ii. pp. 117—119.

Mr. Baker bestowed upon this lake the name of Albert, and both from its importance, and the relation existing between the two, the choice was most appropriate. Small villages are scattered along its shores, and from the west or farther side canoes occasionally cross for the purposes of such traffic as these rude tribes engage in with each other. Such intercourse, however, is of rare occurrence; but little information could be gathered respecting these visitors from the west, and literally

nothing respecting the northern and southern extremities of the lake, so that its real dimensions are unknown. It extends as far south as Karagway, and the intelligent king of that country, Rumanika, sending his ivory through the friendly country of Utumbi, has repeatedly navigated the lake as far north as Magungo, that is to say from the second parallel of latitude south of the Equator, to the second parallel north. What lies beyond these two points is *aqua incognita*.

Captain Speke familiarly likened the Continent of Africa to a dish turned upside down, having a high and flat central plateau, with a still higher rim of hills surrounding it; from below which exteriorly it suddenly slopes down to the flat strip of land bordering on the sea. But this plateau is broken up into mountain and valley; moreover, the central portion is a vast depression, bearing south-east and north-west, and having a decided dip in the latter direction. A vast dyke or mountain wall runs across a part of this depression nearly due north and south, shedding its waters on the eastern side into the Victoria, and on the western side into the Albert Lake. Other lakes are known to exist, and when the continent is more fully explored, the number will doubtless be increased; it may be that they form groups or systems emptying into one or other of the great inland seas. These, again, communicate with each other, and their united outflow constitutes the Nile. The Somerset river which Speke saw issuing from the Victoria N'yanza, runs northward for only a short distance, then turns to the west, and enters the Albert N'yanza, finally issuing from it a little farther north, as the mighty river which in its course flows over more than two thousand miles, and the greater part of this distance is self-sustained.

The feeders to these lakes must be numerous. Mr. Baker from the high ground on which he stood, perceived distinctly through his telescope two waterfalls on the opposite side, pouring down the mountain, which, as the distance was upwards of fifty miles, must have been rivers in magnitude, and he was assured by the natives that many such streams descended into it on both sides. The natives affirmed that the level of the water never varied more than four feet between the dry and the wet season. But if so, the flat sandy shore would seem to indicate a subsidence at some former period; and, where the shore is rocky, the fact of sand frequently intervening between the water and the cliff points in the same direction. On the other hand, it should be remembered that information of this nature received from



savage tribes, who, though they may comprehend the direct question, do not in the least understand its bearing, must be received with caution. The difficulty is immeasurably increased when each question and answer has to be shaped into three languages, through an ignorant interpreter. An Englishman conversing with a Circassian on abstruse points of doctrine, through an Algerian Arab who was totally ignorant of English, would not be able to throw much light on a disputed point. But as regards the intelligence both of his medium and his referee, he would have a decided advantage over Mr. Baker. There are two or three of Mr. Baker's personal observations, which are not a little perplexing. For instance, at the point where the lake was first reached, its width is estimated at from fifty to sixty miles. It could not well have been more, as not only were the mountains on the opposite side distinctly visible, but the two waterfalls rolling down their face, and yet we are told that the voyage across requires "four days and nights of hard rowing in order to accomplish it," which is at the rate of less than two-thirds of a mile per hour—rather leisurely travelling even for the hollow trees which do duty for canoes. These same canoes with native rowers conveyed the expedition down the lake at the rate of about four miles an hour without difficulty. It is true they were urged by an impetuous Englishman with his face homewards, and that, in the other case, tired men rowing night and day cannot be expected to keep up even the moderate speed to which they are accustomed when left to their own devices; still, after making every allowance, the length of time is difficult to account for. Then a large bay is described, the two headlands of which were "about eight or ten miles" apart. To have coasted the bay would have occupied two days, it is said; which indicates either a much lower rate of speed than is several times given, or a much deeper indentation of the coast than is marked on the map. That Mr. Baker's voyage should have occupied thirteen days is at first sight remarkable, but is accounted for by the fact that only half the day is available, on account of the S.W. gale which springs up about 1 p.m., and also by his having followed the variations of the coast line.

At Magungo the lake is fringed by vast banks of reeds—a "perfect wilderness of vegetation," and to the northward where the shores rapidly narrow it becomes a mere "valley of reeds," with a channel of clear water through it. It is at Magungo that the Somerset River, after issuing from the Victoria N'yanza and travelling in a north-westerly direction, enters the Albert



N'yanza. But while at the Ripon Falls and again at Karuma Falls it is a swift river, tearing through a rocky bed, it is here literally dead water—a channel half a mile in width without a current!

This seemed a mystery which required clearing up; and therefore, instead of proceeding homeward direct, through the northern outlet, and so down the Nile from its veritable source, Mr. Baker determined to explore the Somerset River as far as the Karuma Falls, where it had been left by Speke, and then strike off to the north-east very much by the way that he came. The river, which connects the two lakes, and which at Magungo was 500 yards in width, he found to narrow rapidly, until at about ten miles' distance it was not more than 250 yards. Instead of the flat banks of rushes, it was enclosed on either side by hilly ground covered with forest trees. But no current could be detected for nearly twenty miles, which began to occasion grave doubts as to whether, after all, this could be the Somerset. After careful watching, some of the floating vegetation was found to be moving almost imperceptibly toward the lake, and slight as this indication might be, it was sufficient for the purpose. Every succeeding mile showed a stronger current, the channel narrowed more and more, walled in on each side, while a sound like that of distant thunder showed that the boats were approaching the great waterfall of which the natives had spoken.

“The roar of the waterfall was extremely loud, and after sharp pulling for a couple of hours, during which time the stream increased, we arrived at a few deserted fishing-huts, at a point where the river made a slight turn. . . . From the time we had fairly entered the river, it had been confined by heights somewhat precipitous on either side, rising to about 180 feet. At this point the cliffs were still higher and exceedingly abrupt. From the roar of the water, I was sure that the fall would be in sight, if we turned the corner at the bend of the river; accordingly I ordered the boatmen to row as far as they could. . . . Upon rounding the corner, a magnificent sight burst suddenly upon us. On either side the river, were beautifully wooded cliffs, rising abruptly to a height of about 300 feet; rocks were jutting out from the intensely green foliage; and rushing through a gap that cleft the rock exactly before us, the river, contracted from a grand stream, was pent up in a narrow gorge of scarcely fifty yards in width; roaring furiously through the rock-bound pass, it plunged in one leap of about 120 feet perpendicular into a dark abyss below. The fall of water was snow-white, which had a superb effect as it contrasted with the dark cliffs that walled the river, while the graceful palms of the tropics and wild plantains perfected the beauty of the view.”—Vol. ii. pp. 141—144.

This is the finest fall, and by far the most picturesque scene, on the river, as the illustration which accompanies the text sufficiently proves. It would be difficult to suggest a single accessory that could heighten the effect, and the *Murchison Falls* must be worth a long pilgrimage to see. From hence to Karuma the river is a succession of rapids in a most obstructed channel, and intersected by frequent ravines and torrents. The line of connection between the eastern and western lakes was thus carefully inspected, with the exception of about thirty miles; and by this means, in addition to the discovery of the Murchison Falls, a difficulty was cleared up which had greatly perplexed Captain Speke. When he was unfortunately compelled to travel northwards instead of following the river in its sudden bend to the west, he found on reaching it a hundred miles lower down a very serious discrepancy in the altitude of the river level. On meeting with Mr. Baker at Gondokoro he had pointed this out, and gave an opinion, founded on careful calculations, that between Karuma and the Luta N'ziga lake there was a fall of 1,000 feet, and so marked it on the rough map which he gave to his friend. By actual measurement the fall is 1,275 feet. This close approximation is extraordinary when we remember that the course of the river forms two sides of a triangle, of which Speke's line of march formed the third, and that he had to decide *what proportion* of the total fall belonged to the basal line.

Mr. Baker's task was now accomplished, and he hoped to be allowed to proceed homewards without delay, but was detained in the country for ten months, great part of this time by order of the brutal King Kamrasi, enduring hardships which read more like romance than fact. But at length he was allowed to escape; and, following pretty much the route taken by Speke, reached the Nile at Apuddo in lat.  $3^{\circ} 35' N.$ , and long.  $32^{\circ} E.$ , and so to Gondokoro and home. It seems unfortunate that so long a stretch of the river as that from the mouth of the Albert Lake to Apuddo should again have been missed, as, however confident the traveller may feel that nothing of importance has been lost, experience proves only too forcibly that information obtained from the native tribes is not to be trusted; and, although the river may not apparently have altered its character since last seen, yet in seventy or eighty, or possibly a hundred miles, there is room for many changes, and nothing short of actual inspection will now be considered satisfactory. If circumstances had not conspired to draw special attention to the Somerset River at Magungo, it

is quite possible that Mr. Baker might have been content to observe that the still water which there enters the lake corresponds with the still water below Karuma at the opposite extremity of the river. But thirty miles of rapids flow between, ending in one of the most picturesque falls on that continent. No more striking proof could be given of the untrustworthiness of native information than the fact that Speke was within forty miles of the Murchison Falls, and within sixty of the Albert Lake, and yet of the former he had no knowledge whatever, and of the latter his information was most vague and incorrect.

It is certain that much yet remains to be done to complete our information respecting the head waters of the Nile. Only small portions of the Victoria N'yanza were actually visited by Captain Speke, the eastern limits remain untouched, to the north-east lies an important lake (Baringo) of unknown extent, and to the south-east other smaller lakes. In the same way a large portion of Lake Tanganyika remains unexplored. It is not known whether the outlet is at the northern or the southern extremity. Another lake is said to lie to the north, with a communication between the two; but what may be the extent of this second lake no one can conjecture. It is quite possible that it may be the Albert N'yanza itself, though contrary to Mr. Baker's opinion, who conceives that an extensive mountain range separates the two. Be this as it may, the natives most distinctly informed Captain Burton that the Tanganyika communicated with a lake to the northward, which lake, if Mr. Baker's theory be correct, remains still undiscovered. Then as regards Mr. Baker's own splendid discovery, he marks it as known to be 300 miles in length, without giving either a northern or a southern shore. He could only navigate some seventy miles of it, though sufficient was seen to convince him that it receives many important rivers and streams, and that in connection with it an immense field remains for the explorer. Nevertheless, whatever discoveries may yet be made cannot seriously affect the question of the Nile sources; nor, in pointing out the incompleteness of our information, must we be considered for a moment as speaking in disparagement of what has now been accomplished. Great as the results are in themselves, it is only when we come to know the painful process by which they were obtained—the hourly peril of life, the physical suffering, the weakness, and utter prostration—it is only by knowing something of the price thus paid that we can set a true value on the possession. Imagine a vigorous man so

prostrated by fever, that often at a critical time he had not strength sufficient to take a mid-day observation. Or, again, attempting the day's journey on his ox, supported in the saddle by porters on either side, and at length falling powerless into their arms. It was a common thing to lie quite helpless during half the day for days together from fever. Even in paying a visit to King Kamrasi, Mr. Baker had to be carried like a child or a cripple into the presence of the royal savage. During two months the party was left without food, and was dependent the whole of that time on a store of bitter and mouldy flour, discovered almost by accident, and such wild plants as they could gather in the neighbourhood. The country had been desolated by one of the perpetually recurring wars, and to this place they were sent by the king, who evidently hoped that they would die of starvation and thus be conveniently got rid of. They lived during great part of the journey in daily peril of their lives, both from the hostility of the natives and the treachery of their own followers. To meet such difficulties demanded courage of the highest order, perfect self-possession, tact, and readiness of resource, watchfulness almost night and day. Take one example from the outset of their journey, where many of the porters and guides mutinied :—

“ Upon assembling in line I ordered them immediately to lay down their arms. This, with insolent looks of defiance, they refused to do. ‘ Down with your guns this moment,’ I shouted, ‘ sons of dogs !’ And at the sharp click of the locks, as I quickly cocked the rifle that I held in my hand, the cowardly mutineers widened their line and wavered. Some retreated a few paces to the rear, others sat down and laid their guns on the ground ; while the remainder slowly dispersed, and sat in twos or singly, under the various trees about eighty paces distant. Taking advantage of their indecision, I immediately rose and ordered my vakeel and Richarn to disarm them as they were thus scattered. Foreseeing that the time had arrived for actual physical force, the cowards capitulated, agreeing to give up their arms and ammunition if I would give them their written discharge. I disarmed them immediately, and the vakeel having written a discharge for the fifteen men present, I wrote upon each paper the word ‘ mutineer’ above my signature. None of them being able to read, and this being written in English, they unconsciously carried the evidence of their own guilt, which I resolved to punish, should I ever find them on my return to Khartoum.”—Vol. i. pp. 124, 125.

And another incident from the return journey :—

“ Before us lay two low rocky hills covered with trees, high grass, and brushwood, in which I distinctly observed the bright red forms of

natives, painted according to the custom of the Bari tribe. We were evidently in for a fight. The path lay in a gorge between the low rocky hills in advance. My wife dismounted from her ox, and walked at the head of our party with me, Saat following behind with the gun that he usually carried, while the men drove several riding-oxen in the centre. Hardly had we entered the pass, when whizz went an arrow over our heads. This was the signal for a repeated discharge. The natives ran among the rocks with the agility of monkeys, and showed a considerable amount of daring in standing within about eighty yards upon the ridge, and taking steady shots at us with their poisoned arrows. The flanking parties now opened fire, and what with the bad shooting of both the escort and the native archers, no one was wounded on either side for the first ten minutes. The rattle of musketry, and the wild appearance of the naked vermilion-coloured savages, as they leapt along the craggy ridge, twanging their bows at us with evil but ineffectual attempt, was a charming picture of African life and manners."—Vol. ii. pp. 289, 290.

Such examples might be multiplied to any extent; in fact there is scarcely a page in these two volumes that does not recount some stirring event or other, and this in a matter-of-fact style, which to the easy-slippered reader is itself a subject of wonder. Another wonder is, how these African travellers, who are always armed to the teeth, whose chief anxiety is about their spare ammunition,\* to whom the slaughter of a huge crocodile, or hippopotamus, or elephant, is a trifle, and whose relations with their savage companions require them to be prepared for any emergency, night or day—we say it is a wonder how on their return home they endure our civilised, stagnant, tepid sort of life. After many years passed in the open air, or under the rudest shelter, life in a house must be very irksome. We can understand a wish not merely to throw open, but to demolish the windows, and to discard, not, perhaps, chairs and tables, but much of the drapery and lighter paraphernalia which decorate our rooms. We should be curious to know how some of the usages of refined life strike the mind of one who has been for so long a time a stranger to them. Certainly to a man whose career has been an active one, and both great and successful, one who knows what a grand thing life is, and what it can accomplish, the round of existence passed by our languid fashionable time-killers must be perfectly revolting.

The climate of Africa is by no means what is generally supposed. The country is not a sandy desert, nor is the

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\* Of shot alone for small game Mr. Baker carried no less than four hundredweight, besides bullets of various sizes, from a half-pound percussion-shell downwards.

- heat, even at the Equator, excessive—that is, on the elevated plateau. On the plains, whether on the eastern or western side of the continent, the heat is exhausting to the last degree. M. du Chaillu speaks of a temperature of  $98^{\circ}$  in the shade, and  $125^{\circ}$  in the sun, much about the same time of year that Mr. Baker records a range of  $80^{\circ}$  to  $84^{\circ}$  in the daytime, and not more than  $56^{\circ}$  to  $58^{\circ}$  at night. In fact he complains that the nights are positively cold. And Captain Speke noted that throughout his expedition he wore woollen socks and slept under blankets. So far from there being a scarcity of water, it is in some of the mountain districts superabundant, for it rains more or less nine months out of the twelve. The wild fruits are numerous, and include many belonging to the temperate zone—grapes; plums, especially a yellow plum, as large as an egg, very juicy and of most delicate flavour, and so abundant that the ground under the forest trees that bear it is thickly covered with the luscious fruit; the custard apple; yams of many kinds, some of them very prolific, producing as many as a hundred and fifty tubers on one plant; a valuable nut, not unlike a walnut; a tree which produces raisins, or something like them, in clusters; and some others. European seeds would readily find a home, for during Mr. Baker's long stay in Latooka he sowed in his garden onions, beans, lettuces, and radishes, which flourished just as well as in England, and on the borders of the Albert Lake he found the common mushroom growing wild. It is not the heat, but the rank vegetation, the masses of decaying vegetable matter, the marshy ground, the damp, noxious, fever-laden air, that strike down Europeans, and sap their energies. Quinine becomes a prime necessary of life, and it is quite painful, especially in this case, to read the lamentations of the unfortunate travellers when their supply was exhausted and their journey but half accomplished.

These volumes contain many valuable notes on natural history, though perhaps not of special scientific value. Mr. Baker writes rather as a sportsman than as a naturalist, but a sportsman of his stamp in a new country is certain to furnish an abundance of striking facts. Notwithstanding all that has been written of the elephant, there is still something fresh to say, and probably no other traveller has had such frequent opportunities of observing the hippopotamus and crocodile, the numbers of the latter especially being at times almost overwhelming. There are notes on creatures great and small; birds, and beasts, and creeping things, from the giraffe to the white ant, not to speak of fish, some of them



two hundred pounds in weight, in the sacred river. Many of the hunting exploits are quite equal to anything accomplished by the same sportsman in Ceylon, and are so vividly rendered that the reader shares the excitement and the peril. Take, for instance, the following adventure, of which, however, we can quote but a portion:—

“ In about a quarter of an hour we came up with the elephant; he was standing in bush, facing us at about fifty yards’ distance, and immediately perceiving us, he gave a saucy jerk with his head, and charged most determinedly. It was exceedingly difficult to escape, owing to the bushes which impeded the horse, while the elephant crushed them like cobwebs: however, by turning my horse sharp round a tree, I managed to evade him after a chase of about a hundred and fifty yards. . . . My two mounted gun-bearers had now joined me, and far from enjoying the sport, they were almost green with fright, when I ordered them to keep close to me and to advance. I wanted them to attract the elephant’s attention, so as to enable me to obtain a good shoulder shot. Riding along the open plain, I at length arrived within about fifty yards of the bull, when he slowly turned. Reining ‘Tetel’ up, I immediately fired a steady shot at the shoulder with the Reilly No. 10: for a moment he fell on his knees, but recovering with wonderful quickness, he was in full charge upon me. Fortunately, I had inspected my ground previous to the attack, and away I went up the inclination to my right, the spurs hard at work, and the elephant screaming with rage, *gaining* on me. My horse felt as though made of wood, and clumsily rolled along in a sort of cow-gallop; in vain I dug the spurs into his flanks, I urged him by rein and voice; not an extra stride could I get out of him, and he reeled along as though thoroughly exhausted, plunging in and out of the buffalo holes instead of jumping them. Hamed was on my horse ‘Mouse,’ who went three to ‘Tetel’s’ one, and instead of endeavouring to divert the elephant’s attention, he shot ahead, and thought of nothing but getting out of the way. Yaseen on ‘Filfil,’ had fled in another direction; thus I had the pleasure of being hunted down upon a sick and disabled horse. I kept looking round, thinking that the elephant would give in; we had been running for nearly half-a-mile, and the brute was overhauling me so fast that he was within ten or twelve yards of the horse’s tail, with his trunk stretched out to catch him. Screaming like the whistle of an engine, he fortunately so frightened the horse that he went his best, although badly, and I turned him suddenly down the hill and doubled back like a hare. The elephant turned up the hill, and entering the jungle he relinquished the chase, when another hundred yards’ run would have bagged me.”—Vol. i. pp. 269—271.

We have purposely refrained from attempting a digest of the book, which deserves a careful reading in full. The leading facts connected with the discovery of the Nile sources have been strung together, and that is all. Some topics we



● have not touched upon, as the abominable slave expeditions, and the future of the negro. With Sir Samuel Baker's views on the former subject all Christendom must agree, and he is doing worthy service in preaching a crusade against the entire system, and the governments who by their negligence virtually aid and abet it. But on the other subject we hold altogether opposite opinions. The negro character is in our author's view so debased, so void of good and so full of evil, so wayward and uncertain, his capacities are so childish and imperfect, and incapable of enlargement, that the case is hopeless. Indeed, from the marked inferiority of the negro to all other known races of man, Sir Samuel judges him to have had a pre-Adamite origin—we presume some experiment of the Creator which was not altogether successful. The negro is fearfully debased, it is true, and has doubtless been degenerating for centuries, but we hold that it is true philosophy as well as true religion to believe in his possible recovery. If Sir Samuel Baker had travelled in Fiji thirty years ago, and had escaped to tell the story, the probability is that he would have considered the case of those degraded and bloodthirsty savages to be past all remedy. Is the African so immeasurably inferior to the Fijian, that while we acknowledge the latter as a true son of Adam, and therefore a man and a brother, we repudiate the latter, and make him a biped of some unknown order and origin? Our author falls into the common error of his school. He forgets that there is a Divine power in religion, and, treating it as a thing of creed and theory, is aghast at the immensity of the work which it has to accomplish, and to which it is clearly unequal. He looks upon the trader as the true civiliser and ameliorator, having the great advantage of dealing with things visible and material, and who must pioneer the missionary. But experience shows that the civilisation introduced by traders is only the impartation of the more fatal disease, and the coarser pleasures of a stronger race. In fact, the unfortunate distillery experiment recorded in these volumes would be repeated on a larger scale and for very different ends by these unscrupulous men. Whether the negro be pre-Adamic in race or not, he is post-Adamic in his vices, and Christian truth can alone effectually grapple with his tendencies to evil.

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- ART. IX.—1. *Memoir of the Cholera at Oxford, in the Year 1854, with Considerations suggested by the Epidemic.* By HENRY WENTWORTH AGLAND, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. Churchill and Sons.
2. *Notes on Epidemics ; for the Use of the Public.* By FRANCIS EDMUND ANSTIE, Senior Assistant Physician to the Westminster Hospital. Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.
3. *The Antidotal Treatment of the Epidemic Cholera, with Directions, General and Individual, for the Prevention of the Disease.* By JOHN PARKIN, M.D., late Medical Inspector of Cholera in the West Indies. Third Edition. Churchill and Sons.
4. *Notes on Cholera ; its Nature and Treatment.* By GEORGE JOHNSON, M.D., Physician to King's College Hospital, &c. Longmans, Green and Co.
5. *Cholera in its Home. With a Sketch of the Pathology and Treatment of the Disease.* By JOHN MACPHERSON, M.D., late Deputy-Inspector General of Hospitals H.M. Bengal Army, &c. Churchill and Sons.
6. *Notes on Health in Calcutta and British Emigrant Ships, including Ventilation, Diet, and Disease.* By W. H. PEARSE, M.D. Edin. Government Emigration Service.
7. *On Epidemic Diarrhœa and Cholera ; their Nature and Treatment.* By GEORGE JOHNSON, M.D., Fellow and Censor of the Royal College of Physicians, &c.

No question for practical discussion can be found in modern times more important, more difficult, more mysterious, and we had almost said more hopeless, than the cholera. The disease has been both theoretically and practically studied by conscientious and high-minded physicians, and yet we seem to be almost as far off as ever from the absolute settlement of its cause and cure. Whether its mysteries will ever be even partially cleared up is by no means certain. Whoever should read through the able treatises on the subject which appear in the heading of this paper must be oppressed by a feeling of sadness, and ask, "Is it possible that so little of fixed and final truth is arrived at in reference to this direful affliction?" How much has been done, and yet how little has been accomplished! How nobly have the medical profession striven

to grasp the truth, and, alas! how subtly the viewless thing has escaped them. Cholera, like an invisible spirit, wanders to and fro in the earth, sowing and reaping a terrible harvest of mortality, and none can chain it, none can banish it, neither can any force from it a revelation of its essence.

The conduct of the medical profession and the conduct of the public are too often at variance on this subject of natural anxiety and world-wide importance. The former bravely struggle to master and overpower the evil, while the latter, like the frightened ostrich, bury their heads in the sand and refuse either to see the danger or hear the voice of warning. On the part of the masses there is a superstitious shrinking from everything that looks like a familiar acquaintance with cholera, and the very sight of half-a-dozen books on the subject makes many turn pale. The ignorance of the people is one great cause of the calamity, and when it has set in, this same ignorance is a difficulty in the path of the physician second only to the difficulties of the disease itself. A knowledge of the circumstances which attract, if they do not create, cholera, would frequently make its possessor the successful guardian of his own life, and an acquaintance with premonitory symptoms would often cut off by anticipation those appalling conditions under which the best physician is helpless as an infant because he comes too late. Others, again, who are constantly under nervous apprehensions for their own safety, would, by the possession of practical information, be delivered from their unhappy fears, because they would learn how surely they have in discreet and healthy habits the best guarantees under Providence for their own safety. Ignorance may shorten life, but it cannot prolong it; intelligently to face the difficulty, and with the calm heroism which becomes the dignity of an immortal soul, is the wisest and most peaceful course for all; certainly it is the best course in relation to the community at large, with whose countless brittle threads of life our own, no less brittle, is inseparably and for ever entangled.

Let it be supposed that the reader has determined to inform himself, as every man ought to do. Where shall he go for his information? What information should he obtain? We know of no one book which will meet his case; but if he chooses to read through the books mentioned in this article he will certainly know all that he requires to know, and nearly as much as can be known in the present stage of cholera literature. Dr. Anstie, in his *Notes on Epidemics*, has rendered

eminent service to the public, and it is greatly to be desired that he, or some one else, should write a Handbook of Cholera for the use of the general public. Such a treatise would uproot much superstitious and craven terror, save many lives, and render great service to humanity.

Turning from the general public to the requirements of the philanthropist and the physician, it cannot be denied that the sources of information are by no means so complete as they ought to be, and this is to the discredit, not of the medical faculty, but of the Government. The solution of the cholera difficulty will depend ultimately upon the right certification and analysis of facts, and these necessary facts, with their adjunct information, never can be collected without the assistance of the State. No physician, and no number of medical men, acting separately, can ever perform the work which needs to be done. It is only by vast labour and vast expense, toil and cost too great to be borne by any one unaided individual, that the necessary information can be gathered and condensed. A special Royal Commission would find no nobler field of exertion, and the joint action of the different Governments interested might furnish the medical profession with such a wide array of facts as would form a basis for future and scientific deductions in the healing art.

It is probable that cholera, in one form or other, has existed in the East from the earliest times. The technical term has been in use since the days of Hippocrates, who admitted two species—the one humid, and the other dry. Galen adopted the distinctions of Hippocrates, and attributed humid cholera to the presence of acrid humours in the system generated by the corruptions of food. Dr. Steifensand says, in 1848,—

“The Delta of the Ganges, this prolific and infamous malaria land, is also the cradle of oriental cholera. Whether the disease has first appeared in our times, or whether it had been present in earlier centuries, is a question which it is difficult to decide upon. We know, however, that in August of the year 1817, it was observed by Dr. Tytler at Jessore, for the first time, in the person of a Hindoo, and acknowledged as a new species of disorder. On the following day, many similar seizures took place in the neighbourhood of the first patient, which ended immediately in death, in the same way that the first case had done. The disease at once extended itself with striding rapidity, not only through the whole town, but to the districts far and near along the various branches of the river, and so early as September reached the capital, Calcutta.”

Dr. Macaulay, in his *Dictionary of Medicine and Surgery*, informs us that—

“Malignant epidemic or pestilential cholera deserves its name from being often attended by vomiting and purging, with cramps in various parts of the body. It first attracted notice as a wide-spreading and fatal epidemic, in the year 1817, when it appeared at Jessore, in Bengal; and after ravaging the continent and isles of Asia, and spreading to China, it continued its destructive course westward through Germany and the Russian Empire, till at length it reached the British Islands in 1831. After committing frightful ravages, the disease disappeared from England in the end of 1832, but it reappeared in 1849, and carried off 15,000 people in London alone, and about 80,000 in the whole kingdom. In 1853 and 1854, the disease again caused a terrible mortality, upwards of 6,000 deaths having occurred in London alone during the first ten weeks of the epidemic which occurred in the latter year.”

The foregoing brief account of the history of cholera is soon read, but a world of significance and sorrow is implied in the meagre narrative. A mere skeleton of a history, at least, but, like the skeletons on a field of battle, telling of whole hecatombs of life sacrificed to the pestilential Moloch. It is a history which, if fully written, would present sadder and more appalling scenes than are to be found in any other annals of human affliction. In less than half-a-century several millions of human beings have been swept to untimely graves, leaving behind them many more millions of mourners to mark the death-track along which the Destroyer has passed.

For their own safety, and for their usefulness in emergencies, all persons should possess some elementary knowledge of the general characteristics of cholera. There are three or four stages of the disease, the first being the most difficult to determine.

The following is Dr. Parkin's account of the *first stage*, or *premonitory symptoms* :—

“These are very uncertain, being sometimes absent, sometimes present, and varying with different individuals, and in different situations; while when present, they are not easily detected, excepting by an experienced observer. In these cases, the person about to be attacked will have an expression of anxiety, and his complexion, an unnatural, earthy appearance, while his eyes appear to be sunk in their sockets. If questioned, the stricken individual will deny that he is ill, but may say that he has some undefinable sensations of discomfort. On being further questioned, it will be found that there is either tormina of the bowels, or a burning sensation at the pit of the stomach, with or without nausea, a quick and weak pulse, with

cold hands and feet, accompanied sometimes with slight blueness of the finger nails. If these symptoms be not relieved, they will be followed, sooner or later, by the supervention of diarrhoea, or of the second or third stage of the disease."

Concerning diarrhoea, Dr. Parkin goes on to say—

"Although many writers refuse to acknowledge that the diarrhoea forms the first link in the chain of morbid phenomena, there can be little doubt on the subject. Not only does this peculiar affection usher in the more severe form of the complaint, in the majority of instances, but the diarrhoea itself is characteristic. It is unaccompanied by pain, or griping, or spasm, as is usually the case with similar attacks; it is a simple relaxation of the bowels—a looseness—similar to that which occurs from the operation of some depressing cause, either mental or bodily. It is, in fact, if we may employ the term, a *nervous* diarrhoea. Hence it is, that the diarrhoea is so frequently neglected by the public, and by those ignorant of the impending danger. The duration of this stage is very uncertain, being much longer in cold than in warm climates, where the type of the disease is more severe. In inter-tropical regions, and also in temperate ones, when the attack is severe the disease passes at once from the first to the second stage. When this occurs, the symptoms are peculiar and characteristic. The call is sudden, and the motion copious, with a sensation as if the whole of the intestines had been emptied at once. This discharge will necessarily be feculent, but the next is generally serous. The second stage of the disease may then be said to have commenced."

Speaking of the most serious stage, that of *collapse*, Dr. Johnson says:—

"The most important and characteristic of them are the following: coldness and blueness of the skin; great diminution of the volume and force of the pulse; shrinking of the features, with a corpse-like sinking of the eye-balls; more or less hurry and difficulty of breathing, with a short, dry cough; a peculiar feebleness of the voice; coldness of the tongue and breath; a sensation of burning heat in the epigastric region; great thirst; more or less complete suppression of bile and urine; vomiting and purging of a rice-water fluid; torpor and drowsiness in a variable degree, but without delirium; and lastly, cramps in the muscles."

The foregoing statement of symptoms is amply sufficient. The course of the epidemic from premonitory symptoms and diarrhoea to collapse, consecutive fever, and death, is short and swift. A few hours not unfrequently suffice to terminate life, and the spirit quits the poisoned frame before medical assistance can be present or do its work. But even in this awful swiftness there shines one ray of comfort; the



the cerebro-spinal system maintains its functions unimpaired, and the intellect is sound and vigorous to the last. And, notwithstanding the rapid and deadly character of this epidemic, it must not be forgotten that numbers recover from it. Many are brought back to health by the skill of their medical attendants, and by good nursing, while not a few recover without any medical assistance and in spite of the most disadvantageous circumstances.

The precise and immediate cause of cholera is generally allowed to be the entrance of a certain poison into the system, but what that poison is remains a mystery. The subtle thing may be a germ, a low cellular form, an organism—we know not what it is. Hitherto it has escaped all the observations of the microscope, and all the efforts of the analyst. It keeps out of sight. It will neither be caught nor seen. The dissecting knife cannot reach it, and the united skill of the entire world has hitherto been baffled and defied. How this strange poison came into existence no one knows, and whether it undergoes modifications and changes none can tell to a certainty, though the likelihood is that it does change. There can be little doubt that it first sprang into existence, or first came into mortal contact with the human frame, in India. The cholera found its first home in the country where the conditions of its existence and perpetuation are most fully complied with; the mud and malaria of the Ganges were possibly the original generators of the disease: it was literally bred in these corruptions. But if we grant, for argument's sake, that the bad physical and physico-moral conditions indicated were the originators of this poison, we are only by the concession landed in another dilemma not less difficult and far more abstruse.

If these conditions are the causes of cholera, how comes it to pass that cholera proper only dates from 1817? Have not these physical conditions in the East been in existence for ages? And in our times have they not been diminished rather than intensified? All these supposed causes were in vigorous operation for ages before the cholera began. What then did breed the poison, and why did it ever come into existence? Is this poison a thing so hard of propagation, and was nature so unwilling to have it in existence at all, that it took ages and ages of corruption to call it into being, and let loose its ravages upon the world? With all the progress and practical teachings of modern physical science, the cholera is a mystery still. Research is despondent and restless beneath the suspense of its unsuc-



cessful efforts. Again the gloomy question comes, *What is it?* With our present light there *can* be but one answer, and painfully and profoundly conscious as we are of all the difficulties of moral government raised by that one answer, it must be reverently given:—*Cholera is the scourge of God.* Here is the final rebuke of all dogmatism, whether religious or scientific. He who in a becoming spirit ponders the problems involved in this subject will lie low in the dust, in the presence of these transcendent mysteries of the Divine government of the world. These lines of life run too finely to be entirely seen by

“Weak eyes of flesh weighed down with sin,  
And dim with error’s night.”

But although the religious philosophy of final causes is a domain interdicted to the narrow vision and finite intellect of man, much has been discovered in the particular region of proximate causes for which we ought to be grateful, and it is time to pass from speculation to considerations of immediate utility. There are many things which operate in favour of cholera, and these, not in the scientific, but in the popular sense, may as well be denominated its causes. Poverty of diet, dissolute habits, overcrowding, imperfect ventilation, impure water, bad drainage, decomposing organic matter, and general uncleanness, are all predisposing causes, and whenever the pestilence is abroad in the earth it is sure to find its most abundant victims among those sections of the population where these evils most predominate. It is sad to think that the feeble, the poor, and the ignorant, in addition to all their other misfortunes and sufferings, should pay the heaviest penalty for the neglect of the sanitary laws of nature.

A word or two on each of these practical causes of cholera. *Poverty of diet* favours it, for insufficient and unwholesome food weakens the system, leaves the vital powers languid and unrefreshed, and furnishes so little stamina, that like the flower of the field, “the wind passeth over it, and it is gone.” As to *dissolute habits*, how many in their terror fly to stimulants and virtually drink themselves to death, little dreaming in their pitiful ignorance that Dr. Johnson has ably proved brandy to be of little or no avail! As to *overcrowding*, it might suffice to say that where life is most abundant, there death is nearest. When a dozen people are crowded into a room which can barely furnish air sufficient for two persons, they are literally inhaling each other’s breath. The air is taken into the lungs, expelled, and taken in again; the pro-

cess is repeated all night long, until the atmosphere is foul and poisoned. With such a state of things as this, it is not merely a question of cholera; any disease that comes along must be fatal. *Imperfect ventilation* is akin to over-crowding, but here there is a difference: over-crowding is the misfortune on the poor; but imperfect ventilation is the fault also of the middle and upper classes. It cannot be said that the lower classes ventilate well; but it may be said that they know nothing about ventilation, and that they have no means of knowing anything about it. To visit the poor in winter—especially when fever is rife—to see them stopping up every hole and crevice to keep out the “cold air,” or “the frost,” as they call it; to know that they do this from the purest motives—to preserve life as they suppose; to know that they are thus ignorantly poisoning themselves, is enough to make any visitor mourn. But what can be said in excuse of the bad ventilation of the respectable classes, who ought to know better? No man can be in the habit of attending evening parties, or visiting the sick, without having to swallow, in some instances, as much bad air as would kill a dozen people if an epidemic were at hand. Open windows will not let the cholera in, but they will help to keep it out. Of all the fostering friends of cholera, *impure water* is perhaps the most efficient. Of course we refer not only to drinking water, and water used for domestic purposes, but also to impure rivers, filthy stagnant waters, and to the corrupt streams which turn our goodly rivers into flowing pestilences by emptying into them their corrupt and foetid matter. It is a generally ascertained fact that, other things being equal, the more impure the drinking and domestic water is, the more deadly the attacks of cholera are upon those who make use of it. The London pump-water into which sewage had percolated was proved to be a prime source of disease, for when the pump ceased to be used it soon disappeared. In a London instance, cholera was rampant on one side of a street, and left the other side almost entirely untouched, and this apparently anomalous condition of things was explained by the fact that bad water was supplied to one side of the street and good water to the other. Nature always gives timely warnings against any corrupt intrusions upon her life streams. The fish die first, and if that warning is unheeded, nature avenges herself by killing the human species who have defiled her.

Mr. Frank Buckland and his brothers of the rod have done good service in protesting so strongly against the pollution of

our streams and rivers. For the sake of the public health, no stream ought to be tolerated in which a fish cannot live and thrive. All polluted water promotes cholera by the gases which it exhales, and by the poisonous particles which are swallowed with it. *Bad drainage* is an important element among the causes of cholera. It needs no inspection of the ground to ascertain the fact of defect. Tell us where epidemics always nestle, and we will tell you where the drainage needs to be examined. It is for the authorities to choose between efficient drains for house and street, or nature's avenging drains upon the health and life of the people. *Decomposing organic matter* is another predisposing cause of cholera. Everyone knows, or ought to know, that the annual prevalence of simple diarrhoea in autumn is chiefly caused by the vast amount of decaying vegetable life which is everywhere around us. "Middens" and manure heaps breed the cholera poison in the day time, and the deleterious particles are wafted by the breezes of the night into many an unsuspecting human frame. *General uncleanness* always abounds in those parts of a town which are known to sanitary men as epidemical districts, and the object should be not to heap maledictions upon foul smells, but to remove the causes which send them forth. Unpleasant odours are often the benignant provisions of Nature—Nature's warning voice to the senses of man, saying, "Here is an enemy of yours, come and destroy him before he has time to injure you for life. He is so subtle that I cannot make you see him, but I have made you *smell* him, and so have done all which lies in my power to befriend you."

The question of atmospheric conditions, so far as Britain is concerned, has not yet been sufficiently determined by the meteorologist to enable us to say much that will be of practical service. Mr. Glaisher's blue cholera mist hovering over the places where cholera is rife has not yet been bottled and analysed: scientific men must go on observing, and we must be content to wait and hope. Dr. Macpherson tells us, in reference to India, "It is clear that the three hot and dry months produce fully four times as many deaths by cholera as the three hot and wet months, and about twice as many deaths as the cold and dry months."

Cholera always begins in such districts as we have indicated, it rages mainly amongst them, but it is not confined to them. The healthiest and most affluent neighbourhoods are endangered by the presence of any epidemic; and the upper classes in providing healthy conditions for the poor and the

uninstructed, are serving themselves well by lessening their own dangers.

It has already been made clear that the cholera poison can only reach the system in one of three ways; either in the liquids we drink, in the food we eat, or in the air we breathe. But there still remains for consideration the important question of cholera *transit*. How does it pass from one place to another? Can it originate itself independently of all transit and infection? How does the cholera get from one person to another? How does it diffuse itself? Its transit must be either by persons or winds, or substances in which the infection has secreted itself and which are removed from one place to another. Instances have occurred in the West Indies and other parts in which it was evident that the epidemic travelled with the wind and in the direction of its current. It nearly always makes its first appearance in seaport towns, and in all probability must have been brought there by foreign ships which have sailed from infected places. What tenacity of existence or organic life the cholera poison must possess if it can hold its being against the winds and storms and atmospheric influences of the ocean! Cholera must have originated itself, speaking in the light of second causes; and it probably possesses the same power still; for instances are on record in which it has come into existence in circumstances of such a character as rendered its presence unaccountable by the consideration of any medium of transit whatever, for medium of transit in these cases there appeared to be none. Yet it must be remembered that it is impossible to tell how far the *virus* can float itself through the air. The passage from one person to another must be through the breath, or personal contact, or contact with something which has been in contact with some infected individual. How the disease multiplies itself is too wide a question to be considered here; and indeed it is too difficult: an indication or two must suffice. All disease, everything which impairs human vitality, must be reduced to one of two things; either the lack of vital elements or the positive presence of poison; no doubt they often go together, and it may be that one creates or causes the other. But in the multiplication of cholera the wonder is that the poison does not exhaust and destroy itself by doing so much deadly work; yet after slaying its millions, you have only to give it favouring conditions, and it will prove itself powerful as ever. Shall we never be able to kill the slayer in his Indian dwelling? Shall we never be

able to confine him to his eastern home? Shall we never be able to erect a barrier over which the unseen destroyer cannot pass?

A glance at the different curative processes employed by the profession, will show with what difficulties they have to grapple. All possible means seem to have been extensively tried from the most empirical to the most scientific, and with the most varying results. There is no system of treatment under which multitudes have not died, and perhaps no system of treatment employed by educated medical men, through which some patients have not recovered. Stimulants and astringents have been more or less employed from the earliest times. In some instances, patients have taken an enormous amount of powerful medicine with scarcely any effect. Speaking of the power of medicines in the stage of collapse, Dr. Macpherson gives the following facts. They are—

“Gathered from various writers on cholera, and show well how completely absorption must be at a standstill. The late Dr. K. Mackinnon records that an old native soldier swallowed twenty-seven grains of opium and forty-five drops of croton oil in the course of twelve hours, after a state of intense collapse had come on. There was no stupefaction, and the purging ceased, though the patient had afterwards to struggle through an attack of gastro-enteritis. In another case, where the collapse was not so great, a native swallowed in pills, thirty-three grains of opium, and fifty-five drops of croton oil, and recovered without a bad symptom, or the oil having any purgative effect. One patient, says Dr. Johnson, took no less than thirty-three ounces of castor oil, of which, probably, less than a sixth part passed into the intestines. Dr. Ayre once gave 580 grains of calomel in three days, and this was followed by no ptialism or disagreeable effect. It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, but I shall merely add the strongly-expressed testimony of the late Mr. Moore of the Bengal army:—‘Could quantity have added to its value, I have prescribed scruple after scruple of calomel, or combined with one and two grain doses of opium. I have seen one and both prescribed by others, in more heroic doses than I have ventured to give, until the patients had swallowed as much calomel as would have, under ordinary circumstances, salivated a troop of dragoons, and as much opium in powder and tincture as would have stupefied a company of infantry. Yet the patients neither slept, nor did they even exhibit the slightest approach to salivation.’”

The following table, taken from Dr. Macpherson's work, will serve to show how various and contradictory the different methods of treatment have been.

To check vomiting and purging.	<p><b>OPIATES.</b>—Opium, morphia, haschisch, chlorodyne, belladonna, morphia by subcutaneous injection.</p> <p><b>ASTRINGENTS.</b>—Acetate of lead, nitrate of silver, sulphate of copper, sulphuric, nitric acid, rhatany, catechu, &amp;c.</p> <p><b>CARMINATIVES</b> need not be specially mentioned—chlorodyne.</p> <p><b>ABSORBENTS.</b>—Antacids, soda, magnesia, bismuth.</p> <p><b>SEDATIVES.</b>—Hydrocyanic acid, chloroform, effervescing draughts, iced water, ice—external application of ice—sinapisms, cautery to the epigastrium, large doses of calomel or ipecacuanha, creosote, naphtha.</p> <p><b>EMETICS.</b> Table salt, mustard, ipecacuanha, tartar emetic.</p>
To favour discharges.	<p><b>PURGATIVES.</b>—Sulphate of magnesia, calomel, colocynth, creton and castor oil.</p> <p><b>CHOLALOGUES.</b>—Calomel, emetics.</p> <p><b>DIURETICS.</b>—Turpentine, nitric ether, nitrate of potass.</p>
To stimulate or support the system.	<p><b>STIMULANTS.</b>—Brandy, wine, champagne, beer, turpentine, cantharides, camphor, assafoetida, pepper, capsicum, musk.</p> <p><b>DIFFUSIBLE STIMULANTS.</b>—Ether, ammonia, carbonate, valerianate and succinate.</p> <p><b>AROMATICS.</b>—Ginger tea, peppermint, coffee, &amp;c.</p>
To relieve cramps.	<p><b>INTERNALLY.</b>—Chloroform and ether, cajaputee oil.</p> <p><b>EXTERNALLY.</b>—Frictions, rubefacients, ligatures.</p> <p><b>CONSTITUTIONAL.</b>—Blood-letting.</p>
To act on nervous system, caliacaris, or spinal cord.	<p><b>BY EMETICS.</b>—</p> <p><b>BY NERVINES.</b>—Strychnia, phosphorus, belladonna, nicotine, akopine by subcutaneous injection, tobacco.</p> <p><b>BY GALVANISM.</b>—</p> <p><b>APPLICATIONS TO SPINE.</b>—Blisters, acids, cautery, ice bags.</p>
To act on the circulation.	<p><b>HEART AND LARGE VESSELS.</b>—Blood-letting, tourniquets, emetics.</p> <p><b>CAPILLARIES.</b>—Leeching, rubefacients, applications of hot or cold water, of ice, hot air, subcutaneous injections.</p> <p><b>CONSTITUTION OF BLOOD.</b>—Draught of water or salines, chlorate of potass, injections into the veins, inhalations of aqueous or medicated vapours, subcutaneous injections of chlorate of potass.</p> <p><b>CIERATION.</b>—Inhalation of oxygen, ozone, chlorine, iodine.</p>
Treating it as aque.	<p>Quinine, iron, emetics; mimine by subcutaneous injection.</p>

Perhaps it is impossible to ascertain facts sufficient to establish beyond dispute the best treatment; and, in view of the conflicting array of remedies already given, we need scarcely wonder at the gloomy and almost hopeless manner in which the medical profession speak of the discovery of a specific for cholera. One great difficulty in settling the best mode of treatment by ascertained results, and it can be settled in no other way, is the fact that it is impossible to tell absolutely when the recovery is due to the medicine, and when it is owing to the remedial powers of nature. The *vis medicatrix naturæ* has often raised men from cholera prostra-



tion without any medical assistance whatever, and the same forces of nature must often greatly assist the physician in his efforts to grapple with disease. It is easy to say that that must be the best system of treatment which saves the most lives, and the saying is practically true; but at the same time many variations of circumstances, constitution, habits, etc., would have to be taken into account before the true and final teaching of any statistics can be ascertained. Looking at all the difficulties of the case, we are quite prepared for Bouchardat's melancholy summary in his *Annuaire de Thérapeutique* for 1850 :—

“ Le cholera que nous a si cruellement éprouvé pendant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, a été l'occasion d'une foule de tentatives thérapeutiques. J'étais sur ce funeste champ de Cattle où autour de moi j'ai vu tomber bien des victimes sans voir en resurgir, je ne dirai pas le remède efficace, mais même une découverte, une seule pensée scientifique et progressive.”

But Dr. Johnson's theory certainly stands out in bright relief to the general gloom, and as far as a non-professional judgment may go, seems to be the true one. He believes that the thickening of the blood is not caused by the loss of its liquid portion, but by cramps which stop its circulation, and that these cramps are caused by the cholera poison; that therefore the thickening of the blood is not the cause, but the consequence of collapse. His method of treatment is in harmony with his able scientific expositions. He adopts the method of elimination, and assists the discharges by the exhibition of castor oil. He urges that nature is forcing the poison out of the blood into the alimentary canal, and these irritant secretions cause the discharges. Dr. Johnson protests against keeping these secretions in the alimentary canal by astringents, and says that nature ought to be assisted and not hindered in her efforts to get rid of the poison. His pamphlet on *Epidemic Diarrhœa and Cholera* is equally worthy of the attention of the medical profession. This pamphlet consists of an article reprinted from the *Saturday Review*, and some rules of treatment by Professor Johnson, chiefly reprinted from the *British Medical Journal*.

Dr. Acland's *Memoirs of the Cholera at Oxford*, contains much valuable information, and will be of special service to all who are making arrangements for the prevention or management of cholera in large towns. Dr. Anstie's *Notes on Epidemics* is for public use, contains much useful information for non-professional readers, and should be in the hands



of every family. Dr. Parkin has written an instructive and valuable book on *The Antidotal Treatment of the Epidemic Cholera*, and he makes out a strong case in favour of *carbon and carbonic acid*. Dr. Macpherson's *Cholera in its Home* glances at all points essential in its theory and treatment, and contains the ripe fruit of a lengthened experience. He is of opinion that there is only one stage of cholera for which mild eliminating treatment is adapted, and that is when the system tries to rally from the immense shock it has undergone, and is struggling through secondary fever. But we must leave Dr. Johnson to dispose of Dr. Macpherson's arguments against the elimination theory. Dr. Pearse's *Notes on Health in Calcutta and British Emigrant Ships*, is a useful manual of observations, and worthy the attention of all who have the care of emigrant vessels.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the merits of the books whose titles head this article, none can read them without being struck by the laborious and conscientious painstaking of the authors. They have spared no pains, and some of them have shunned no danger, and refused no sacrifice in order to arrive at the truth and so be of service to mankind; and while we honour the noble qualities which these gentlemen have displayed in dealing with one of the master difficulties of their profession, we would fain indulge the hope that similar researches, studies, and observations continued a few years longer may lead to some triumph of medical science which shall find more than an ample reward in the eminent and lasting benefit it will confer on our race.

It is a fact sufficiently established that far more may be done in preventing the visit of cholera than in mastering it when it comes. The ravages of the disease during the present year have been, up to the present time, far less severe than the visitations of any former period; and this is owing, not to any mitigation of the *virus* itself, but to the sanitary improvements which have been more or less effected throughout the country. This established fact seems to make it imperative upon the Government, upon all civil authorities, and upon the people generally, to leave no means untried to secure a higher sanitary intelligence and a more rigid enforcement of the laws of the public health. The day may come when these laws shall receive a spontaneous submission as the result of better intelligence; but in the present state of society in sanitary affairs, we must reiterate the cry for instruction and coercion.

“*Preparing for Cholera*” is a very significant and important

phrase; but it is a sad satire upon society. It means doing things which it is a disgrace to have left undone. It means coming back to the laws of healthy living, from which we ought never to have departed. It means the removal of innumerable nuisances that never ought to have been tolerated. It means that good people are compelled to make heavy sacrifices and to risk their lives for the sake of the bad, the ignorant, and the helpless; compelled to do all this, not by the inherent necessities of nature, but by the selfishness of those who derive wealth from unwholesome habitations, by the wickedness of those, who, like graveyards, are fattening on the encouraged and enforced mortality of the people, and above all by the indifference of many members of the governing classes. Philanthropy is compelled not only to bear its own trials and to resist its own temptations, but to do for others what the laws ought to do, and so all good people are oppressed and imposed upon by being thus compelled to pay double tax and to do double duty. Preparing for cholera is, indeed, a bitter sarcasm upon human nature; but the irony must be borne for the sake of the good which lies under it. Preparations must be made by central and local governments, by churches, and by all the wise and good. It must begin by removing predisposing causes, and by calling people to healthy habits. It is not a little difficult to rouse the masses in time to make the preparations effectually. It is an American story that in a certain town the sanitary committee could not rouse the people to do their duty, and as a last resource they posted enormous placards over the town making this startling announcement—**CHOLERA IS COMING BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.** But even the severest threats sometimes fail to stir people. An inspector of nuisances in Ireland found a loathsome nuisance in a poor woman's cabin. All his efforts to persuade or to frighten her into removing it were unsuccessful. It always had been there, and it always should be there, and it never had and it never would do any harm. Remove it she would *not*. Driven to extremes, the inspector lifted his hands in warning attitude, and cried, as he stood by the cabin-door, "You must remove it, because cholera morbus is coming." But she cried out with equal fervour, "I'll neither remove it for Colonel Morgan nor any other man." This is miserable humour, but there is a terrible side to this ignorance. Only very recently we heard of a woman who literally drank herself to death with raw brandy as a preventive to the cholera; one instance, we believe, out of many.

The general subject of prophylaxis has to some extent been

anticipated by a consideration of some of the predisposing causes of cholera; but it is necessary that the prevention of the disease, and the use of disinfectants, should receive detailed attention. Over the general purification of the atmosphere little control can be exercised, though in the island of St. Vincents, Dr. Parkin employed huge wood fires with good effect. For a long time quarantine laws were discontinued; but they have lately been wisely revived in the case of ships coming from infected ports. Dr. Parkin has not much faith in quarantine, and he says, "Whether the doctrine of contagion be true or false, we have proof from the example of Prussia, that restrictive measures will never keep out the cholera, the epidemic having marched directly across a triple line of bayonets, and a *cordon sanitaire* formed by a hundred thousand men." Quarantine laws may not absolutely destroy the danger; but they may greatly lessen it, and therefore they ought to be enforced; and to make the enforcement more effective, disinfectants ought to be used, especially for persons and things coming ashore. There is something marvellous in the way in which ships sometimes get rid of the disease. By changing their berth, moving a little up or down the river, or laying their broadsides to the breeze, vessels have often escaped any further mortality.

When cholera is likely to visit a locality, the most vigorous measures should be promptly employed; and in this respect Dr. Gairdner, Medical Officer for the City of Glasgow, is a model, and the earnest and comprehensive measures which he is now taking for the safety of that city will be of immense service. To say, "Keep quiet; let things alone; don't frighten people into the disease," is pernicious doctrine; where one life would be lost through fear, a hundred will be saved by these timely warnings. Every place thus dealt with will be brought into a far better sanitary condition than has ever been known before, and so great gain will come in the permanently improved health of the people. The provision of separate hospitals, as near as possible to the centres of infection, together with the organisation of a medical staff, the provision of readily accessible medicines and disinfectants, and a system of official and voluntary inspection from house to house, are measures which at once commend themselves; and it is only by some such arrangements that the necessities of the poor can be supplied, and unsuspected nuisances discovered and removed. The drains of every house, and the sewerage of every street, should be carefully attended to. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne lime is put into the drain traps every morning;

an excellent plan, and worthy of universal adoption. The gases which are given out from drain-fumes of putrefying matter are most deleterious, and the smell of them in healthy and non-epidemic times is offensive and very injurious, especially to persons of feeble health. The sources of water used for domestic purposes, and its character and condition, cannot be too well watched. Most pernicious consequences may follow from the most accidental oversight and neglect. Witness the following instance given in Dr. Acland's book:—At a short distance from the County Prison in Oxford a branch of the river passes through the Castle mill; it is dammed up above the mill, and when flowing forms a brisk stream in the mill-tail, carrying with it whatever impurities it obtained in the mill-head. When the mill is not at work, the mill-tail becomes, as all such spots do, a nearly stagnant pool. In 1854 the river was unusually low, and at the date of Dr. Acland's inspection of the prison, this pool contained various garbage stationary on its surface and at the bottom. Further, a drain from the prison flowed into the pool; within ten feet of the mouth of this running drain, the supply-pipe from the prison sucked up the contents of the pool for the prison use. From this source the kitchen coppers were supplied, and with this water the soup and the gruel, important articles in the weekly diet, were made. No sooner was the attention of the governor drawn to this fact than the pipes were cut off; and what followed? Whereas before this there had occurred twenty cases of choleraic diarrhœa and five cases of cholera, of which four were fatal, after the following day no more than three of choleraic diarrhœa and one of cholera (none being fatal) were reported during the rest of the epidemic. It is remarkable that in the other prison, the City Gaol, no case of diarrhœa or cholera occurred either in 1832 or 1849, whereas in the County Prison there were three cases in 1832 and fourteen in 1849. This remarkable instance, as Dr. Acland observes, may be accepted as almost an *experimentum crucis*, on one or two points in the investigation of the effect of water supply.

Heads of houses should supply themselves well with disinfectants, and wherever smells are likely to arise these should be sedulously applied. The discharges of cholera patients are most dangerous, and disinfectants should be applied to them at once. All washing apparel should be boiled and steeped in disinfectants, and such clothes or woollens as cannot be washed should be exposed to heat 210° Fahrenheit. No food should be allowed to remain in the

patient's room, and all persons attending on them should wash their hands and apply to them a disinfectant—Condy's fluid—before taking food. Windows—top and bottom—should be opened frequently during the day, as, under the circumstances, more than the ordinary current of fresh air is required.

If pure water cannot be had, the obtainable liquid should be boiled and filtered before use. And as anybody can make a filter, nobody need be at a loss for the want of one. A big flower-pot, a sponge in the bottom hole, a layer of coarse gravel, one of small pieces of charcoal, one of fine sand, another of gravel, a piece of linen, and the thing is done; the water comes out pure as a mechanical and chemical result, the charcoal retaining all offensive animal and vegetable matter.

As to the details of disinfectants :—Condy's fluid is the best for cleansing the mouth and hands before taking food; carbolic acid is good for cleansing linen, bed clothes, etc., which would be injured by mineral disinfectants. The chief preparations for disinfection are chloride of lime, Burnett's liquid, Condy's fluid, and Calvert's solution of carbolic acid. Any of them may be obtained at a respectable druggist, with printed directions for their use.

It is greatly to be regretted that in this country there is no Medical State Department with an able physician at its head—a department possessing large powers of supervision and coercion would be of great service at all times, but in seasons of epidemical alarms it would be invaluable. Legislation for the health of the people has made considerable progress, but it is rather the beginning of good days than the accomplishment of the “consummation devoutly to be wished.” The law is defective in one essential item of ventilation. It requires, in reference to windows, that at least one-third of them be made to open, but it ought to require the opening of every window *from the top*, as that is the only effectual method of freeing the room from foul air.

Individual precautions are given in the books under notice, and the substance of them is this:—Never visit cholera patients, or any patients in epidemic and infectious cases, with an empty stomach, or in a state of exhaustion and weariness, and on no account omit washing the hands before taking food. A few grains of quinine taken daily as a preventive are said to do no harm, but may be of service, and it is considered not amiss to take a cup of strong coffee on rising. The diet which on the whole proves best for the individual health should be continued; while tainted fish and

meat, and decaying fruit and vegetables, should be particularly avoided. Nothing that disturbs the bowels should be taken, and the slightest diarrhoea should be attended to at once. Dr. Spitta, in a small and interesting pamphlet entitled *Brief Remarks on Cholera*, gives the following excellent practical rules for general use during an epidemic:—1. All water for drinking purposes, unless of undoubted purity, to be boiled or filtered. 2. All food to be cooked before eaten, particularly fruit and vegetables. 3. Great fatigue and all extra excitement to be avoided. 4. All bad smells to be overpowered by chloride of lime, or some disinfecting agent. 5. All windows\* and doors to be frequently opened. 6. The least diarrhoea, or even pain in the bowels, to have immediate attention. 7. During an attack no articles of food to be left in the bedroom of the patient. 8. And everything offensive to be immediately removed therefrom; linen being put *at once* into hot water, and all else into some disinfecting solution.

An exhaustive discussion of cholera in relation to the moral government of God would require an entire treatise, and raise questions too profound for these pages. No intelligent mind can think of the language which has occasionally been used on this subject without pain. To represent the Divine Being as satiating Himself in human slaughter is as impious as it is contradictory to the Scriptural representations of His beneficent government. He would never have made the earth a great medicine chest if He had been indifferent and unpitying to human weakness and human folly. All the laws of nature are constructed with a view to the highest health and happiness of man, and in the conscientious and intelligent observance of these laws man achieves his highest earthly good. Revelation has always encouraged a pure moral obedience to nature. Much of the Jewish ceremonial tended to the religious enforcement of sanitary duties; and although some few things in that ceremonial are not over-pleasant to read, it must be remembered that one of the subordinate functions of the Jewish priest was to discharge the duties of a modern inspector of nuisances. The germ of many a modern sanitary improvement is to be found in the appointed observances of those old Hebrew times. Every vulture and bird of prey that hovers in the East is God's appointed scavenger for the health and life of man. It is a fact that sanitary evils do exist in the world, but it is certain that most of them are

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\* Windows should be opened by night as well as by day.



created by the vice, the ignorance, and the indolence of man, and it is not less true that most of these sanitary evils can be counteracted and controlled by man. Providence deals with the world as it is. No man can sin without injuring himself; and if in his corporate capacity he will persist in wrong-doing, the violated law vindicates itself by inflicting heavy penalties upon the transgressor. If rinderpest is a punishment for sin in relation to dumb animals, cholera is a punishment for the sin of filth, vice, and the neglect of the common dictates of nature. But cholera is the scourge of God, in a higher sense than this. It is the natural and appointed chastisement for sins which are *germane to the question*. Cholera is not the mere natural product of certain physical factors. It is more; it involves a moral element. Human volition crosses and disobeys the beautiful and benignant laws of nature, and this impure and erring volition, speaking in the aggregate, springs from the corruption and ignorance of the heart.

Let the reader listen to Dr. Macaulay's testimony:—

“It is uniformly found, that whatever debilitates the constitution, as poor living, hard labour, scanty clothing, and *intemperance*, are among the most powerful predisposing causes of cholera. In all the towns which cholera has visited in Britain, whoever have been seized at last, the intemperate and profligate were always its first victims. In these, the sunken eye, the despairing countenance, the cold and livid surface, form of themselves an affecting spectacle; deepened by the thought, that many of the sufferers were but the day before conspicuous for brutal intemperance or noisy jollity; and that in others, the symptoms are but the closing scenes of a long life of squalid vice and misery. Of 262 cases watched in 1849 in Boston, 154 occurred in people of intemperate habits. There were 166 deaths, of which 129 were among the intemperate; seventy-one temperate patients recovered, and only twenty-five intemperate. But though the poor and the profligate suffer first and suffer most, all irregularity in those of the better classes, as well as in their poorer brethren, is fraught with danger.”

That blessed doctrine of human brotherhood and charity to man which underlies all creeds, is both sadly and nobly vindicated when the cholera is among us. Many a precious life is generously sacrificed in self-denying labours for even the vicious, and those who have made themselves the helpless and needless victims of this disease, cheerfully sacrificed in accordance with that maxim of every noble heart;

“Happy when his country calls,  
He who conquers, he who falls.”



In epidemical times, Providence powerfully vindicates the doctrine of the human brotherhood, in the sufferings of those who have it in their power to promote the common good, and who ought to do it out of their abundance of wealth, intelligence, and leisure. If the West End will not go to the East on errands of merciful and progressive reformation, the East will go to the West End and darken their dwellings with the gloom of contagious affliction. The very wind of heaven turns to be a Nemesis, and the breeze bears the seeds of disease in vengeance to those who neglect to render impossible the conditions favourable to cholera. The selfish miser may live in a princely mansion, and count the gold derived from rents in some vile quarter of a city; he may go on heaping the riches which ought to pay the tithe of charity for the welfare of his suffering fellows. But let this selfish Dives go near the quarter of neglected and untutored misery, and Nature may punish him by giving him the seeds of a terrible affliction. Nay, though he confine himself to his gilded chambers and his pleasant grounds, the avenging angel may seek him out, and smite him on his bed of down. The law of the human brotherhood is one of the beneficent institutions of an all-wise Providence, and before the grand aggregate of good bestowed on countless millions by that law, the solitary individual upon whom the working of the general law may painfully infringe, is lighter than the dust of the balance.

“The individual is less and less,  
The world is more and more.”

The relation between prayer and pestilence has been much discussed of late, and the reader must allow us a word or two on the subject. Why should men be forbidden to pray when they are in trouble and sorrow? For those who sincerely pray, the devout exercise is the greatest relief and the greatest strengthener that the fearful heart can know. National prayer and humiliation in times of cholera is justifiable and imperative on two grounds. It is right in its relation to the laws of nature. These laws are for the good of man, and the greater Creator can guide and modify the forces of nature as it pleaseth Him. Surely we are not to believe that the Supreme Being is bound in the chains of His own material and temporary arrangements? He is not, by virtue of His infinite resources, shut up to one way of doing a thing; He can accomplish His ends in many ways—ways which will be selected by Him conformably to the equity of His rela-

tion—His moral relation to His moral man. When he is penitent, God will act accordingly; and when he prays, God will answer in harmony with the conditions of His moral government. Besides, as we have seen, cholera involves, in its causation, human volition and moral conditions. These are absolutely inseparable from cholera, and we must either allow that He regards these conditions or give up all faith in the adaptability of His administration for the government of man in the varying conditions of his physical and moral being. We therefore can find no reason for discarding the inspired direction and commandment, “In *everything* by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God; and the peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds, through Christ Jesus.” This “peace” is a good preservative against cholera. It calms fear and imparts confidence, and where no fear is there the danger of infection is lessened. Peaceful in His will! *Felix etiam in opportunitate mortis!*

God’s judgments are according to truth, and therefore they are according to circumstances. The law of Providence is the law of adaptation. It always does what is wisest and best in the circumstances of the case. And given all the physical and moral conditions of the case, it cannot be proved to be injustice that Providence should permit the cholera to come, and to continue until it has accomplished its remedial work. It is false to say that cholera is all wrath and no mercy. It is unjust to the moral and perfect character of the government of the Great Creator to give such theological representations of the visitation, as would lead men to believe that it is an arbitrary outrage upon human life. Such representations are not religious; they are fanatical. Cholera does much good by drawing men’s attention to hygiene, and morals, and by compelling them to sweep away these nuisances, and to render a more intelligent obedience to the ordinances of nature. We may virtually thank its presence for good drainage, the right use of fresh air, and very many sanitary improvements which have lengthened the lives and increased the health of the people. It may be argued that *cholera has saved more lives than it has destroyed*. The Black Hole of Calcutta has made a more powerful impression in favour of ventilation than perhaps any other event recorded in history.

Nature is waiting to smile upon universal man, and pour her countless blessings at his feet, while Providence yearns to bless him. It will be a glorious world when the worshippers

in the temple of Revelation shall no longer turn their backs upon the temple of Nature, or desecrate her altars in ignorance of her laws. The double priesthood will make a perfect religion, and help on the coming of a perfect world. All that Nature asks of man is that he will help and make the best of her. And is it too much to hope that through controversies and through sufferings, through blunders and earnest seekings after universal truth, the world is travelling towards its goal. And what a goal it will be when reached ! Isaiah's prophecy, not yet fully accomplished, shall then be fulfilled by God's goodness ; for man will then no longer be at war with nature or with himself, because no longer at war with his Creator and Redeemer. "Return unto Me ; for I have redeemed thee. Sing, O ye heavens ; for the Lord hath done it : shout, ye lower parts of the earth : break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein : for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified Himself in Israel."

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## BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

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**The Vicarious Sacrifice Grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation. By Horace Bushnell, D.D. London : Strahan. 1866.**

READERS of Dr. Bushnell's previous works will know what to expect in this volume. They will look for much that is striking, beautiful, and true, mixed up with not a little that is eccentric, repulsive, crude, and utterly baseless whether as to logic or fact. And they will not be disappointed. The design of the book is to help forward the effort just now making to get rid of the Death of Christ as the centre and axis of the Christian system, and to substitute for it, under some form or other, His Personal Life in the Flesh. Dr. Bushnell does not formulate. He declines to do this. But he maintains through a protracted argument that Christ's life, and not His death, His life of perfect obedience to God, was that which restored the moral balance of the universe; and that the idea of expiation, as belonging to His self-sacrifice for mankind, is an unsightly, unphilosophical, and altogether unscriptural conceit, which has established itself in the mind of Christendom. On the whole question of expiatory sacrifice, indeed, Dr. Bushnell is prepared with a statement which will not fail to open the eyes of the Church. "I am able," he says, "after a most thorough and complete examination of the Scriptures, to affirm with confidence, that they exhibit no trace of expiation." Here the matter ends then. Daniel is come; and it only remains for the generations to grow wise. If Scripture has nothing to say on the subject of expiatory death, of course it does not teach that the death of Christ was an expiation. Does Dr. Bushnell really suppose that this sort of dogmatism will convince the world that it has been dreaming all these centuries? We ought to add, that the author labours to prove what he affirms with such transcendent assurance; and that the attempt is a conspicuous failure. We believe no earnest and unbiassed reader of the Bible will hesitate to pronounce Dr. Bushnell's polemic a signal example of the miscarriage which not seldom befalls religious ingenuity, when it seeks to translate the simple truths of Revelation into the philosophical dialect of the moralist and metaphysician.

**The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost; or, Reason and Revelation.** By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1866.

THE title-page of this work, it is well known, has drawn the eyes of the Law upon it. "Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster!" Such is our style, if you please; for the Law is amiable, and does not say nay.

Dr. Manning's ecclesiastical claim apart, his book is a very interesting and a very melancholy one. It is devoted to some of the most critical questions of the times—"Divine Faith, the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost, and the relations of the Spirit of Truth to the Church, to human reason, to the Scriptures, and to the dogma of Faith." It handles these questions with the subtlety, delicacy, force, and affluence of learning, which distinguish the gifted author. Nothing can exceed the power with which, in many cases, he vindicates the true doctrine of Spiritual Influence, and of the jurisdiction which revelation justly asserts over the intelligence and reason of man. But there is a miserable fly in the ointment which spoils all. The Popery of the volume is intense and all-penetrating; so that the author pulls down most effectually with one hand what he builds with the other. It is a pitiful sight, and one to give a wise man the heart-ache. Here is a devout and richly-endowed and highly-educated man upholding, as against the Rationalism of our days, the grand verity of the Divine Teacher of the world: and among the weapons which he uses to fight it with are the Church of Rome and the Chair of St. Peter! Can the strength of man fall lower than this?

**"The Life and Light of Man:" An Essay.** By John Young, LL.D. Edinburgh: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

DR. YOUNG is a very able man and a man of a fine spirit. He was formerly the pastor of a United Presbyterian Church, the minister of Albion Chapel, London; but he retired from his charge and from all connection with that church because of his change of view in regard to the Articles of the Christian Faith. He has since become known as the author of "The Christ of History," "The Mystery—Evil and Good," and the "Province of Reason," the first of these being an able argument in support of the Gospel History, the second a book of disputed orthodoxy, the third (which has received full attention in this Journal) one of the most luminous of the replies called forth by Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*. The present volume is Dr. Young's Confession of Faith as to the characteristic truths of the Christian Revelation.

It is evident that the author has spared no pains in the elaboration of this work, which is throughout most carefully composed, and on which we imagine he must for years have been meditating. But Dr. Young will not succeed in taking clean out of the Bible the whole

doctrine of vicarious sacrifice and penal atonement. This is what he has undertaken to do. He sees that the doctrine of the New Testament on this subject must be identical with that of the Old, if, in any sense, the unity of Revelation is to be maintained. Therefore he follows Maurice and the teachers of his school in endeavouring to eliminate the element of vicarious atonement from the Old Testament Scriptures. We can but refer Dr. Young back to Dr. Magee, to Kurtz in his reply to Bähr, and to Dr. Rigg's *Modern Anglican Theology*. His task is that of Sisyphus. He cannot get the stone to the top of the hill.

Incidentally Dr. Young says many true, and some fine, things. Theologians may learn from him some desirable lessons. We have long been convinced, for example, that to narrow St. Paul's use of the word *justify*, necessarily and in all cases, to the sense of *imputing righteousness*, is an error (see, for instance, Rom. viii. 30, and 1 Cor. vi. 11); and also that the expressions "righteousness," and "righteousness of God," when spoken of as coming or belonging to man, though they may often refer most immediately and pertinently to righteousness imputed, at the same time often, if not always, imply and point inward to righteousness imparted. But all such points as these are incidental and collateral; they do not essentially affect the main argument as between the evangelical school and that of Dr. Young.

Dr. Young, in fact, agrees, so far as we can see, very accurately in his theological views with Dr. Bushnell, although he has not, like the American divine, been thoroughly imbued, at the very outset of his career, with the theosophical system of Coleridge. Dr. Candlish will be expected to do battle with Dr. Young on behalf of the ancient gospel faith. Dr. Young is a more formidable antagonist than Mr. Campbell; and it can no longer be said that no Scotchman of repute has appeared to lead the way in rationalising the theology of the atonement.

**Discourses Delivered on Special Occasions.** By R. W. Dale, M.A., Author of the "Jewish Temple and the Christian Church."

HERE are two discourses delivered in the Birmingham Town Hall, two preached at the opening or re-opening of Congregational Churches, three Missionary Sermons, a Charge to a "Suburban Pastor," "A Discourse on the Tercentenary of the Birth of William Shakespeare," entitled, "Genius the Gift of God," and a discourse on the "Mutual Relations of Physical Science and Religious Faith," preached during the visit of the British Association to Birmingham.

They are remarkably honest and loving discourses. The Christian manliness, the union of boldness and gentleness, the thorough yet not self-asserting truthfulness, which distinguish Mr. Dale's utterances, are to us their great charm. They are also their great power—whether as respects the thought or the style. Honest thinking is the great secret

of truth in thought, and Christian humility joined to Christian courage is the great secret of honesty in thought. And real truth in purpose and thought is the great secret for each man, according to his own character and calibre, of excellence in style. Mr. Dale's thought is honest and thorough, his style straight, true, and telling, because it is the reflex of his honest thought and feeling. The result is a fresh and effective volume, which cannot fail to be popular and to do good.

No doubt there are things in this volume which our readers will not agree with; there are things with which we do not agree. But there is no need for us to spend our space on such matters. A book with every part and point of which we fully agree on first reading, must needs be of very little use to us. We can recommend Mr. Dale's volume as one which will help men to think honestly and to talk in the plain English of a Christian gentleman; as one also which is sound and right as to all the essentials of our common faith.

**Memorials of Missionary Labours in Western Africa, the West Indies, and at the Cape of Good Hope. By William Moister. London: 1866.**

MR. MOISTER has laboured as a missionary for nearly thirty years, having divided his labours between the three fields mentioned in the title of his book. During the ten years between 1850 and 1860, he occupied the important post of "General Superintendent" of the Wesleyan Missions in the Cape of Good Hope "District," a most extensive region. The present volume is not altogether new. A portion of it, referring to Western Africa and the West Indies, has been published before, and, in a much smaller volume, has passed through two editions. The whole, however, of this part of the present volume has been rewritten, and has been much enlarged; while more than a third of the volume, relating to Mr. Moister's labours in South Africa, is entirely new.

The book is written in the plain, earnest, style of one who, with adequate information and competent skill as a writer, is intent only on saying as clearly and truly as possible what he has to say. It may be safely recommended as a trustworthy compendium of information on the missions treated of, enlivened throughout by the personal narrative of an actor and eye-witness, a missionary who has proved himself equally competent to take the responsibility of a pioneer or of a territorial superintendent.

We cannot refrain from adding that whatever profits may arise from the sale of this book are consecrated, in a spirit very characteristic of the writer, to the service and aid of the missionary cause. On every ground, accordingly, we commend these Memorials to our readers, and trust that they may have a wide circulation. They must take their place worthily and permanently among that body of missionary literature in which Wesleyan Methodism is so rich.



**Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action.** By George P. Marsh. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 14, Ludgate Hill. 1864.

THE aim of the author of this interesting and suggestive volume may be best told in his own words: "In these humble pages, which do not in the least aspire to rank among scientific expositions of the laws of nature, I shall attempt to give the most important practical conclusions suggested by the history of man's efforts to replenish the earth and subdue it; I shall aim to support those conclusions by such facts and illustrations only as address themselves to the understanding of every intelligent reader, and as are to be found recorded in works capable of profitable perusal, or at least consultation, by persons who have not enjoyed a special scientific training" (p. 56). In the accomplishment of this purpose, so modestly declared, the writer has amassed material sufficient for another series of Bridgewater Treatises, and has, so far, done good service. But we would have this collection of extracts from English, French, German, American, Russian, Dutch, Prussian, and Italian authors more thoroughly systematised. As the book is designed for popular use, an analytical outline of its contents would be a most valuable addition: it would help the reading, and be useful afterwards for ready reference. To what an extent the volume is, as we have said, a "collection," may be judged from the fact that a bibliographical list of works consulted in the preparation of it is given, comprising nearly 200 scientific and other treatises. By means of researches, experiments, travels, and discussions, materials derived from a host of thinkers, Mr. Marsh has worked out a valuable description—so far as science has gone—of the extent of the changes produced by human action in the physical conditions of our globe. He seeks, moreover, to point out the dangers of imprudence and the necessity of caution in all operations which, on a large scale, interfere with the spontaneous arrangements of the organic or the inorganic world. Here we think our author takes too sombre a view of his subject. "There are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man has brought the face of the earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon; and though within the brief space of time, which we call the historical period, they are known to have been covered with luxuriant woods, verdant pastures, and fertile meadows, they are now far too deteriorated to be reclaimable by man, nor can they become again fitted for human use, except through great geological changes, or other mysterious influences or agencies of which we have no present knowledge, and over which we have no prospective control." Again, "The earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant." Such statements take us by surprise. Human crime and human improvidence have doubtless done much to cause impoverished productiveness, and the like; but what are even "the bloody waste of war"

and the mischiefs of reckless ignorance and barbarism, compared with the beneficent power of man over inorganic nature? New forests, breakwaters, land recovered from the ocean, swamps and even lakes drained and their beds covered with verdure, desert sand turned into a fruitful field by artesian fountains; these give more than faint hope, that we shall yet make full atonement for our free use and even our spendthrift waste of the bounties of nature. Besides, who may predict and who can set a limit to the discovery of now unknown and unimagined natural forces, and the invention of new arts and processes? There are once goodly realms, now depopulated and pestilential, which may be restored to fertility and healthfulness; and wide regions, which have been hitherto a perpetual desolation, may be changed into Edens of fruitfulness.

**Scripture and Science not at Variance.** By John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Fifth Edition. London: Hatchard and Co. Calcutta: R. C. Lepage and Co.

ARCHDEACON PRATT's clear and thoughtful treatise has established its claim upon public attention and confidence. What remains for us to do, therefore, is merely to note the distinction between this and former editions. It is now presented in a smaller size and type, so as to avoid increasing the price, although considerable additions are made to the matter. Among these additions is a fair discussion of Goodwin's hostile criticism on the Mosaic Cosmogony; and our author in few words answers the objections raised respecting the antiquity of the earth, pre-Adamite animals and plants, and the existence of light before the six days' creation. The Archdeacon imagines that an interval of time of untold duration occurred between the first creation of all things "in the beginning," as announced in the first verse of Genesis, and the state of disorder into which the earth had fallen, as described in the second verse. There was no need, as he regards it, of any record of the long dark time that preceded the appearance of man "in the image of God" upon earth. From that moment He became the centre towards which the lines of creative beneficence converged. Some of the most valuable additions made by the author to his work will be found in the parts which treat on the Unity of the Human Race, on the Unity of Language, and on the Age of the Human Race as supposed to be affected by ancient astronomical observations, and as indicated by Sir Charles Lyell's recent work on the "Antiquity of Man."

The great argument of the book, however, is the analogy which subsists between the experience of the past in the removal of apparent discrepancies between Scripture and science, and the just expectations of the future. "With so many examples before us," says Mr. Pratt, "we may boldly affirm, that even to suspect that Scripture and science are opposed to each other is *unphilosophical*. With such experience as the past has heaped up for instruction and warning, is it not in the highest degree

contrary to the spirit of true philosophy to sound the alarm at every appearance of antagonism between the word and the works of God? Have not the scientific, in the steady advance of truth, been forced times without number to abandon theories which once appeared plausible and comprehensive, but which could not satisfy the stern requirements of fact? Have anomalies and contrarieties staggered them, and not rather quickened their search for clearer light and a nearer acquaintance with hidden connections? And why should not the same waiting and trustful spirit guide us when the Holy Scriptures are involved, especially when we remember the trophies of victory they bring with them from so many previous conflicts?"

**Sermons and Expositions.** By the late John Robertson, D.D., Glasgow Cathedral. With a Memoir of the Author. By the Rev. J. G. Young. London: A. Strahan. 1865.

THESE "Sermons and Expositions" should take a high place among the crowd of kindred works which the present day is bringing forth. The lamented author was a distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland, who was called to his rest at the early age of forty-one. A man of great natural powers, and of the most industrious and persevering habits, he seems to have been almost a prodigy of learning when still a mere youth. Nor was his disposition less attractive and engaging than his mind was vigorous and well furnished. In this volume is everywhere evident the close and fearless yet sober thinker; the reverent and loyal student and expositor of the word of God; the devout and earnest and catholic Christian. The style is clear and forcible. The contents are arranged in three parts. The first part consists of sermons written when Dr. Robertson was minister of Mains and Strathmartin. The sermons in part two were preached when he was minister of Glasgow Cathedral. The third part contains brief comments and expositions that, with one exception, have never before been made public. The selection of subjects is such as to give specimens of Dr. Robertson's different styles. Exposition; the setting forth of doctrine; practical subjects; the privileges of Christians; are all represented. In laying down the volume, one cannot wonder at his early distinction in the church to which he belonged, or at the sorrow and disappointment caused by his death.

**Marble Isle, Legends of the Round Table, and other Poems.** By Sallie Bridges. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co. Pp. 272.

A book of true and glowing poetry. The author's burning words on the pharisaism of women who condemn the fallen of their own sex without pity, and on "the Curse of the Grape," deserve to be widely

known. There are extravagances in the chapter on "The Origin of Gems;" yet the conception is original. "The Legends of the Round Table," though mostly penned before the publication of the "Idylls of the King," bear a singular resemblance to that admired production of the Poet Laureate.

**A Century of Sonnets: and other Verses.** By Jacob Jones.  
London: Alfred W. Bennett. 1866.

THERE can be no doubt as to the poetic faculty and inspiration of Mr. Jones, although his verses may sometimes be turgid. But we cannot expect every poet to be of Tennyson's class. There is place for the resounding, as well as the exquisitely chaste and melodious, within the domain of poesy. And to do Mr. Jones justice, the sweet and simple vein, as well as the more ambitious, is within his gift. Many of the sonnets are very beautiful; some are finely impressive; a few are almost gorgeous. All that Mr. Jones needs is what study and practice will add.

**Baptism: Its Institution, Its Privileges, and Its Responsibilities.**  
By the Rev. J. H. Titcomb, M.A. London: William Hunt and Co. 1866.

A LABOURED and interesting attempt to reconcile the teachings and formularies of the Prayer Book as to "Baptismal Grace and Privilege" with the "Doctrines of Grace" as held by the Evangelical clergy of the Church of England. The view is that children are *federally regenerate* in Baptism. Whether this phrase means anything at all, whether it be not altogether unreal, we more than doubt; but the volume is worth reading.

**The Parables, read in the Light of the Present Day.** By Thomas Guthrie, D.D. London: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

THESE beautiful illustrations of the Parables of our Lord appeared first in "Good Words." They are here collected in an attractive and permanent form. Persons acquainted with Dr. Guthrie's other works will anticipate the character of this. In his Introduction he says:—"In explaining a parable, what we are to seek is its great central truth, the one, two, or three grand lessons which the story was told to teach,—setting aside such parts as are no more than colour, clothing, drapery thrown round it to impart life and interest." It is the object of Dr. Guthrie to grasp this central truth; to illustrate it, with careful

felicity of language, from the ample stores of his imagination, or from his large experience of life ; and to enforce it with the power springing from a true and loving heart touched by Divine unction.

**Poems.** By Robert Leighton. Liverpool: Edward Howell. 1866.

THIS is the most beautiful specimen of typography and getting up that we have seen from a provincial press ; it is a volume, indeed, so far as respects its printing, binding, and entire appearance, not unworthy of Moxon.

Mr. Leighton is not unknown as a poet. No clue, however, is given by preface or otherwise, in the present volume, by which we can discover which of these poems have been printed before and which are now published for the first time. Neither is there one word of information respecting the author himself. Except from an analysis of the "Records," included in this collection, and from a hint here and there in the other poems, no light is to be had as to the history, or feelings, of the author.

One thing, however, may certainly be inferred from many allusions. Mr. Leighton has been much engaged in business ; he has not had the opportunity of consecrating his life to literature and, as his supreme passion, to poetry. Poetry, notwithstanding, has been his passion, and this volume is the result.

That Mr. Leighton has in him the true poetic vein is manifest. But whether this is of a very high order, we doubt, notwithstanding the exquisite passages here and there, and occasionally the fine little poems, which constitute the golden morsels in this volume. What is certain is that he has too often "scanted his work," that he has spared pains in finish and elaboration, without which high success in poetry is simply impossible. Much in this volume is commonplace in thought, and at the same time unmelodious, if not prosaic, in expression. Much more would have made poetry, if the language in which the thought found expression had been perfect in mould and rich in music. Of this, as of so many volumes, especially of poetry, it may truly be said, that "the half" would be "more than the whole." If such pains as Tennyson has bestowed upon his verse had been given by Mr. Leighton to a small part of the effusions contained in these three hundred and fifty pages of close type, the result might have been a volume not unworthy to take rank with the classics of English poetry.

The pity that Mr. Leighton has not done this is the greater because there are many instances in these pages to show that he possesses, when he is in his happiest vein, a rare gift of melodious minstrelsy ; as witness, for example, his sweet verses on "Glen Messen" (p. 192). The "Fox Famine in Ayrshire" is a very spirited, in every way a capital, piece of poetic satire. And his "Blustering Night" is so good, and at the same time so piquant, that we shall do our readers the pleasure of extracting it for their benefit.

**"THE BLUSTERING NIGHT.**

- " The wind burst, like an enemy at night,  
 Into our town, and battled in the streets,  
 While peaceful folks lay stretched in wakeful sheets ;  
 But bolted doors withstood the invader's might.
- " From street to street, in rumbling, roaring din,  
 He madly ran, and batter'd at the gates,  
 The house-tops scaled, and hurtled down the slates,  
 Pushed at the doors, and clamour'd to get in.
- " The window-shutters to the walls he dash'd,  
 Howl'd through the window, rattled on the pane,  
 Rush'd up the entries, hurried back again,  
 Pull'd down the sign-boards, and the street-lamps smash'd.
- " The town rock'd like a ship, and the alarm  
 Deafen'd the inside ear of all our houses ;  
 We could not hear each other for wild noises,  
 And bawl'd aloud like sailors in a storm.
- " He rak'd the gables, toppled chimneys down,  
 And had done more, but lo ! the Morning came:  
 Beneath her innocent eye he quail'd in shame,  
 Mutter'd a curse or two, and left the town.
- " We heard him, as he pass'd the eastern port,  
 Bully the suburbs. When he reached the leas,  
 He tamed in valour to a simple breeze,  
 And whistled o'er the moors in rural sport."

In short, a third of this volume is excellent, now tender, now racy, now melting music, now biting satire, now picturesque description. The author's best vein seems to us to be lyrical. His meditations greatly need "straining," to make them clear and good.

**Our Domestic Fireplaces : a Treatise on the Economical Use of Fuel and the Prevention of Smoke. With Observations on the Patent Laws. By Frederick Edwards, Jun. Second Edition. London : Hardwicke. 1865.**

WE give hearty welcome to a new edition of this able, sensible, and useful book. Both the philosophy and the history of Mr. Edwards's subject receive worthy treatment at his hands. His work is conceived in a fine scientific spirit; the topics are handled with firmness and precision; and more than one class of the community may derive advantage from the practical suggestions which Mr. Edwards offers as to the building of houses, the ventilation of rooms, the construction and fixing of grates, and sundry other matters connected with the domestic and industrial life of modern times. The author deserves well of all haters of chimney-smoke, of all lovers of well-regulated heat in parlours, kitchens, and dormitories, and of all patriotic people who desire that Englishmen of the fortieth Christian century should be able to warm their hands at their own firesides with coal of their own digging.

**Religion in Daily Life.** By the Rev. Edward Garbett, M.A.  
Religious Tract Society.

AN admirable book, which we would gladly see circulated by thousands. Without the smallest pretension, it covers a wide area of Christian doctrine and life, and discusses many delicate questions of every-day duty with singular discreteness, simplicity, and power. Mr. Garbett's topics, as stated by himself, indicate the general scope and bearing of his work. They are "The Influence of Great Truths in Little Things; Friends, whom to Choose and whom to Avoid; Pure Friendship; Conversation — how to Talk, When, and on What; Temperance—Eating, Drinking, Sleeping; Advice—how to Give it, and how to Take it; Manners; Dress; Home—its Pleasures, Duties, and Dangers; Buying and Selling; Self-Control; Ridicule and the Ridiculous; Our Plans for Life; Hastiness of Judgment; The Merri-ment of the Wise and of the Fool; True Beauty." All these subjects are treated by the author with rare elevation of Christian tone, and with a quiet good sense and a clearness of practical discrimination, which carry with them an unspeakable charm and impressiveness. Mr. Garbett's book is one which Christian mothers will be wise to put into the hands of their youthful daughters, and which the brothers of those daughters will do well to study as they make their early steps among the hazards and temptations of business and professional life.

**The Koran and the Bible; or, Islam and Christianity.** By John Muehleisen-Arnold, B.D., Consular Chaplain at Batavia, late Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Mission Society. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1866.

THE object of this work is practical. It proposes to call attention to the character and history of Mohammedanism, and to the unfavourable contrast which its spirit and dogmas form to Christianity, with the view of encouraging and guiding the efforts of Christendom to seek the evangelisation of the world of Islam. The student of Mohammedanism must go to other sources for full and complete information on the subjects to which Mr. Arnold's volume is devoted: but there is much in it which will be new to the bulk of his readers; and where the author deals with the existing condition and aspects of the Mohammedan nations, he writes with the advantage of having been a resident among several of the chief of them. The work is not remarkable for the judgment which has determined the form of it; and it is wanting in compactness and finish: but it contains much that is interesting and useful, particularly in those parts of it which aim at developing the historical structure of the Koran, and which exhibit its doctrinal teachings and tendencies. Here Mr. Arnold is at home, and will be heard with pleasure and advantage.



**A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels, designed to show that, on a minute Critical Analysis, the Writings of the Four Evangelists contain no Contradictions within Themselves. By H. Grenville. London: J. Russell Smith. 1866.**

A SMALL but very charming and valuable work, which we cannot recommend too highly to Christian students and teachers. It raises many questions. Its contents—some of them—will need to be revolved and re-revolved by the reader. But we have full faith in Mr. Grenville's master-doctrine; and those who differ from his views and exposition of details must be prepared to show reason why.

**The Religious Opportunities of the Heathen before Christ. By W. F. Slater, Wesleyan Minister. Sunderland: William Henry Hills. 1866.**

THIS is a reprint of some thoughtful, able, and elegantly written papers, which have lately appeared in the *Wesleyan Magazine*. Mr. Gladstone's address before the University of Edinburgh, on "The Place of Greece in the Providential Order of the World," undergoes a searching criticism in the last of the papers.

**Sermons. Par Eug. Bersier, Pasteur à Paris. Paris: Ch. Meyrueis. 1866.**

Good French preachers are, in many respects, among the best of preachers. Except at those times when Paris and France have been overwhelmed by infidelity, pulpit oratory has always had eminent representatives in France. At one time the great French preachers were, and could only be, Gallican Catholics; now, and for some years past, Protestantism has had its great preachers in Paris. And, although Adolphe Monod is no more, such preachers as De Pressensé and M. Bersier still keep up the reputation of the French Protestant pulpit in Paris.

The directness, piquancy, and picturesqueness of the French language, are eminently suitable to the requirements of the pulpit orator. The French preacher is as objective in his manner of presenting his thoughts as the German philosopher is subjective. He teaches, explains, illustrates, enforces; he does not take his hearers through a subtle and elaborate analysis. He suggests thought, but does not school them in the process of thinking.

M. Bersier is, at the same time, one of the most striking and one of the soundest of French preachers; he is one of the most evangelical as he is one of the most impressive pulpit teachers to be found among the Protestant pastors of Paris. English preachers may study his sermons with great advantage.

Passages from the Diary and Letters of Henry Craik, of Bristol. By W. Elfe Taylor. With an Introduction by Mr. George Müller. J. F. Shaw and Co., Paternoster Row. W. Mack, Bristol.

HENRY CRAIK was no ordinary man. Born in Scotland in 1805, he entered, at the expiration of his fifteenth year, St. Andrew's University. There he was associated with some of the finest youthful minds of which either that or any other seat of learning could boast. As a private tutor, a village pastor, and a minister in a large city, he became distinguished. His memory is embalmed in Devonshire, and in Bristol it will never die. In both localities, and specially in the latter, he was fellow-labourer in the Gospel with the excellent and useful George Müller. For thirty-six years they lived, and loved, and laboured together "without a jar." Their joint pastorate of the church meeting at Bethesda and Salem chapels, not only illustrated the intensity of their own friendship, but proved a pre-eminent public blessing. The careless were roused, and Christians were "taught the way of God more perfectly."

Mr. Craik's philosophical and classical attainments were of a high order; but that in which he luxuriated was sacred criticism. Dean Alford, when he learnt that his Diary was to be published, wrote, "I hope any fragments of scholar-like criticism will be added to it. I often corresponded with Mr. Craik on matters of scholarship in the Greek New Testament, and never without profit." This is not surprising when we are told, that for nearly forty years he had been familiar with the Greek New Testament, and knew much of it by heart. In Hebrew he excelled; and, though but slightly acquainted with the researches of Delitzsch, Caspari, and modern critics generally, few were his superiors in a thorough knowledge of the structure and characteristics of the holy language. He was in his element when "digging for a Hebrew root, or when diving into the depths of authorities to see whether the Keri of the Hebrew should be admitted into the text." Hebraistic studies engaged him from his twenty-third year; and hence the charm which he shed on the sacred page, and hence those precious illustrations of Scripture, which those who heard him preach, or spent an hour with him in his study, or by the sea-shore, or in the rural walk, loved to place in the cabinet of their choicest treasures. Hence, too, the works for which we are indebted to his pen. Among these we may mention "The Hebrew Language; its History and Characteristics," "Hints and Suggestions on the Proposed Revision of our English Bible," "Brief Reply to certain Misrepresentations contained in Essays and Reviews," in which Dr. Williams must certainly find what either enlightens or reproves him. But Mr. Craik's great work in this department is "*Principia Hebraica*."

Mr. Craik's confidence in God was strong. He believed in the power of prayer; and, in a letter to a friend, assures him that Mr. Müller would be "the first to denounce the notion that there was anything

*miraculous* in the mode in which the Orphan House is upheld." "Ask in faith in the name of Christ and receive accordingly" explained to him and Mr. Müller the prosperity vouchsafed. It does not do so to us, and for this reason: all faith must have testimony on which to repose. Had Divine assurance been given us, that "*George Müller's establishment for supporting and training orphans shall always be supplied with means in answer to prayer*," we could then, at once, see the operation of faith in the working of the Ashley Down Institution. In the *absence* of such Divine testimony, we are free to confess that we have another explanation of this prodigy of successful Christian effort.

His death was a beautiful finish to such a life; and the largest funeral procession, it is said, ever seen in Bristol, followed his remains to the cemetery in Arno Vale in January last.

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Exodus, with a New Translation. By James G. Murphy, LL.D. Clark: Edinburgh. 1866.**

In January, 1864, we ventured to pass some strictures upon a useful Commentary on the Book of Genesis, then recently published by Dr. Murphy. We complained, that excellent as his work was in point of tone and aim, it wanted mastery, vigour, and finish, and in more than one department exhibited a lack of the judgment which might fairly be expected in a scholarly translator and interpreter of Holy Writ. Dr. Murphy is mending. His *Exodus* is in advance of his *Genesis*. It has more fibre. It is more closely woven. The fabric altogether bears the glass better. Still there is room for further improvement. To say nothing besides, why will Dr. Murphy persist in cumbering his 'Critical and Exegetical' Commentaries with extracts from the Hebrew vocabulary? "At the head of each section," he says, "a few prominent words are quoted and briefly expounded for the sake of readers acquainted with Hebrew, who are supposed to peruse the section in the original?" And accordingly the Hebraists read for their benefit such as the following:—"Choreb, dry place, *r.* drain; Chodesh, new moon, day of the new moon, month, *r.* be new; Marah, bitterness." What possible end can schoolboy scraps like these answer in such a work as Dr. Murphy's, except to discredit the judiciousness and literary competence of the author?

**The Higher Education of Women. By Emily Davis. Alexander Strahan. 1866.**

We could earnestly wish that this volume might be dispassionately, and with a due sense of the permanent importance of the subject, pondered by all young women, and by all who have any responsibility in regard to the training of girls for womanhood and for the ordeal of life. It is full of high practical thought, of searching questions, and important suggestions.

The First Canto of Klopstock's Messiah, Translated from the Original German into English Heroic Metre. Cambridge: 1866.

PERSONS who need a little after-dinner laughter to assist digestion, will do well to purchase this fourpenny publication. The poetry, philology, and divinity of it, will all serve without fail to promote the good end. The poetry is thus :—

“ Now Son and Father entered on discourse, sublime  
Subjects mysteriously profound, even to  
Th' immortals.”

The philology thus : “ Alcohol is a compound word in the Arabic language ; the first syllable of which (al) is the definite article ; the second (ko) is an adverb of similitude ; and the third (hol) is horror or *delirium tremens* ; gin is the devil.—See Ps. xci. 5 ; John x. 20, 21. Arabicè.”

The divinity starts with the fact, that it was this same alcohol, “ introduced by Satan into the tree of knowledge of good and evil in Paradise,” which brought death into the world, and all our woe.

A History of Christian Doctrine. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D. In two Volumes. Edinburgh : Clark. London : Hamiltons. 1865.

The English reader, who desired to understand the history of Christian doctrine, had till lately scarcely any accessible works to help him in his researches. Some little he might learn from Mosheim, but the history of doctrine enters but slightly into the composition of his far too compendious Ecclesiastical History. Perhaps more might be learned from the same erudite author's notes on Cudworth ; but few would think of looking there for the materials of the history sought for. On many points his volumes on Christianity before the age of Constantine would afford valuable information ; but this work, though valuable, is not generally known. Neander is too subtle and too voluminous for ordinary readers, although he is in truth a very charming writer to congenial minds ; besides, the history of doctrine must be patiently and painstakingly distilled out of Neander by each student for himself. Dorner's massive and exhaustive work on the Person of Christ has but lately been translated into English, and is, moreover, quite unsuited to any but seasoned readers and very hard thinkers. In these volumes, however, there is furnished a most intelligent and fair history of Christian doctrine, such as the ripe scholar may consult with advantage, and the plain English divine, the country parson, the pastor of a small church, the “ local preacher,” will read with ease and interest from first to last.

Dr. Shedd's arrangement is admirable. After an Introduction, explaining his method and its reasons, his First Book treats of the Influence of Philosophical Systems upon the Construction of Christ

Doctrine; his Second is a History of Apologies, of the Defences of Christianity throughout its eighteen centuries; the Third Book contains the History of Theology and Christology, i.e., of the Doctrine of the Trinity and that of the Person of Christ; the Fourth embraces a clear, succinct History of Anthropology, the views which have prevailed as to man's nature, mind and conscience, soul and body, including of course the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian, and the Calvinistic or Arminian, controversies—this book, let us say, is wonderfully true and just; next follows, in Book Fifth, the history of Soteriology, or the doctrines of Atonement and Satisfaction, Justification and Sanctification; Book Sixth has for its subject Eschatology, the Second Advent, the Resurrection, the Final State; the last book presents a summary of the Symbols, the Creeds or Confessions, of the Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Churches. So complete a summary of Church Symbols we have never seen.

Every student should make himself owner of this work. Only let us note that, in his account of the Philosophies (Book First) Dr. Shedd's treatment is too slight and popular to be fully correct. Indeed he does not appear to have studied the fathers of Greek philosophy profoundly or at first hand. Still no book is perfect; and the wonder is that so learned and excellent a work "has been put to press amidst the pressure of engagements incident to a large pastoral charge."

**Speaking to the Life: A Book for All. Illustrative and Suggestive.** By John Bate, author of "Cyclopædia of Illustrations of Moral and Religious Truths," &c. London: S. W. Partridge. 1866.

A **GODLY** book; very practical, and likely to be useful wherever it is read.

**The Gentle Philosopher; or, Home Thoughts for Home Thinkers.** London: Jas. Blackwood and Co.

THE "Gentle Philosopher" is not a writer whose power strikes in flashes, or who thrills his readers with terror or pleasure by his eloquence. But he does possess the power of charming; and his influence distils into the imagination and judgment of those who listen to his teaching. There is much meditative beauty, and much wholesome and timely truth, in this collection of papers.

In this fast-living age, it were well indeed if the hints given by the author were taken to heart by all. It is a comfort to know that there are some, like the "gentle philosopher," who know how to live a thoughtful life in the midst of the universal whirl. There are two excellent papers "On Being Ourselves," (this is strangely omitted from the table of contents) and on "Sensation Literature." Altogether, although all parts are not equally good, this is a wise and winning book.

**A Reference Book of English History. By Alex. C. Ewald.  
F. Warne & Co.**

THIS is one of a class of books created to meet the exigencies of the Civil Service and other public examinations. Mr. Ewald has well fulfilled the promise of his title-page, and has provided for those candidates who take in the subject of English History an excellent book of reference. The arrangement is methodical and consistent; the tables of chronology and genealogy are carefully and clearly set forth; and the dictionary of battles and sieges, being in alphabetical order, will be found eminently useful. The section called "Lines of Biography," is rather too copious for the purpose in view: few students, for instance, would be expected to know much about Thomas Babington, John Hacket, or Sir Henry Halford, whose names occur in one page; but the next and concluding section, a dictionary of the English Constitution, is admirably done, and will prove interesting and valuable to the general reader, as well as to those for whom it is more especially written.

**Master and Scholar, etc., etc. By E. H. Plumptre, M.A.  
Alexander Strahan. 1866.**

PROFESSOR PLUMPTRE is an accomplished scholar, is a master of language, and has a rare power of realising with vivid truthfulness, and of expressing with chaste fulness and calm power of language, the thoughts and life of the long past. Such a man could hardly fail to be a poet. We recognised his merits on the publication of his "Lazarus and other Poems." In that volume, which we see has now passed to a second edition, such compositions as the "Lazarus," "Jesus Barabbas," and the "Translation of the Song of Deborah," were enough to establish the reputation of their author. Mr. Plumptre has since given to the world a "Translation of the Tragedies of Sophocles," which is admitted on all hands to be the best and happiest version of those dramas ever published. Now he sends forth a third volume of verse, which will not detract from his reputation. Always graceful, correct, and finished; always true in taste and faultless in music; Mr. Plumptre sometimes rises to a strain of high poetic intensity and of corresponding power. The first poem in this volume, which is exquisitely worded and full of meditative beauty, depicts, in a dramatic form, two imaginary scenes in the history of Roger Bacon. Of the other poems, "Miriam of Magdala," "An Old Story," both of them exceedingly beautiful, "Eumenides," perhaps the most impressive poem in the volume, "Not without Witness," and "Gilboa," will probably be the favourites. The translations which follow, in particular that of the 68th Psalm, are marked by that combination of correctness, finish, and spirit, which is so characteristic of Mr. Plumptre's versions. We know of no one who could so well do the work of metrical translation for the Book of Psalms as Mr. Plumptre.

**Louis Napoleon the Destined Monarch of the World, etc.** By the Rev. M. Baxter, author of the "Coming Battle," &c. William Mackintosh, London.

THIS is one of those wild interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy which must excite either ridicule or regret, according as the reader is trifling or serious.

The writer is not content with indicating what he considers may probably be the meaning of certain prophetic declarations and symbols, he is quite sure that he has "demonstrated with mathematical certainty" that Louis Napoleon is the great "Personal and Infidel Anti-Christ" spoken of in the New Testament. In this character he will enter into a covenant with the Jews, and in the temple at Jerusalem, rebuilt for the restoration of the Jewish sacrifices, he will "literally sit" to receive divine homage. All his worshippers will be branded "as cattle," with a mark on their forehead or hand, while all who refuse to worship him will be put to death. The Roman pontiff and priests will become "pliant tools" in the hands of the French Emperor, and use all their power to exalt him to universal supremacy. He will "completely achieve the humiliation of England, Russia, and Turkey," with other European powers; and also bring under his dominion the United States, and other portions of the American Continent. Countless hosts of warriors will be assembled in Palestine; wars of unprecedented magnitude will take place, culminating in the Battle of Armageddon, when Christ will appear, and the Emperor and the Pope will be "cast alive into the lake of fire." All this is to come to pass within the next *seven or eight years*.

Among the physical phenomena which will mark this era will be a terrific earthquake of such extent and violence that the "*cities of all nations*, such as London, Liverpool, Dublin, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, New York, Boston, etc., will fall and become heaps of shapeless ruins."

We have said enough to point out the general character of this work. There is much ingenuity in it; but the quality which of all others is essential in venturing upon the difficult question of unfulfilled prophecy, sobriety of judgment, is altogether wanting. Fanciful resemblances take the place of real points of analogy; and we have throughout a positiveness and extravagance in assigning the periods and explaining the details of events yet hidden in the future, which deprive the book of any real value.

**The Handbook of Specimens of English Literature:** selected from the chief British Authors, and arranged chronologically. By Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D. Religious Tract Society.

THE author of the well-known and admirable "Handbook of English Literature," here furnishes us with a series of *specimens*, designed to be



the supplement and companion of his work on the *history* of the literature. The plan which he has followed in the preparation of this later volume, may be best explained in his own language. "He has sought (1) to illustrate the progress of our literature and language; (2) to select for each author the most characteristic specimen, both of his style and thought; (3) to present extracts remarkable for beauty, force, or suggestiveness; and (4) to introduce the reader to the works from which selections are taken. He has, therefore, quoted largely from our older writers, has copied direct from their works, retaining in almost every case the old spelling, indicating carefully all omissions, and adding the references, so that the reader may himself examine the passages *in situ*. . . . From novels and dramas no extracts have been made except in the case of Shakespeare. . . . As in the preceding volume, the works of living authors are not included: nor are those of American writers." In the nature of things there will be difference of opinion among Dr. Angus's readers as to the soundness of the judgment which has guided him in the adoption of the principles just enumerated, and still more as to the manner in which he has applied them in the selection of his authors, and in the quotations which he has given from their writings. For the most part, however, Dr. Angus is very well able to sustain himself in the presence of enlightened criticism: he has executed his laborious and delicate task with much taste and discretion; and we recommend his work as being at once a valuable index to our literature, and a serviceable sample of what may be reaped in its ample fields, by those who are willing to put in the sickle.

The Lord's Day; or, The Christian Sabbath: its History, Obligation, Importance, and Blessedness. By the Rev. John Wesley Thomas. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1865.

THIS is decidedly the best and wisest book we know on the all-important subject of which it treats.

Fruits of Righteousness in the Life of Susanna Kemp, of the White House, Lowesmoor, Worcester. By Edith Rowley. Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1866.

A most interesting and profitable book. If the authoress continues to study the religious life with the pious thoughtfulness that this volume indicates, and acquires a little more simplicity of style, she will be a very welcome contributor to our religious literature. We heartily commend this beautiful little volume.

**Essays for the Times, on Ecclesiastical and Social Subjects.**  
 By James H. Rigg, D.D., Author of "Modern Anglican Theology." London: Elliot Stock. 1866.

THE reader will most easily estimate the importance of the subjects discussed in this volume, by glancing at the following table of contents:—1. A Few Words on the Relations of Wesleyan Methodism to the Established Church; 2. the Vocation and Training of the Clergy; 3. the Established Church—Defects and Remedies; 4. the Puritan Ancestors and High Church Parents of the Wesleys. A Sketch and a Study. 1630—1740; 5. Kingsley and Newman; 6. Pusey's Eirenicon; 7. Archbishop Manning and Dr. Pusey on "The Workings of the Holy Ghost among Separatists and Schismatics, or Ultramontane Charity, *versus* Anglican Charity; 8. the History of Heterodox Speculation; 9. the Bible and Human Progress; 10. Pauperism, Land Tenure, and the Clergy; 11. the Origin, Causes, and Cure of Pauperism; 12. Popular Education. Several of the Essays having made their first appearance in the pages of this *Review*, it is impossible for us to speak of them as they deserve. We are happy, however, to observe that the universal press, with scarcely an exception, has welcomed them as a most important contribution to the discussion of the great questions they treat.

Dr. Rigg writes on all subjects with singular acuteness and with transparent sincerity, qualities which, in their rare and felicitous union, cannot fail to secure him the respect of all his readers. His former work, "Modern Anglican Theology," has won him a high position, and the readers of that work will find this to be no unworthy successor to it. Nowhere does his nervous English style, rising occasionally into true eloquence, appear to greater advantage than in some portions of this volume. We would mention particularly the masterly paper on "The Bible and Human Progress," which we regard as a model "lecture to young men." We name this paper as one which did not appear in the *Review*: some of the others need no commendation to our readers. And it would surely be false delicacy if we should fail to characterise the work of our collaborateur as a good book, discussing some of the gravest questions of this age wisely and eloquently in the spirit of a true and earnest Christianity.

The volume, it may be added, is printed and published in a style worthy of the dignity of its topics. In these days of cheap publication and crowded pages, it is a great luxury to read a type so clear and turn over pages of such substantial paper. We cordially commend to our readers a handsome volume, full to overflowing with instruction and never failing in its interest.

THE  
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JANUARY, 1867.

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- ART. I.—1. *L'Immortalité selon le Christ, Etude Historique.*  
Par CHARLES LAMBERT. Michel Lévy. 1865.
2. *L'Exégèse Biblique et l'Esprit Français.* Par ERNEST  
RENAN. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st November, 1865.
3. *Méditations sur L'Etat actuel de la Religion Chrétienne.*  
Par M. GUIZOT. Michel Lévy. 1866.
4. *L'Eau Bénite au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par MGR. GAUME, Proto-  
notaire Apostolique. Gaume et Duprey, Rue Cassette.  
1866.

It is not without reason that the orthodox French Protestants are striving to draw the bond of union closer. They have not only to resist the pernicious influence of men like M. Paschoud and the Coquerels, *père et fils*, but also to make a stand against the flood of "Essays and Reviews" literature which is now forcing its way into their country. The old French infidelity was of a thoroughly different type from our own. The sneer, solemn or lively, was their weapon of offence in sapping the already rotten foundations of the old creed. M. Lambert and his party, the advanced Renanites, adopt a different plan. They march on with *apparatus criticus* and battering train of Hebrew quotations, with blowing of German war trumpets, and all the pomp and circumstance with which Dr. Colenso has made us familiar in his attack on the Pentateuch. Not that they object to a sneer; they will even, like the bishop, go a little out of their way for a telling one; but they do not trust mainly to sneering; they rather use it as a martinet general in India might use the occasional services of his irre-

gular horse. They are earnest (forsooth), well-meaning, anxious to free the truth from human incrustations, doing a work which they take care to inform us they are sure Moses himself would thank them for if he were here. M. Lambert is no Voltaire; he has inflicted on the world a *Système du Monde Moral*, and threatens us with a treatise on *Théodicée Naturelle* (as he calls it), and another on education. He winds up his work with a sentence which shows that he has adopted Mr. Maurice's definition of eternal life, or something very near it:—"Rien ne nous sert pour la vie éternelle que l'être nouveau que nous créons en nous: tout homme qui hait son frère n'a pas la vie éternelle résidant en lui." To the young enthusiast, as well as to the thoughtful, to those who are weary of trying to "read the riddle of the painful earth," and who (in their vain struggles after that full insight to which man can never attain here below) would fain be wiser than what is written, such a man is a hundredfold more dangerous than a scoffer. We have passed out of the age when "a little fiend who mocked incessantly" could do much harm to educated people. Carlyle, Maurice, and Coleridge, Maurice's master, have prepared men's minds to take pleasure in great swelling words, no longer uttered directly against the Most High, but actually pretending to do Him service by pulling in pieces the word wherein is contained His revelation of Himself. M. Renan's paper, which we have set side by side with M. Lambert's book, is only the preface to a forthcoming work, a translation of the Dutchman Kuenen's *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur l'Ancien Testament*, which, Englished as it has lately been, any one may compare for himself with the similar works of our native sceptics. It is sadly significant that in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the French *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* rolled into one, the periodical which set the example to our own *Fortnightly*, papers by such men as Renan and Reville should appear almost every month, among amusing incidents of travel and instalments of sensation novels. M. Renan, in the paper before us, is duly grateful to the Teutonic spirit of criticism. He praises the Germans, just as Strauss, in the "new popular edition" of his *Leben Jesu*, praises him. He confesses that the French could never have got on without help: "They are so fond of putting talent in the place of scholarship. This was Bossuet's weak point. . . . Intellectual mediocrity and idleness in research have always stamped the Gallican Church. . . . France led the way, as it does in most things; but her scholars soon became narrow and superficial, and 'society' quickly invaded the realm of science." Curiously enough,

says M. Renan, the enlightened men among the Protestants were well received by the Catholics, and *vice versa*. Cappel, for instance, who, with Bochart, is among the earliest of biblical critics—he first compared alphabets and fixed the vowel points—was a Protestant. The Romanists read and liked him; but his own people called him “*Atheismi buccina, Alcorani fulcimentum, publicâ flammâ abolendum.*” But M. Renan’s favourite is Richard Simon, a Dieppe oratorian, who published in 1678 his *Histoire Critique de l’Ancien Testament*, in which “he anticipated the German method,” and that retouching of the text which sets the Bible before us as a *corps organique* growing by certain laws, and relieves us from the necessity of accepting or rejecting any single book as a whole. This “wholesome rivalry between Protestant and Catholic critics” was arrested by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the French school was thenceforth condemned to sterile trifling. Calmet was a pompous fool, as uncritical as his pupil Voltaire; he arrested the Benedictines by sneering away all their readers. Polemics and true criticism cannot go together. The object in polemics is to gain an easy victory; and “on ne fait pas de bonne science avec cela.” The Abbé Guénée was as bad a critic as Calmet; “he was formed on the mean and petty school of English apologists.” He deals in none of those grand shadowy German mysteries in which M. Renan delights—“vital questions he never thinks of, though he goes to a Paris foundry to test practically the making of a golden calf.” Fourmont might have done better; but Louis XV. and Cardinal de Noailles stopped him altogether. Even Calmet had to be defended against the Inquisition. Indeed, there was no freedom in France, save for libertine writing: free thought took refuge in Holland. Astruc, the doctor of Montpellier, who, in 1753, published his *Conjectures on the Original Documents used by Moses*, noting in an uncritical way the patchwork state of the Pentateuch, was the only French writer on biblical exegesis till almost yesterday. True, Barthélemi found out the Phœnician alphabet; but, in 1800, Sylvestre de Sacy was, probably, the only Hebraist in France; and the feeble school-boy style of the early papers of the Institute is something startling. Such is M. Renan’s brief sketch of the early age of French criticism. Persecution did not make Frenchmen Christians; but it made them bad scholars. Bossuet, by persecuting Richard Simon, prepared the way for Voltaire. He rejected, on behalf of his country, free science and grave inquiry, and he received instead buffoonery and shallow infidelity. Of course, in this M. Renan finds a

lesson for us : on our treatment of the critical spirit which is abroad in the world will depend the religious state of our grandchildren. But let us turn from the French Bible criticism of the past century to that of to-day. No one can complain of M. Lambert's "shallowness;" he is constantly telling us of the distinction between *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, between Enosch (עֲנוֹשׁ) and Adam (אָדָם). He is not satisfied to speak of "the Law;" he must call it "the Torah." He is outspoken enough to please M. Renan himself. At the very outset of his book he compares David to Louis XI., Jonathan answering to the son of his rival, the Duke of Burgundy; and, when he comes to the death of our Lord, he speaks of the "painful effect," the sense of desolate disappointment which the four accounts, one after another, have upon our minds. His object is to show that the immortality, dreamed of for himself and his select friends by David, promised by Christ to all who should continue faithful through "the times of repentance," preached by St. Paul as the reward of "faith," was no future state of uncertain glory, but an eternal life of the body here on this earth. David believed that this was to be his reward. As the infirmities of a premature old age came on, he hoped against hope, and poured forth his longings after "the path of life with pleasures without end" in psalm after psalm.

M. Lambert interprets the Psalms in a way which seems to us most forced, as well as most irreverent. The second psalm, for instance, is, he says, a "veritable edict of Jehovah, published by David, enjoining all to believe that David had become by right of sonship heir of the kingdom." To this the eighteenth psalm, and the chapter of 2 Samuel in which it is reproduced, form a prelude. And if this strange assumption of divinity is not recorded in the prose history, it is because the Jews had a way of leaving out of their historical books everything which was belied by actual fact. David is assured that he shall be immortal: "He is renewing his strength as an eagle's:" he has a grand celebration of his acceptance as son and heir of Jehovah; but the histories are silent about this, for David died like other mortals. It is only in those Psalms which were capable of a secondary or spiritual interpretation, that the record is preserved of what M. Lambert, from his point of view, may well call "the most remarkable form which human pride has ever taken—the claim to be the son of a God whose distinguishing attribute was unity." We hardly recognise the Psalms after M. Lambert's naturalistic hand. Every phrase is, with ruth-

less hardness, severed from its traditional interpretation. This is seen most strikingly in our author's comment upon the 110th Psalm, "Jehovah said unto my lord (David)." And again in verse 5, "O Jehovah, our Lord (David), on thy right hand, breaks the kings in his wrath." In the second of these cases, the word Lord still has the *Kodesch*, which mark is only used with words applied to a Divine personage. **יְהוָה** must mean the Almighty: the **יְהוָה** of the first verse originally had the same sacred points; but when the punctuation was fixed, David had long been dead. Thus it was that the **יְהוָה** (*Kodesch*) was only preserved for that "Lord," which, by a dexterous legerdemain, might be applied to God. David meant by the whole psalm a record of his apotheosis. In this way M. Lambert, on the Psalms and the books of Samuel, anticipates those who in this country mean to carry on the Colenso plan through the Bible. But against David himself, he writes with a feeling of personal bitterness. All that we are accustomed to consider noble traits in his character, are so told—so strangely distorted in the telling—that they become proofs of a certain cold, calculating spirit which our author attributes to the man after God's own heart. The news of Saul's death, of the murder of Ishbosheth, and such like "lucky mishaps," David always arranges to have brought to him by strangers who have no relations to inquire into and avenge their deaths. Thus he is able to show his righteous indignation and to free himself from the risk of exposure, by slaying the messengers before they can say a word about his share in the transactions. The numbering of the people, again, is a plan for raising a poll-tax. David, who had read a good deal in the one copy of the law which was then in existence, and who took care (says M. Lambert) to build up this precious document into the wall of some outbuilding of the temple—where in fact it was found in Josiah's reign—lest the difference between Mosaism and Davidism might be seen in all its vividness, wishes to number the people because of the half-shekel per head ordered in Exodus. The people murmured, because, willing as they were to admit his title of heir and son of Jehovah, they did not think that title any reason for letting him appropriate the half-shekel. Then comes the plague; and David in alarm thinks seriously of doing what he always before thought would ruin his power—of building a temple to Jehovah. After all, though God by the mouth of Nathan had promised "to make David an house," abdicating His own earthly rights in favor



of "His son," perhaps He might be pleased with a place in Jerusalem to set His name there, and it might exist without detriment to David's authority, since only the name and not the Being would be worshipped in it. Hence comes a division of power, a sort of double Japanese government, sketched out in 1 Chron. xxii. and the seven following chapters. But scarcely are these new plans settled, when David's increasing infirmities force him to admit Solomon to a share of the government. Still he goes on hoping against hope for that endless life here on earth, to which he had believed that he, the new man, had attained. His Psalms are full of hopes and fears about his health. He speaks like a man who has discovered the *fontaine de jouvence*, but he has no *idea of a resurrection*. That idea grew up in the Jewish mind from the belief that "all God's promises in the Psalms" were absolutely true. Some of them, therefore, unfulfilled in David's case, were passed on to be fulfilled for the Messiah: others, it was believed, were to be fulfilled for David himself sometime or other. This, our author says, is the earliest phase of "the resurrection idea," a very different thing from David's notion of immortality. Of David's character our author's estimate is what we might expect from the instances given. If he is bitter against Absalom, it is because Absalom practised on him the tricks whereby he himself had won popularity. The old king's sorrow for his slain son is a solemn farce. But M. Lambert's wrath is fiercest when he discusses the matter of the Gibeonites; "of all David's bloodthirsty devices this is the most atrocious and the most cleverly planned." As for the matter of Bathsheba, we are all wrong in applying to it the *penitential Psalms*. De Wette has demonstrated that the title of Psalm li. does not belong to it. Everything turned out just as David wished: the child died, and so his crime was expiated; and the taking of Rabbah is the most brilliant event of his reign. M. Lambert's David, then, is as unlike the Old Testament king as possible. He is a veritable Louis XI. going about in Jewish garb. His talent, our author grants, is great; his power of organisation immense. He provides for everything, and turns a horde of Bedouins into a settled nation; but he has no notion of immortality in our sense of the word. He dreams that a sort of apotheosis has passed upon him, making his body imperishable; but his whole idea of the kingdom of heaven is as opposite as possible to that of Moses. All his anxiety is to put that kingdom out of this world, that he may here rule supreme. Moses, on the contrary, looked on it, not as something existing in

the heavens, but as coming down from heaven and going on here below.

So much for our author's fancy sketch of David. The style of it will give us a good idea of his manner. If anything hard to be explained comes in his way, it is quietly set aside as an interpolation, put in because the Jews were bound in honour to keep the Word of God, always "up to the dates and facts." Thus "the twelfth and following verses in 2 Sam. vii. are plainly inserted after David's death," because they overthrow M. Lambert's theory as to David's views of immortality.

When David fares thus at M. Lambert's hands, we need not expect much reverence for the Son of David. Our author handles His life in the most off-hand manner. He is to the full as offensive in another way as M. Renan. His Christ is an enthusiast who reads the different Jewish books, especially the later books of the Apocrypha, and forms a notion that the new world, the heaven upon earth, will soon begin, and that all must hasten to do their best during "the times for repentance" which are to usher in the new order of things. He, like David, believed that the old covenant of death might be annulled. God changed the decree of drowning in Noah's case; why should He not change the doom of death in the case of another human being? Far away in Galilee, M. Lambert's Christ had deeply studied the Prophets and the Apocryphal books, till, at last, the "*généreux descendant de David*," restless and full of vague hopes, as all His nation were at that time, had convinced Himself that the kingdom of heaven was now at last to be established, and that the promises made to David were to be fulfilled to Him. Our author, indeed, places our blessed Lord's conception of this heavenly kingdom far above the "narrow idea which always predominated in David's eminently selfish mind:" "no sin, no work, no marrying and giving in marriage, no family life, with its cares and distractions." But before this happy time of brotherhood and equality should come, the Prophets uniformly foretold a period of tribulation, during which all save the elect should be destroyed, while even they could only be rescued by the sacrifice of His life, paid as a ransom according to the provisions of the law. How the Carpenter's Son of Nazareth first came to believe in Himself and in His mission is a point which M. Lambert very conveniently leaves almost untouched. Why this Messiah should, even humanly speaking, have risen so immeasurably above all the other "messiahs" of the

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time, it would of course be a hard matter to explain on M. Lambert's principles. Of our Lord's "distinct realisation of the times of repentance which must precede the end, and of the need that He should die for His people," we are told over and over again. But the kingdom of heaven could not be complete without the presence of its King-Messiah. Hence the idea of the resurrection, already broached in Daniel and in the second book of Maccabees, and figured in the prophecy of Jonah. God had promised to David that his flesh should not see corruption; but David did see corruption: hence, according to what our author calls the usual Jewish method, the promise, which is bound to be fulfilled, is transferred to some one else. "As for thinking that Jesus was intellectually separated from the Jewish family, that He had any object in view beyond the fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets, to do so is to substitute an irrational chimera for the most real and consistent personage whom history has ever made known to us."

As for the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, they merely refer to these exceptional "times of repentance," to a society just on the eve of perishing by a sudden overthrow; they are comparable with the advice which St. Paul gives the Corinthians. Even the Lord's Prayer does not escape M. Lambert's "classification." "The coming of 'the kingdom;' the claim for daily bread till it should come; the deliverance from evil at the last: all other anxieties are futile; the life is more than meat." Miracles, of course, M. Lambert does not believe in. He declines to discuss the question of the supernatural until "*la vraie théodicée*," doubtless that which he is preparing, has been enunciated. Our Lord's first miracles consisted, he says, merely in "driving out the evil spirits" from those who would persist in prematurely calling Him the Holy One of God and other names which would be fairly His only when the tribulation was over and the kingdom really set up. That it was to be set up on this earth our author argues (and the argument is a fair sample of his method) from Christ's words to Pilate, "Now is My kingdom not from hence," meaning that by and by it will be. But what need of quotations to show the animus of a man who gathers from the account of our Lord and the woman of Samaria (which he accepts as "a truthful rendering of Christ's ideas," though he speaks very lightly of the "semi-Greek" gospel of St. John in general) the astounding inference that Jesus meant to share with Jehovah the honours of the new kingdom just as David had done before: "Neither here nor at Jerusalem will men by and

by worship the Father ; He will only be worshipped in spirit ; all other homage will be paid to the Son." It is startling to be told that Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea are types of a class of influential Jews who, "waiting for the kingdom of God," kept up the enthusiasm of Jesus by all possible means, since from His death was to follow the deliverance of Israel. But it is a still greater surprise to be told that, if what we read about Judas is not pure invention "to satisfy messianic data," he must have been acting in concert with our Lord, to hasten on the end which seemed to him too slow in coming. "What thou doest, do quickly," says our Saviour to Judas : therefore, argues M. Lambert, what he was about to do could not have been displeasing to Christ. As for Pilate, our author, like other writers of his class, thinks that we owe a good deal to his weakness ; "had Jesus been condemned to live," what a sad disenchantment "must have come about sooner or later."

Such is M. Lambert's Christ, a Being very different from Him of Renan, who, from a mild enthusiast, becomes, when soured by opposition, a bitter denouncer of all who do not follow him. Our author's Christ never loses his gentleness ; he grieves over the small number of the elect ; he is full of sorrow that by his word, during these times of penitence, the mother-in-law would be set against the daughter-in-law, and that a man's foes should be those of his own household. Equally different is he from the "mythic" personage of whom so many Germans say it is unimportant whether he existed or not. M. Lambert's Christ is strictly historical ; anything contradictory which appears about him in any of the Gospels, our author at once explains as "an interpolation."

But he is not content with showing to his own satisfaction that our Lord had no idea of immortality, except as a perpetuation of the life which now is under happier conditions. M. Lambert devotes more than a third of his five hundred large pages to an examination of the views of St. Paul, of whom he says that, while widening the gates of the Gospel kingdom to admit strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, he altered the terms of admission. Our Lord (he tells us) had made faith in Himself very secondary to an earnest "doing the will of His Father." St. Paul makes faith to be faith in Christ's resurrection, the one requisite for escaping death, not death spiritual, but the corporeal dissolution which must pass on all who had not faith. "Gamaliel used to say," says the Pirké Aboth, "take a guide, so as not to fall into doubt ;" and here we doubtless have the germ of that exalted idea of

faith which the Apostle of the Gentiles afterwards worked out. Though wherever a revelation exists, faith must be more or less meritorious; for he who reveals is naturally pleased to see his teaching accepted without hesitation. As for St. Paul, his teaching too had to be a good deal modified before the western world was able to accept it. He, like his Master, looked for an endless life upon earth, which the faithful were to enjoy when the times of tribulation were accomplished. Eighteen centuries have passed since that which he thought was destined to close the present order of things; and still "faith" is the "grand thing needful," for the Grecian idea of the immortality of the soul has taken in men's minds the place which that "dream of a kingdom of the elect upon earth" held in St. Paul's mind. The closing chapters, in fact, of our author's book are a comment on the remarkable statement made two summers ago at a meeting of the Anthropological Society, "that Christianity needed three thorough changes before it was fit for the Germanic races." And the unhappy certainty that notions like this are widely prevalent among our so-called scientific men, makes it essential that we should notice a work which else had been better left in oblivion. The sceptic, of whatever school, has ceased to make a jest of religion; his attitude towards it is one of cool patronising superiority. The world, forsooth, has been long hoodwinked by false notions of eschatology, awaits for its enlightenment the publication of M. Lambert's *Théodicée Naturelle*; and M. Lambert can see no absurdity in the idea that it is doing so. He has no fault to find with the Apostles; he looks down on them from the "*Sapientum castra serena*." They were honest workers in the cause of good, though it is a pity that St. Paul, by insisting so much on faith and urging that during "the evil day" all else was second to it, has opened a wide door for antinomianism. David, indeed, was a selfish voluptuary, who, by a strange infatuation (the stages of which M. Lambert neglects to trace), had got so far beyond the usual self-deifying notions of Eastern monarchs as to have persuaded himself, at least at one period of his life, that God would vouchsafe to him, His son and heir, and to his choice friends, an earthly immortality "with pleasures for evermore." Yet David's Psalms, being accepted as inspired, and having had applied to them "that strange Jewish method which puts off an accomplishment plainly impossible for the original grantee, and looks for it to be fulfilled for one of his posterity," kept alive among the Jews the hope of "a kingdom of heaven," in

which the elect should live on for ever upon earth, while those to whom the promise was first made should rise again to share in its final realisation. But the nation, which had been settling down into "Davidism," was startled by the sudden discovery, in Josiah's time, of the unique copy of the Law which David had concealed. This being read and published, there is a sudden reaction in favour of "Mosaism," of which the prophets had hitherto been the chief Apostles; and the "troublesome time," which in David's view was to be merely the last act of a political struggle and the final overthrow of his enemies, becomes, in the new order of ideas, a time of vengeance for finally severing the elect from the ungodly, needing, too, a grand expiatory victim, who is at the same time the Messiah of the chosen people. All these feelings find their development in Christ's life; and He gives Himself freely to death in the strong faith that such a sacrifice is necessary to take "even the elect" through the days of tribulation which He foretells. With Christ's removal out of the world comes the need of a new faith—the faith that He is, and that He is coming soon to inaugurate the long looked-for kingdom. This is what Paul insists on; and when he needs to strengthen the waverers, who see brother after brother passing away and yet the kingdom not coming, he uses the grand double *petitio principii*, which he works out in the (1 Cor. xv.) "Christ is risen, therefore you will rise; you will rise, because you believe Christ is risen." As to predestination M. Lambert only glances at the subject; "his continuing steadfast in the faith" will be the proof that a man has been marked out from all eternity to be spared in the day of God's wrath. The Jews were, of course, a difficulty, which the Apostle solves by expressing his trust that at the last God will "bring in" all of them who are alive on the earth. His view, then, of immortality is only wider than that of his Master in that he puts the Gentiles on the same level as the chosen people; of the resurrection itself he has formed no higher notion than Christ held. The body, indeed, will no longer be *ψυχικόν*, subject to decay; but it will still be a body living on the earth, and (sums up M. Lambert) if Paul's picture in 1 Cor. xv. is a revelation of the Christianity of to-day, all we can say is that a revelation can only mean the clearest possible explanation of the exact opposite of what ought to be believed. The Pauline doctrine, literally understood, can in no possible way be joined on to any general system of natural laws, for it arose from the same local accidents which had shaped out the beliefs of which it is only



another form, and it had in view, not man's moral progress here, but a strictly defined event (beyond the laws of morals) which was looked for in the immediate future.

M. Lambert adopts a strangely bold course with regard to the multitude of passages in St. Paul which speak of the death unto sin, and the life unto righteousness. He sets them all side by side, and understands them to assert that goodness and holiness are a kind of actual physical life working in our members—that sin works physical death. The only objection to this is, that it is contradicted by facts: the good die even as the bad, and hence the whole set of notions had to be transformed, and spiritualised, and impregnated with the neoplatonic theory of the immaterial soul. All our Christian views, so far as they refer to man's future, are absolutely and entirely Greek. What we call Christianity is flagrant infidelity to Paul and Jesus, no less than to Moses. “We, children of the old spiritualist races, have recovered our primitive dogma of an unknown eternity reserved for the souls of the good; but, marvel of marvels, we place this gift of life in the hands of the only God who ever denied immortality and life beyond this world to the soul.” M. Lambert becomes eloquent when he attempts to prove that we “have no inheritance in David.” As Dr. Colenso, when he took away from us St. Paul on the Romans, gave us something from Cicero, and an “Invocation to the God Ram,” so our author takes us to Socrates and to the Rig-Veda, as the sole sources of the spiritualism of to-day. Hellas thus plays a higher part than even that assigned to her by Mr. Gladstone—“She was the purifier of the grand Aryan idea, joint treasure of all the noblest of human races.” Our only consolation is, that if he is hard on what he deems “Popular Christianity”—if he goes far beyond Baden Powell's “Christianity without Judaism,” declaring that the mighty civilising feeling of immortality has been hitherto kept down by having been made unfair and partial—he is as hard on the positivists:

“If (says he) there is anything as irrational as belief in a revelation, every distinctive point of which the believer has to deny or ‘explain in a sense,’ it is the method of observation which forces the observer to deny all that his method will not grasp. . . . In the moral world no less than in outward nature, all forces are correlatives, and we must never say that anything which has existed, is destroyed until its destruction can be demonstrated. Now, though the resurrection cannot grow out of any natural law, though each instance of it would be a special miracle, still the soul proves its personality by its constant victories over our material part; and, being a person—a separate



existence, it must be held to be everlasting, since we cannot trace its dissolution."

This is what M. Lambert gives us in exchange for Bible Christianity. This spiritual personality is strengthened by every victory over self, "self-love being the real law of death within us;" the new man grows up in us, and the touchstone of our spiritual life is the eternal truth, "we know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren." Surely we have seen a good deal like this in some of Mr. Maurice's writings. He would be startled, however, by M. Lambert's conclusion, "Spiritualists are wrong in dreading the attacks now being made on what they hold to be the Divine warrant for their views: let them be assured that not until the old unspiritual dogma is rooted up will the true theory of immortality work in all its power and fulness." And here the Frenchman's consistency ("logique") comes out remarkably: he laughs at all attempts to *modify* revelation and "develope truth" out of its imperfect utterances. "In its essence a revelation must be immutable or it must be nought." Just in the same way his clear sharp identification of our Lord's mind with the mind of the old prophets, ought to be a warning to us how we dare to say that He merely quoted psalms and prophecies, because to do so was the fashion among the Jews. No one has shown more clearly than our author, that Christ sets His seal to the old Scriptures by the use which He makes of them. Herein M. Lambert is more consistent than many among ourselves.—But we have given enough of the work to show its dangerous tendency, to point out the strange perversity with which (as some creatures are said to find poison in the sweetest flowers) M. Lambert can cull nothing from the Psalms but proofs of David's bloodthirstiness and self-seeking. We will not insult really Christian people by supposing that this book could be mischievous to them. But, besides its importance as showing the condition of one section of the French religious world—so lamentably evidenced by the recent quarrels with reference to M. Coquerel's nominees—it is just the style of book which gains credit with many of the "irregular truth seekers" nearer home. The book is by no means such a farrago of incoherences as we might fancy it would be from the wildness of the author's views and the startling impiety of his occasional remarks. There is a method, a *logique*, in its impiety—granted its data, it proves its point—and over many people consistency has an amazingly seductive power. To all well-regulated minds, the very plainness of M. Lambert ensures

his being pretty harmless. But there are many the pride of whose human heart leads them to long for a natural theology on a basis apart from Revelation. Bishop Butler, M. Lambert, every thinker, comes to the same result at which St. Paul (taught by the Spirit) had arrived with regard to the two natures, the lower and the higher: but what (if we give up revelation) are we to say to those who deny that there is any lower and higher, who look on all such distinctions as just as antiquated as "up" and "down" in the system of the universe, and who make the individual the judge of what is good or bad for him? A man tells you he can see no reason why *his* good should not be the highest good for him; he is impatient of allowing any one else to define what is best for all. How would M. Lambert answer such an one? Must we, after all our philosophising, come back to the law and to the testimony, and confess that the only solid foundations of natural theology are based on revelation? It is a grave question whether natural theology is possible for us apart from revelation; and it is one which we would have the loose young thinkers of the day ponder very seriously. M. Lambert shows them the answer of an intelligent, and we would fain hope an earnest and truth-seeking Frenchman, to the question. He can see no hope for a rational eschatology but in the overthrow of Jewish ideas, and the establishment of his own *Théodicée*. Let us be thankful that even our Colensos have not reached quite so far as that. We, indeed, have not the same excuse: we have among us pure Bible truth, taught in various churches, whose differences are now happily mainly those of social arrangement. M. Lambert's countrymen were long under the yoke of Popery, with the added evils of Gallican erastianism and unbelief in high places and careless living everywhere. Then came the reaction in '93; and, since then, things have been tending backward towards Ultramontaniam; of which we have only to say that the antidote is worse than the disease. Meanwhile the reformed churches in France have long been in a sadly supine state, and though we must not despair of a body to which Vinet belonged and of which M. de Pressensé is still an ornament, the religious future of France is undoubtedly made more problematic by the want of real spiritual life among so many of its Protestant pastors. Perhaps the best hopes of France are to be found in the free evangelical life which, apart from the endowed churches of the land, has made so marked an impression on such centres of population and influence as Paris and Lyons, and which reacts beneficially upon a proportion of the pastors

and churches within the Reformed Church. The "Methodism," as it is called, of France, is now the new life within it, in antagonism both to Popery and Rationalism, as the Methodism of England in the last century became to this nation "life from the dead." We could not have a more striking proof of this than the "Meditations" of M. Guizot—the book which stands third on our list.

When he speaks of the men who have laboured since the revival at the commencement of the century, from Malan, Gaussen, and Encontre down to Pressensé and the Monods, when he quotes from the *Exposé des Œuvres de la Charité Protestante en France*, we feel that whatever vitality Romanism may have displayed has been due to the need of asserting itself against the truth, which would at once have given it a practical confutation had it continued in its old supineness. M. Guizot does not see this. To him, Protestant as he is, all forms of Christianity seem pretty much the same. He writes as a statesman, holding the balance impartially between "the sects," and specially reminding us that "in passing from his account of the Catholic to that of the Protestant revival, he need make no abrupt transition, for he is not going out of the Christian Church." Such a feeling detracts from the value of the book before us in several ways. Like other trimmers, M. Guizot fails in force and impressiveness; trying to embrace too much, he loses his firm grasp on all. But, despite this weakness, the work is not only highly interesting in itself, it is valuable as proving that there is an increasing disposition among thoughtful men to recognise the moral, and therefore social, mischief of loose theology. In this way the book is an excellent contrast to that of M. Lambert. M. Guizot is able even to come forward as an assailant; he gives solid reasons for believing in Christ and for putting aside all the vain inventions whereby men have striven to "superse" belief in Him. The book consists of eight meditations. In the first the author sketches the Christian revival which began in France with the beginning of the century, marking, of course, the growth of Romanism, the nominal religion of so large a majority of French people. Then he speaks of the progress of French Protestantism; and then he discusses the various philosophical systems, scepticism, materialism, rationalism, and shows the weakness and insufficiency of all. The book, we must remember, is part of a series. Though written by a Christian, it looks at the question, "Which system shall we adopt?" from a worldling's point of view. Christianity alone satisfies the whole of man's nature, and

it alone has sanctions which make it fit to be the rule of life for a community. These are M. Guizot's positions; and they do not admit of any great display of enthusiasm, even were such a feeling not entirely foreign to his nature. To be the French Hallam, to speak with a studied impartiality, and always to make you feel that he sees both sides of every question—that is M. Guizot's aim. Hence, while he says very little about the Protestant good works which accompanied the revival, he gives a long and interesting account of how Romanist activity has grown from very small beginnings. With a somewhat pretentious chivalry he seems to make it a point of honour to speak most of those who are not of his own communion. Still he is valuable for several reasons; in the first place, he has seen so many men both of the past and of the present generation, that he is rich in anecdote. His account of his interview with Comte, who came in 1832 to ask him (just after he had been appointed Minister of Public Instruction) to make a chair of general history and science in the Collège de France for his special behoof, is full of quiet humour, and may be read with advantage by any one who is tempted to become a disciple of the positive philosophy. Of almost every writer from whom he quotes M. Guizot has some personal knowledge, and is able to make some remark which brings the men in a measure before us. How well, for instance, is the supple Talleyrand, far too sensible to become an avowed unbeliever, despite his self-seeking and his political connection with the Atheists of the Revolution, "brought out" in the way in which he replied to La Révellière-Lepaux's proposal to establish the new worship which he called "theophilanthropy." "I have only one observation to make," said Talleyrand: "Jesus Christ died and rose again to found His religion. You ought to try to do as much if you mean to found one." Another valuable feature in M. Guizot's book is the skill with which he shows how every form of philosophy tends to materialism, *i.e.*, to mere Atheism. Even spiritualism does so, because, refusing to take the one step—the acceptance of revelation—which follows logically from its own premises, it is too weak to stand the assaults of those who say that metaphysics, religion, and all are only different forms of the same empty dream. This materialism, being fatalist, is necessarily subversive of anything like political liberty. And M. Guizot's calm discussion of the incompatibility of social freedom with the slavery of mind and soul which such a system generates, should be read by all who fancy that positivism and liberty go together because Mr.

J. S. Mill is a reformer. One more point M. Guizot brings so clearly forward that we can almost forgive him his too meagre and unappreciative sketch of the progress of French Protestantism. This is, the danger of indifference. "Carelessness," says he, "is the grand danger of the day. It is not that the masses deny God; it is that He is altogether out of their thoughts. They are utterly worldly, without a thought beyond the pleasures and the interests of life. It is the hardest thing in the world to make any impression upon men in this frame of mind." But it is time to give some notion of M. Guizot's plan in his eight meditations. He originally meant to follow up his first series of "Meditations on the essence of Christianity" (which some of our readers may remember) by a historical sketch. But the reason, he says, which has induced him to treat of the actual state of Christianity before dealing with its history, is that he sees men becoming daily more and more decided either in their Christianity or their anti-Christianity. Even the undecided are taking more interest than ever in the struggle that is going on around them. Even worldlings are recognising the political and social danger of anti-Christian doctrines, and are seeking in Christianity a support against this danger without venturing heartily to accept the essentials of the creed to which they cannot help clinging. Such a danger M. Guizot, living in the land of revolutions, where a theory (no matter how wild) is no sooner started than men are found to take it up, not as an intellectual curiosity, but as something to be acted out in daily life, is more able to judge of than we are in this happily quiet country. All the storms raised by Dr. Colenso and the Essayists are as nothing compared with what those mad blasphemers at the Liege Students' Congress (whose invitation M. Guizot congratulates himself on not having accepted) would raise if they had their way. Even here, however, in quiet England we see that the present is a crisis, as it is called, a time of general upheaving and confusion; and we might well tremble for the result did we not remember the promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against us. M. Guizot thinks the crisis so important that he puts off his historical sketch, and devotes himself to trace the Christian revival in this century, and the outburst of spiritual philosophy which took place along with it, and also the anti-Christian reaction which came on soon after, showing itself in new forms of Materialism, Pantheism, &c., and now, lastly, in what is called "historical criticism."

In considering each system M. Guizot is careful to point

out its leading "idea," and, therefore, its weak point; for, as we said, his object is to prove that, revelation apart, Christianity alone can satisfy the demands of reason and common sense. "This is not (says he) a metaphysical treatise; it is an appeal addressed to fairly unprejudiced minds, urging them to put science to the test of the human conscience, and to distrust those systems which, in the name of so-called scientific truth, destroy that harmony which God's law establishes between intellectual and moral order, between man's life and his thought." Naturally in such a work the great question of biblical criticism is very lightly, or rather only indirectly, touched on. It is, no doubt, reserved for the historical sketch, and only comes in here indirectly, as in the appeal which our author makes to the spiritualists about their inconsistency. They hold innate ideas, they therefore believe in a God in whom these innate ideas reside, in a God, *i.e.* who is the maker and teacher of man. How then can they help receiving the fact of creation and that of a primitive revelation? And, these granted, all else follows in due historic sequence. We think the "meditation" on the spiritualist school deserves careful reading. It will be for many of us, if not a lesson in psychology, at any rate a reminder of what has been actually "proved," as well as such matter is capable of proof. Every phenomenon has a cause, and every quality must be inherent in some substance. These, at any rate, are two innate ideas, of which the materialist cannot give an account, which he cannot include in the "facts" which form the whole of his physiology. Cosmology, again, gives, as our author reminds us, the strongest confirmation to spiritualism, because it establishes the fact of a creation, as opposed to the "eternal unchangeable order" of the old Atheists. This is turning the tables on the sceptical geologists; and we do not think enough has been made of the argument by our Christian reasoners. Even successive transformation does not explain the world as it is: for "God is as necessary to create the primitive type as He is to make the man himself." But the weakness of the spiritualists has been that they have stopped short at psychology, instead of going on to the cosmology and history to which it is necessarily only an introduction; and thus there has been a constant tendency among them to fall away into that rationalism which is the natural end of merely psychological inquiry, which errs on the one hand by leaving many of the elements of human nature out of account, by throwing aside with contempt everything it cannot understand, and at the same time by pushing the pretensions of human science beyond proper



bounds. After all, rationalism feels its own twofold weakness. Its historian, Mr. Lecky, confesses that, if it has freed us from "theological conceptions" about sin, and from those dreams of future punishment which so long hardened the human character, it has at the same time done a great deal to destroy disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, and to dig the grave of enthusiasm. And then, on the other hand, it can never feel secure of its position against those who call themselves positivists, materialists, or sensualists, who say that nobody can tell whether there is or is not anything beyond the world of sense, and that, therefore, metaphysicians are just as foolish as theologians for dogmatising about it. We may guess that M. Guizot's verdict on positivism would not be particularly lenient, from the way in which, as we have seen, he treated M. Comte's by no means modest pretensions. "M. Comte was his own apostle." That sentence sufficiently characterises the man and his system. The wonder is how he could at first have made such an impression on Mr. J. S. Mill. Of course they quarrelled long before; and Mr. Mill has now set the seal to his disobedience by entering on that parliamentary life which his quondam master forbade his disciples to aspire to, "until in a new and improved world the true servants of humanity should come to undertake the proper management of affairs." Unhappily, we know too much in England of the positive school, and can feel the force of M. Guizot's exposition of its fundamental error. It fails to recognise the natural and permanent diversity of man's various intellectual states, and will only admit the existence of one—the scientific state. Now, language, on which M. Guizot lays great, but not too great, stress, might have taught men that knowledge, science, belief, faith, are not different names for the same idea, but are the signs of really different conditions of mind. But the greatest absurdity is that this philosopher, who spoke of the theological and metaphysical states as having had their day, ignoring the fact that they, as well as positivism, are found co-existent at every age of the world's history, actually came back to theology after all, and tried to turn his own system into a religion.

We have not space to follow M. Guizot through his long and valuable chapter on Pantheism, in which he rises to flights of eloquence, unattempted in his other chapters. "When Spinoza said, 'Man is essentially a thinking being, and the highest degree of human knowledge must needs be the highest degree of human happiness,' he misunderstood and misrepresented human nature. What would become of us if before we



could believe in God we had to wait till the philosophers have solved those problems which are still and always will be a hopeless puzzle? Just as God, while He made man free, took care that the order of the world was not entirely handed over to men's disputes, so He has provided for the sufficient spiritual nourishment of the whole race, at the same time that He allows a few here and there the prospect of a fuller satisfaction." The Pantheists are weak because they utterly ignore the inductive method. Whether it is Spinoza's *substance* or Hegel's *idea*, it is all the same; they lay down an axiom instead of studying the realities of the universe. Hence their key never fits any lock, and the commonest facts give the lie to their deductions. The connection between Pantheism and absolutism, and the way in which Pantheism (however idealist) leads on inevitably to the worship of man by himself, are well brought out by M. Guizot:—"Under the blast of Pantheism all real and personal beings disappear, and are succeeded by an abstraction which becomes in its turn a being, 'the only being,' without personality or free will, absorbing all in a bottomless abyss in which itself is swallowed up, and in which everything of which we try to offer an explanation straightway disappears. Did ever the dreams of any theology or the wildest fancies of man's imagination, shape out anything so absurd as a system which from first to last is utterly at odds with the facts of science, as well as with the instincts of our race?" Materialism is much more consistent; its terrible consistency is perhaps its most striking feature. You cannot be a half-and-half materialist. You begin with Locke, wanting something by way of counterpoise to the spiritualism which you distrust; but must go on till you come, with men like D'Holbach, to the denial of liberty, duty, a future life, everything which cannot be an object of sensation. It is important that this should be borne in mind, for (as M. de Rémusat remarks) these materialists are for ever denying the results of their philosophy, "they seem to be as ashamed of 'matter' as weak converts in old times were of Jesus Christ," and are never willing to confess what are the plain and inevitable consequences of their theories. The instinct of mankind is against them: man does not and will not believe exclusively in matter, nor can all the philosophers persuade us that there is no real distinction between matter and spirit. Quite as clear as the difference between the *one* and the *not one*, is the fact that our human nature is at the same time one and made up of divers parts; and then the consequent fact is surely undeniable, that "while fatality is the

condition of man in his bodily life, liberty is his privilege in his moral life." And that word *moral* (as M. Guizot remarks) involves a whole philosophy in itself, pointing as it does to another essential and ineffaceable distinction between soul and body: the body knows nothing of morality. How body and soul are so united as to form one being, is the mystery of religion, "the problem of philosophy." The materialist solves it offhand by just denying that there is any complexity at all, viz. by suppressing the soul altogether. But if we suppose

Heart and mind of human kind  
A watchwork like the rest,

how do we account for the rise of the "governing faculty?" If will is only a form of instinct, how can we explain its empire over instinct? That is the weak point of materialism, and, feeling it to be so, its advocates have brought in the notion of "force," at one time spoken of as something distinct from matter, at other times mixed up with it; and then they think they have explained all the mysteries of man and of the universe. It would be very interesting to follow M. Guizot through all his remarks on scepticism, and we should find that the "Systematic Scepticism" of M. Jouffroy has many points in common with the philosophy of the absolute and unconditioned, of which we heard so much in the controversy arising out of Professor Mansel's lectures. M. Jouffroy says:—"All belief is founded on a blind act of faith—blind though irresistible. In fact there is no contradiction between faith and scepticism; for instinct makes man believe just as reason makes him doubt. . . . Sceptics believe like other people; nor is it denied that man has a right to believe. But it is absurd to talk of coming to close quarters with scepticism, and of pretending to prove that we see things as they actually are. Surely to pretend to do this is merely to reason in the old vicious circle, and to demonstrate man's intelligence by itself." M. Guizot's answer to this, chiefly quoted from Royer Collard, is well worth reading. It brings out strongly the value of the universal testimony of mankind. "If all men believe in the outer world, then is this belief a fact in our intellectual constitution." Further, the authority which convinces us of the separate existence of matter is that of the primitive laws of thought, unchangeable, that is, and absolute. If you want to prove that all our faculties are deceptive—they must all stand or fall together—how can you do it but by convicting them on their own testimony, which testimony, remember, it is the very object to throw discredit upon. The scepticism which

denies the existence of an outer world, and the materialism which says that what we see and feel is all in all, seem to stand at opposite ends of the philosophic scale. Yet their practical results are strangely similar. And it is in the mischievousness of these practical results that M. Guizot, acting on the principle of which we have spoken, finds their strongest condemnation.

In his last meditation our author has many very suggestive remarks on the state of things among the non-Christian portion of his countrymen. We have referred to these before ; and have pointed out how this capital evil of carelessness, of utter indifference to things spiritual as well as to any religious faith, is only too prevalent among us. As for the "truth seekers," of whom M. Vacherot is the representative, their miserable weakness is well shown. "God is all very well," says M. Vacherot, "but remember that perfection can only exist in man's thoughts. The perfect Being of Leibnitz and Descartes is all one with the God of Plato and Malebranche, and the theologians. He is a mere ideal." So we are to make our God into a mere conception in order that metaphysics may deign to receive Him ; and then, of course, the result is Atheism on the one hand, and Pantheism on the other. It is not vague dreams like this which will stand against the tide of carelessness and impiety, of the strong setting in of which we do not need M. Guizot to warn us. He calls on all "truth seekers" to consider the undeniable weaknesses of every human system, and to ask themselves the simple question, How is it that for eighteen centuries, "*la pensée Chrétienne*," so often sorely tried, has sufficed for the instincts and the needs of humanity ? The answer will be, Because it leads man nearer to the springs of truth.

We have gone at some length through the philosophical part of M. Guizot's work with the express purpose of showing how easily, by one who is no professed philosopher, the reasonings of the different systems may be met. The same intellectual dangers beset us which are threatening the intellect of France, just as we have to dread the same degraded indifferentism which so largely prevails there. M. Guizot has done what has often been done by English writers. But it is a work which can never be done too often ; for, as the old fallacies are reproduced under new forms, so must the method of meeting them be put forth again and again, altered in appearance, though the same in substance. How our author has done it our readers are now (we hope) in a position to judge.

We have already said that his sketch of the Protestant revival is imperfect. He purposely leaves gaps, and his statesmanlike impartiality leads him to throw in orthodox and unorthodox with but little distinction. Many names, familiar to those who watch Christianity on the Continent, will be found strangely absent. M. Grandpierre is not once mentioned. And we think (as we hinted before) that our author errs in taking far too high an estimate of the Romanist revival. He himself shows the miserable shifts to which men like La Mennais were reduced, and how such "liberal Catholics" as Montalembert, Lacordaire, and Frederic Ozanam were crushed the moment they ventured to try to put something like life into the old dead system. Led away by the social good which he tells us Romanism has effected, dazzled by the number of "good works," of which he gives a list, he does not see, what those who read his sketch will not fail to notice, the inherent weakness of Romanism. With all its "good works" it never rises to anything like a right conception of spiritual truth; by all its "labours of charity" it is not saved from the constant danger of falling into mere fetishism. Look at the matter of Labre's monument at Arras; or, better, open the book which we have placed last on our list, and which we only notice to reprobate most thoroughly. It is a series of letters written to comfort and edify a young German, thrown much among scoffers, who laugh at his holy water. If he finds no better way of convincing them than this book supplies, the laugh will, we fear, still be on their side. When a man is told that holy water may produce wonderful effects because iodide of potassium is a most powerful agent, though insignificant to look at, and because the sting of some very small fly is able to kill a man, we ask, did Mgr. Gaume ever hear of one Francis Bacon? The whole book is a choice example of the unchangeableness of Popery. Among themselves it would seem the Romanists still employ the most exploded sophisms of the schoolmen, and actually accept them as convincing strokes of reasoning. "The religious history of balm, and its symbolism," which forms one of Mgr. Gaume's least absurd chapters, sufficiently shows the nature of a book which comes out with the highest authority—letters from Cardinal Alfieri, and from the Pope himself, and a Papal brief recommending it—and which, therefore, may be looked on as the "*dernier mot*" of Romanism on the subject.

It is very disappointing that M. Guizot has not made any effort to sift the Christian tares from the wheat, that he takes

Romanism so much at its own valuation, and looks at it as a statesman (and yet a statesman can scarcely fail to see its inherent unsoundness) rather than as a Bible Christian. Still the appearance of a book like this by such a man is a proof that Christianity has more life among our neighbours than we sometimes imagine. And we, looking on at a distance, are better able than he is to trace that life to its human source. We can recognise thankfully the labours of the band of Genevan "Methodists" who, as early as 1802, began the work of revival. We can rate at their proper value the labours of such a man as the Scotch Haldane, who went over to work with them in 1816. And we are sure (as we said) that whatever awakening there may have been in Romanism or among any other religious denomination, was mainly due to the spirit awakened by men like Gaussen, and Bost, and Gonthier, and Malan.

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- ART. II.—1. *Science and Practice in Farm Cultivation.* By JAMES BUCKMAN, F.L.S., F.G.S., late Professor of Geology and Rural Economy at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. London: R. Hardwicke. 1865.
2. *High Farming without Manure. Six Lectures on Agriculture delivered at the Experimental Farm at Vincennes.* By M. GEORGE VILLE, Professor of Vegetable Physiology at the Museum of Natural History, Paris. London: William Oliver.

SCIENCE was not accepted by the agriculturist as the true expositor of the laws relating to vegetable life without a desperate resistance. It required fifty years to divest the mind of the husbandman of the crude ideas, inherited from his forefathers, as to the danger of book-learning and experimental farming. The only rural economy acknowledged by him was *frugality*, and a firm adherence to the practice of his ancestors; and it was not until the commencement of the present century that other views began to be entertained on the subject. Some, even amongst the foremost cultivators, doubted whether modern science could ever be brought to bear upon the practice of the farm; and so narrow were the notions which obtained as to the expenditure of capital, that the intelligent author of *The Georgical Essays*, published in 1772, doubted whether the drilling machine could ever become common “on account of its heavy cost!”\* What would Dr. Hunter say now, if he could rise from his grave and attend the meetings of the Royal and other agricultural societies, and witness the display of implements and machinery employed in agriculture, involving an outlay of hundreds, and in some cases thousands, of pounds, but which are now considered indispensable on every respectable farm of any extent? It was no ordinary battle that Sir Humphrey Davy and his compeers had to fight before they could get even a hearing from the great body of farmers; and far into the present century the old cultivators maintained a position of hostility to the introduction of science upon the land.

We must not, however, judge the agriculturist too severely for the slowness with which he abandoned the dogmatic and

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\* Dr. Hunter gave 12*l.* for his own drilling machine.

stereotyped maxims of his predecessors, especially when we reflect that nearly six thousand years of the age of man had passed away, before the men of science themselves were fully emancipated from the fetters of empiricism and day-dreaming, and their system placed upon the sound and rational basis on which it now stands. Very different were the positions and advantages of the two classes. On the one hand, the husbandman of former times, isolated by his occupation from the society of literary men, debarred by a life of incessant bodily labour from a course of reading that would enlighten his mind, and holding daily intercourse only with men a shade lower than himself in the scale of intelligence—who can wonder if he should look with suspicion on theories proposed by men whose only claim to his notice was their declaration of the result of experiments on the nature of vegetable life, and who called upon the husbandman to abandon forthwith nearly all those traditional ideas which he had been taught to view as the perfection of wisdom and the only sure road to success.

On the other hand, we see the man of science from the earliest ages addicted to—

“Reading, research, and reflection with no laborious manual employment to distract his attention or exhaust his bodily powers, leisurely conceiving and following up an idea to its final result. He can, at his ease, compare the various phases of an experiment as they present themselves, and thence draw his conclusions; noting them down to be considered and reflected upon, until he arrives at that point which demonstrates—or otherwise—the correctness of his deductions; and he is enabled to determine whether he can safely adopt them as the bases of a theory.”—*Wheat*, by an old Norfolk farmer, Preface.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the progress made by physical science up to the commencement of the eighteenth century was, as every one knows, very small and conclusive; and, with this fact before us, instead of wondering at the resistance of the husbandman to the demands of scientific men with regard to the management of the land, the marvel is that so much has already been effected, that long prejudices have been so steadily abandoned, and that the two classes have so cordially joined and gone hand-in-hand in the work of farm management. The admonitory remarks of such men as Davy and his successors in the field have not been thrown away. The clouds of unreasoning mistrust are rare, and the mind of the husbandman is now fully open to the revelation which science makes as to the production and sustentation of vegetable life.



The volumes named at the head of this article are of a highly scientific character, and both treat of the best methods of growing good crops. That of Professor Buckman describes the origin, nature, and properties of the various products of the farm, the forest, and the orchard, and furnishes instructions for the production of the best types and the largest crops of the several kinds of farm plants. The second work, by M. Ville, is a remarkable production, but the title is a misnomer, so far as the question of manure is concerned. Instead of farming *without* manure, M. Ville uses *special* manures, from which circumstance we are led to conclude that, after the French practice, he calls these "*amendements*," or improvers of the land, in contradistinction to "*engrais*" or manures proper. The treatise, which comprises six lectures, has made some noise amongst agriculturists by the number of protracted experiments which the author has instituted, by the precision with which they have been conducted, and by the remarkably successful results to which they have been brought. We shall review these books separately, taking that of Professor Buckman first, as relating to the various species of produce, the best types, and the best methods both of obtaining them and of securing their permanence of character and utility.

The first part of the work is devoted to the subject of the production of root crops, the secret of which is described to be, first, to obtain seed raised from the most perfect types that can be procured ; and, secondly, to avoid seed that has grown near other varieties, unless, indeed, new and improved types are wanted.

In order to prove the importance of procuring seed from selected and perfect roots, Dr. Buckman planted a malformed parsnep and a malformed swede turnip. The seeds from these were sown in April, 1861, without manure, and also some seeds of a perfect parsnep. The result was that seventy roots of the degenerate parsnep seed weighed 7lbs. 4oz., whilst seventy roots from the seed of the perfect one weighed 14lbs., or nearly double. In like manner, the seventy roots from the seed of the diseased swede weighed 19lbs. 8oz., while seventy from that of good swedes grown in the same field weighed 35lbs. These two experiments are important, being quite decisive as to the necessity of selecting the roots intended for producing seed, and the author deduces from them the following conclusions :—

"1. That a degenerate stock will, as a rule, result from the employment of degenerate or badly-grown seed.

"2. That, besides ugly, mal-formed roots, degenerated seed does not produce nearly the weight of crop of good seed under the same circumstances of growth.

"3. That, by means of selections, we may produce roots that are well shaped, and that have the capabilities of affording the best crops.

"4. That by designedly selecting mal-formed degenerated roots for seeding, we may produce a seed that will result in as great, or greater, degeneracy."—P. 27.

Of the adulteration of seeds of roots—especially of turnips—an interesting account is given in Dr. Buckman's sixth chapter. It is laid down as an axiom :

"1. That all well-grown and well-preserved new seed should be capable of producing or germinating to the extent of ninety per cent. at least ; and, 2nd, that seeds in general, and turnip seed in particular, as usually delivered to the farmer, is incapable of germinating to the extent of from twenty-five to thirty per cent., and frequently even more."—P. 29.

The way in which the adulteration is effected is, by mixing any proportion of rape or charlock seed with the turnip ; and, although the latter is somewhat larger than the former, the difference is so small that it is impossible to detect it. But, to prevent the baser elements from growing, which in time would betray the seller, it is necessary to destroy the germinating power ; and this is done either by heat or by a chemical preparation. The seeds thus emasculated may then be mixed together without any fear of detection, except by *testing*. The testing may be accomplished by placing a given number of seeds in a flower-pot with a quantity of sand and other soil. If kept warm and moist the seed will germinate, and the proportion that does so indicates the amount of adulteration, due allowance being made meanwhile for an average number that, in a good sample, will be abortive. Thus, suppose that out of a 100 seeds only 70 should vegetate, it may be fairly presumed that the sample is adulterated to the extent of at least twenty per cent., and so on more or less. The preparation or killing of the spurious seed, which in the trade is known as O. O. O. seed, is a regular business ; and Professor Buckman could have obtained any *large* quantity of it, but when a small sample was requested, it was asked, "For what purpose is it wanted ?" Its value is about half the average value of turnip seed ; and, as much more seed is always sown than is necessary for a crop, unless it is previously tested as above, it is not easily detected.

The experiments of our author, though few in number, are satisfactory. The first is a trial of ten good samples of turnip seed, 100 of each; and the result was, that an average of ninety-two per cent. germinated, only eight per cent. proving abortive. The time of coming up varied from seven to eleven days, the seeds being partly of the previous year's growth and partly of the same season (1860). The second experiment was also of ten sorts of 100 seeds each. This gave an average of sixty-eight good and thirty-two abortive ones. This was a "market sample" and speaks for itself. The third experiment was on seeds, also of a "market sample," of which an average of 77.6 germinated, and 22.4 were dead seeds. The fourth was on samples procured from farmers or purchased of seedsmen professing to be the growers. Of the ten specimens, an average of 70.2 per cent. of live, and 29.8 of dead seeds was the result. The number of days in coming up of the second sample was from ten to fifteen; that of the last was from four to eight days, with one exception of eleven days.

But the adulteration is not confined to mixing killed or O. O. O. seed with the good. *Old* turnip seed is also commonly mixed with new, and a portion of the former will frequently not germinate. It is a question, however, whether this is an evil, so far as the crop is concerned, it being possible that the abortive seeds were too weak to retain the germinating power over the second season; and it is doubtful whether, under any circumstances, they would have produced good bulbs. It is well known that the seeds of the *Brassica* family of plants, when kept from the external air, will retain their vitality any length of time. It is frequently the case that when a piece of old pasture land that has in remote times been under the plough, is again broken up, charlock and wild rape have sprung up spontaneously in great abundance. We have seen the site of a house that had stood at least 200 years, when cleared and dug up, covered in a few days with charlock, the seeds of which must have been dormant at least from the time of the house being built.

As to this point Dr. Buckman made a very decisive experiment, which is too valuable not to be given in full. It was a second trial of the *good* seed used in the first experiment, after keeping it two years longer, and the result was as follows:—

Species.	Date of growth.	Came up in 1860.	Came up in 1862.	Additional loss.
1. Mouse-tail . . . . .	1859	96	46	50
2. White Globe . . . . .	1859	86	44	42
3. Nimble Green Round . . . .	1859	96	94	2
4. Lincoln's Red Globe . . . .	1860	90	58	32
5. Yellow Tankard . . . . .	1859	92	62	30
6. Smart's Mouse-tail . . . .	1860	98	92	6
7. Green-topped Stone . . . .	1860	84	88	gained 4
8. Sutton's Imperial Green Globe	1860	98	80	18 lost
9. Green-topped Scotch . . . .	1860	90	86	4
10. Early Six Weeks . . . . .	1860	90	70	20
Average germinated . . . .	—	92	72	—

It appears from this experiment that if *good* seed loses eight per cent. by abortive seeds when sown the first or second season, by keeping it two years longer an additional average loss of twenty per cent. is sustained. The results, however, are very partial if we take the specimens individually; for whilst numbers lost fifty, No. 3 lost only two, No. 6 six, No. 7 gained four, and No. 9 lost four per cent. These differences, while they show the superior germinating power of certain varieties of the turnip, prove also, in some measure, the correctness of the opinion we have expressed respecting old seed. The average loss was twenty-eight per cent. against eight in the first sowing.

*Apropos* of this subject of adulteration Dr. Buckman quotes a letter offering a "new and improved method of killing seeds, without the use of chemicals, so that seed in the O. O. O. state has not the unpleasant smell it has when killed in the old method. The respectable seedsman to whom his letter was addressed called upon the writer, but of course declined purchasing his secret, and sent his letter to Professor Buckman.

The injury caused to the root crops by insects is very extensive. The flea beetle (*Haltica nemorum*), of which there are several species, attacks the turnip in the first leaf. The *Psila rosæ* infests the parsnep and carrot, the *Anthomyia Betae* the mangold wurtzel. To destroy the first our author recommends drawing a thin board, covered with tar or some other viscous substance, over the ground on which the turnip is coming up. When it approaches the insect it skips and adheres to the board. By this means he has saved his crops from their depredations. The beet fly is not so easily managed, the only method proposed being the employment of

children to crush the grub in the leaf of the plant, a tedious and troublesome process.

Part II. of Dr. Buckman's book relates to the growth of "good grasses," and to the nature of meadow and pasture land. Between these the author makes no distinction, except that he ranges them under the heads of permanent and artificial pastures.

The permanent pastures include—1st. Moors and uplands; 2nd. Commons; 3rd. River flats and lowlands; 4th. Irrigated, or water meadows; 5th. Meadows, or permanent grass inclosures.

The artificial pastures are formed of seeds of clover, trefoil, hay grass, and other kinds of fodder plants, well known to every farmer. These are allowed to remain one, two, or three years before they are again broken up by the plough, to be succeeded by wheat.

The various species of grasses adapted to the character of the soil for forming permanent pastures are to be found in the circulars of the seedsmen; the most complete of the kind which we have seen being that of Messrs. Lawson and Co., of King-street, Cheapside, London.

Chapter XII. is devoted to an enumeration of the weeds infesting pasture land, a subject of all the more importance because but little attention is paid to it by farmers generally. Many confine their efforts to the extermination of docks, thistles, and nettles, whilst too many allow even these to disfigure their pastures till they have matured their seeds. To show the mischief that must arise from this neglect, we extract the following statement of the prolificness of the various kinds of thistle:—

The Musk Thistle . . .	3,750	seeds to each plant.
The Spear Thistle . . .	30,000	" "
The Corn Thistle . . .	5,000	" "
The Stemless Thistle . .	600	" "

Now, each of these seeds is furnished with an apparatus, which renders it as light as atmospheric air, so that it frequently flies with the wind for many miles; and no farmer, however careful himself, can keep his land clear if he only have slovenly neighbours. Some pasture plants are poisonous to cattle, as the meadow saffron (*colchicum autumnale*), by eating which many have been killed. The upright buttercup (*ranunculus acris*) is also poisonous; whilst others, as crow garlick (*allium vineale*), hog's garlick (*allium ursinum*), and jack-in-the-hedge (*erepsimum allearia*), when

eaten by the cows give a bad flavour to milk and its products. In the formation and management of grass lands, the best species of grass should be employed with a few other plants that yield much healthy fodder. All others, which occupy room and afford little or no nutriment, should be eradicated. The best method, however, of treating pasture land is draining and liming. These two operations will destroy the coarse grasses, rushes, and weeds, and will bring up sweeter, more nutritious, and more productive species.

Instructions for the irrigation of pasture land are given in Chapter XIII.; and where water can be obtained and thus applied, the grass is not only doubled in weight, but it comes earlier in spring, the time at which it is most wanted. We have seen good grass on "water meadows" so early as February, when other meadows were quite bare. The land must be thoroughly drained before it is formed into a water meadow, in order that as soon as the water is let off from the surface, that which has penetrated the soil may drain away. We know water meadows that have been formed above sixty years, and are now as productive as ever.

In Chapter XV., on the management of permanent pastures, our author strongly recommends "draining, *acts of husbandry* (by which, we suppose, he means harrowing or scuffling), and top-dressing with decayed vegetable rubbish and any kind of artificial manure. When pastures are fed on by cows and other cattle, this is especially necessary, in order to sustain the fertility of the soil, which becomes exhausted in time from the produce being taken off year after year without compensation. Chapter XVI. refers to the formation and management of lawns, in laying down which the shorter and finer grasses only should be employed. And as by constant mowing they will become impoverished, they require every few years to be top-dressed with soot or a little guano. If this is not done, the grass will be killed with moss and various species of agarics which are engendered in the roots.

The third part of our author's volume relates to the growth of clovers, which are valuable and important adjuncts as fodder, whether in permanent pastures or in alternate husbandry. The papilionaceous character of clover has introduced it to a most numerous family of plants, in size, form, and growth so discordant that nothing but the identity of the single flowerets entitles them to relationship. Science, however, with its rigid adherence to "order," has classed the clover with the pea, the vetch, the furze, the broom, the locust or acacia tree, the laburnum, the ebony, and a host of

other papilionaceæ, having nothing in common but the form of the flower and the stipules of the leaves.

Clover belongs to the genus *Trifolium*, of which there are eight cultivated species :

1.	<i>Trifolium pratense</i>	. .	or, Broad-leaved clover	. .	Flower, purple.
2.	" <i>medium</i>	. .	or, Cow-grass clover	. . .	" pinkish purple.
3.	" <i>incarnatum</i>	. .	or, Carnation clover	. . .	" red.
4.	" <i>hybridum</i>	. .	or, Alsike clover	. . . .	" pink.
5.	" <i>fragiferum</i>	. .	or, Strawberry-headed clover		" pink.
6.	" <i>repens</i>	. . .	or, White Dutch clover	. .	" white.
7.	" <i>filiforme</i>	. .	or, Suckling clover	. . .	" yellow.
8.	" <i>procumbens</i>	. .	or, Hop clover	. . . . .	" yellow.

No. 1, the broad-leaved clover, is the kind most cultivated and when a crop can be obtained, it not only produces the greatest amount of food, but has greater permanence than any other kind, except the Dutch clover, which is perennial. Seedsmen make a distinction in the broad-leaved clover, terming one variety, *T. pratense perenne*; but it is believed that the difference is accidental, and owing rather to difference of soil, culture, climate, &c., than to any specific difference. It is frequently found in meadows, where it assumes a permanent character, and adds greatly to the value of the pasturage.

No. 2, cow-grass, has of late years attracted much attention as a most useful fodder plant. It is found in a wild state on sandy soils, especially above the coal fields in Wales. It is distinguished from No. 1 by its zigzag form of stem, as well as by the circumstance that the stem is solid, not hollow. There is also a slight difference in the colour of the flower.

No. 3, the crimson clover, is a modern plant in English husbandry, but it is now much cultivated in the southern counties. It is usually sown on wheat stubbles, immediately after harvest, only requiring to be harrowed in to acquire strength to bear the winter. It comes forward early in the spring, and is fed off or mowed soon enough to allow of a crop of turnips the same season. It is thus essentially "a stolen crop," or intermediate, and, with good farming, must be of great value as such, its produce being large.

No. 4, Alsike clover, is a medium plant between the broad-leaved and the white Dutch. It will scarcely answer to let it stand a second year, but yields a good and valuable swarth the first year.

No. 5, the strawberry-headed clover, is valuable on cold, wet pastures and hungry clay soils. In its creeping habit it resembles the Dutch clover, and also in its foliage.



No. 6, the Dutch or white clover, is a universal plant throughout England, and is invaluable in pastures both in meadow and upland. It appears to be spread over the whole soil of this country, springing up spontaneously by the wayside, on commons, or wherever it can find soil enough to take root. It appears in abundance after liming the land; and history tells us that, after the great fire of London in 1666, when the wreck and rubbish were cleared away, the whole vast area was nearly covered with white clover after the soil had been dug over. It is a small but very nutritious plant, and by its trailing habit it helps to fill up the ground between other larger plants in pastures. On light soils it is frequently sown alone.

Nos. 7 and 8, the yellow and the hop trefoil, are wild plants, but have been cultivated to a small extent, though they are of little value as forage plants.

Chapter XIX. contains a dissertation on the varieties of red clover, and on the difficulty of obtaining seed of the *T. medium*, which, on account of its valuable properties, is much sought after. Chapter XX. relates to the "*clover allies*," the first of these being the *ulex* or furze, which our author condemns as not possessing any valuable properties as a fodder plant, except that of growing where nothing else will, and without manure. The most important of these "*allies*" are the several varieties of the *lotus* or bird's-foot trefoil, the *medicago sativa* or lucerne, the *melilotus leucantha*, a biennial with white flowers, and the *onobrychis* or sainfoin, of which there are two varieties, both valuable. An interesting and instructive account is given of the mixing of the seed of burnet (*poterium sanguisorba*) with that of sainfoin imported from abroad. So extensive is this adulteration by the foreign seedsmen, that Dr. Buckman found from 20,000 to 40,000 burnet seed-pods in a bushel of what was professedly sainfoin seed. The consequence of this mixture is, that the latter is very soon smothered by the burnet, the capsule of which contains two seeds, while that of the sainfoin has only one. Burnet is cultivated in the eastern counties of England to a small extent, but it is merely as a shifting crop. When mixed with sainfoin, as it grows much faster than the latter, it soon overcomes it. The most dangerous kind is the *poterium muricatum*, a "*false burnet*," which produces "*a sticky, a non-succulent, and in-nutritious herbage*." Dr. Buckman calculates that a bushel of sainfoin which he examined contained 64,000 capsules of this plant, or 128,000 seeds. This would sufficiently account for its overgrowing the sainfoin.

Chapter XXI. is devoted to the "clover sickness," which our author ascribes to the seed being brought in increasing quantities from warm climates, where it flourishes more vigorously than with us, the effect being heightened by the seed being committed to a thin, poor soil, and not sufficiently manured. We have long been of opinion that, in addition to these causes, old seed, the vitality of which has been injured by bad keeping, is frequently mixed with new good seed; and although the former may vegetate at first, it is not strong enough to stand the winter's frost. There is no doubt that the soil and climate of the South of France and the United States, whence the chief importations of clover seed are obtained, are more favourable to its full development than those of the United Kingdom; and if we could grow enough for the consumption *at home*, and sow it the same or next season, it would be better than sowing imported seed. This, however, is impossible. The remedy recommended is paring and burning, by which a supply of manure directly adapted to the clover is produced. The most probable cause of the failure, however, according to the author, is, the practice of sowing the clover with the barley, by which the nutriment is all taken up by the latter, and, in addition, the clover is smothered, or at least weakened.

Chapter XXII., on the weeds of the clover field, reveals a fearful "adulteration" (*natural*, we presume) with the seeds of weeds. The average number of these in the bushel, in different kinds of clover, were found to be as follows:—red clover, 728,333; cow-grass, 401,066; white Dutch clover, 2,768,106. These were all examined in 1859; and in 1863 the white clover was again found to contain 1,331,200; and so on. In three fields examined by Dr. Buckman, sixty-four kinds of weeds were found amongst the clover; forty-six weed plants were taken from the square yard, and there were from 7,840 to 70,400 seeds of weeds in a pint of the seed, the larger number being in the white Dutch clover. No wonder if the clover should succumb before legions of enemies like these.

Chapter XXIII. relates to the parasitic plants attaching to the clover. These are the *cuscata*, or dodder, and the *orobanche*, or broom rape. There are two species of dodder, but both consist of a mass of pink tendrils, having the appearance of a tangled bunch of red thread. They have no foliage, but, at intervals, compact bunches or knots of small flowers of a similar colour to the tendrils. These plants spring from seed in the ground; but attaching themselves to the clover stem by rootlets, they are soon lifted from the soil, and so

become purely parasitic, spreading rapidly in all directions, reaching from plant to plant and feeding on the juices of the stem, which is soon exhausted and borne down. Many fields of clover are wholly destroyed by this weed, and some farmers have been obliged to burn the whole crop in order to destroy the dodder, root, branch, and seed. The broom rape has a different growth. The seed, which is very small, like dust, springs also from the soil, and fastens itself to the roots of the clover, and being a larger plant, draws from it all the nourishment. The best way to destroy it is hand picking, by which, although it will shoot again, it will be very much weakened.

Chapter XXIV. shows us "how to grow good corn," this term being applied to the four cereal grasses—wheat, barley, oats, and rye—with observations on their origin, cultivation, diseases, enemies, &c. The next chapter refers to the "popular belief that wheat, in a fit state for the food of man, was an original gift of God, and handed down to him unaltered in form or character, except in so far as relates to 'varieties' produced by soil, climate, &c." In opposition to this theory, Dr. Buckman calls attention to the experiment of M. Esprit Fabre, of Agde, near Bordeaux, who raised wheat from the seeds of the *ægilops ovata*, a grass found in abundance in the South of France and in Sicily. This grass he cultivated carefully eleven years, and at length produced a perfect wheat, similar to the ordinary spring wheat sown in that country. The produce of the experiment was six or eight from one after the most careful treatment under the immediate superintendence of M. Fabre himself.

On the credit of this experiment our author holds what we take to be the very dubious doctrine that wheat is a *derivative plant*, and that this is the case with all our cultivated plants.

The original of the oat plant is probably the wild oat (*avena fatua*), or the bristle-pointed oat (*avena strigosa*), either of which is sufficiently near in appearance to the cultivated kind to justify the conclusion that the latter was derived from it. There is reason, too, to believe that the oat is a much more recent production, as a cultivated plant, than the other cereal grasses. The wild oat is a much taller plant than the cultivated; and it is remarkable that it is seldom met with in uncultivated ground, whilst it abounds in that which is under tillage, amongst other grain crops, from which it is impossible to eradicate it on account of the similarity of the herbage. Our author is led to suspect from this circumstance that the wild oat is a degenerated type of the cultivated, appearing only in fields under tillage. It is

one of the most prolific, pernicious, and troublesome weeds the farmer has to contend with, and where it prevails it inflicts serious injury upon the grain crops, besides shedding its seeds in abundance before the grain is ripe.

The origin of barley, like that of wheat, is uncertain, being traceable back to the ages immediately succeeding the patriarchal. Barley harvest is mentioned in the book of Ruth (ch. i. v. 22), 3,178 years from the present time. On the other hand, Professor Lindley is of opinion that barley is derived from the *hordeum distichum*, of which he makes the two-rowed barley the cultivated type: the four and six rowed kinds he considers accidental varieties. The *H. distichum* is found in Mesopotamia in the wild state; but it is a question whether this is not a degenerated type of a former cultivation. The origin of barley therefore, like that of wheat, must still be considered an open question.

Rye (*secale cereale*) is not much cultivated for a grain crop with us, and its origin is a matter of little interest with the British farmer. It is said to be found in a wild state in the Crimea; but we are not aware that any experiments have been instituted upon it. As civilisation advances, this grain gives place to wheat; and with us it is chiefly cultivated near towns for green food either with or without tares.

The vegetable parasites infesting the corn and other crops are thirteen in number:—

1.	<i>Uredo segetum</i>	. . . . .	Smut, or Dust Brand.
2.	„ <i>caries</i>	. . . . .	(Tilletia) Bunt.
3.	„ <i>rubigo</i>	. . . . .	Red Gum, or Red Robin.
4.	„ <i>linearis</i>	. . . . .	} Straw Rust, or Mildew.
5.	<i>Puccinia graminis</i>	. . . . .	
6.	„ <i>fabæ</i>	. . . . .	Bean Rust.
7.	<i>Æcidium berberidis</i>	. . . . .	Berberry Rust.
8.	<i>Cladosporum herbarum</i>	. . . . .	Corn-ear Mould.
9.	<i>Botrytis infectans</i>	. . . . .	Potato Mould and Mildew.
10.	<i>Botrytis</i>	. . . . .	Turnip Mildew.
11.	<i>Oidium erysiphoides</i>	. . . . .	} Hop Mildew.
12.	<i>Erysiphe macularis</i>	. . . . .	
13.	<i>Oidium abortifaciens</i>	. . . . .	Ergot of Grasses.

The history of these pests of the farm is given in the work. The dust brand is well known to every agriculturist, and not only lessens the produce of wheat where it prevails, but it renders the whole sample unfit for grinding until thoroughly cleaned, which is a difficult process. Any miller will refuse to purchase smutty wheat, except at several shillings per quarter below the price of clean wheat. The dust is generally dispersed before the wheat is cut, and, insinuating itself into the husk, attaches itself to the hairy end of the grain, where

it becomes fixed by the rain, and is not easily removed. The bunt, or pepper brand, is much less injurious. It will generally pass the threshing without breaking, and is then easily separated from the grain by the modern dressing machines. If broken, however, the powder has a strong foetid smell, and both this and the powder brand are propagated by unwashed seed wheat, and by the straw of smutty wheat converted into manure. The only remedy for both, recommended by our author, is a dressing of the seed wheat with sulphate of copper; but quoting Professor Henslow, he states the opinion of that naturalist to be, that if seed wheat is *perfectly cleaned* the produce will be free from smut. We can confirm this, the plan having been practised successfully for a long time in Norfolk\* by some of the farmers; but it is not generally known. A clear stream, or pump water, is all that is required, giving the wheat a dressing of slaked lime afterwards to dry it.

The ear cockle is the produce of a small worm, bred in the grain, which is purple externally and is sometimes mistaken for bunt. All these diseases disappear or are much modified through draining the land and giving proper attention to the seed. In fact, they are much less prevalent now than formerly, and will most probably wholly pass away as the land becomes more perfectly cultivated.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are parasitic fungi, the products of stagnant water in the soil, through want of drainage and neglect of weeding. A dressing of salt is useful as a preventative. The berberry rust is a mystery; but before absolutely rejecting what is said of the effect of the neighbourhood of this shrub on the field of wheat, let the reader look into *Marshall's Rural Economy of Norfolk* (vol. ii. pp. 19 and 359), where he will find what perhaps may modify his scepticism. Dr. Buckman is one of the unbelievers; but for ourselves, having witnessed in numerous cases the deleterious influence of the berberry dust on wheat, we cannot doubt, though we are unable to account for, the fact.

Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12 are mildew in various forms, all parasitic fungi, damaging the quality and reducing the quantity of the produce, whatever it may be. Whether it

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\* About seventy years ago, a person at Norwich advertised a method of curing smutty wheat, charging one guinea from each person for communicating the secret, with an engagement not to divulge it. The writer's father paid his guinea, and was directed to wash his seed wheat perfectly clean in a running water, powdering it with lime afterwards, merely to dry it. Most of the farmers who paid the guinea believed themselves hoaxed, but trials of the method proved it a complete success.

attacks the hop, the vine, or the potato, the author recommends sulphur as a specific remedy. The *botrytis infectans* of the potato is, like other epidemics, sudden in its advent, inscrutable in its origin, and fitful in its attacks. That the disease is atmospheric we have good reason to believe; but the peculiar state of the air that engenders it, is still, after twenty years of observation, a mystery. The application of sulphur is worth a trial, but we have never known a case of its being so employed on the potato.

The various insects affecting the corn crop are treated of in Chapter XXIX., the most mischievous only being enumerated. These are eight in number—namely, the slug, the wire-worm, the saw-fly, the wheat midge, the aphid flea, the ear cockle, or corn moth, the corn weevil, the little grain moth, and the meal-worm beetle. These, succeeding each other in the order now stated, attack the corn in its various stages of growth and use from its first germination to its conversion into flour. And when we consider the amazing reproductive powers of all these pests and the utter inability of the husbandman, with all his care, to keep them under,\* it is enough to excite astonishment that any crop can escape. Fortunately, nature herself has provided a remedy in the shape of rooks and a vast number of small birds, which, if allowed to live, will feed upon them at all seasons of the year, except a few weeks at seed time and harvest, the only times when they require looking after. As to “killing off” the birds, that has been tried, both with rooks and sparrows, and the wiseacres who did so were afterwards glad to purchase new stocks of them. Hear what a modern writer says of rooks:—

“In the neighbourhood of my native place” (in Yorkshire), says Mr. T. Clithero, “is a rookery belonging to W. Vavasour, Esq., of Weston on Wharfdale, in which it is estimated that there are 10,000 rooks; that one pound of food per week is a very moderate allowance for each bird; and that nine-tenths of their food consists of worms, and insects, and their larvæ; for, although they do considerable damage for a few weeks in seed time and a few weeks in harvest, particularly in backward seasons, yet a very large proportion of their food even at those seasons consists of worms and insects, which, if we except a few acorns and walnuts in autumn, compose at all other times the whole of their subsistence. Here, then, if my data be

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\* Many years ago, a friend of the writer, finding a small field of beans smothered with *aphides*, constructed a bag as long as the width of the ridges, and having fastened this at the upper edge to a long pole it was held open below and drawn over the tops of the beans. In the course of a few hours two men bagged twelve bushels of the insects. These were given to the pigs, who devoured them greedily.



correct, there is the enormous quantity of 468,000 lbs., or 209 tons, of worms, insects, and their larvæ destroyed by the rooks of a single rookery in one year! By every one who knows how very destructive to vegetation are the larvæ of the insect tribes, as well as worms, fed upon by rooks, some slight idea may be formed of the devastation which rooks are the means of preventing."—P. 196.

Almost all the tribes of birds, from the rook to the tomtit, prey upon insects, especially when feeding their young, which live upon them for weeks after they are hatched. The folly, therefore, of instituting sparrow and rook clubs, which pay for their destruction, is manifest. Many of the supporters of them have discovered their error, and, in some instances, have been obliged to import rooks and other birds to stock their farms with.

There are two species of slugs that destroy the crops—the milky slug (*limax agrestis*) and the black slug (*L. ater*). "The best remedy will be found in encouraging insectivorous birds—the lark, rook, starling, peewit, and others, eating them either in the egg or young state with great avidity" (p. 193). The wireworm is the produce of a beetle of the genus *elater*, commonly called the click-and-hammer beetle, from the sound it utters when cast on its back. Curtis enumerates nearly seventy species of the click beetle, but the most common are the *elater lineatus*, *E. obscurus*, and *E. ruficaudis*. They are destructive to every kind of crop. Whole fields of wheat are sometimes destroyed by wireworms, which attack the roots first, then, eating their way up the centre of the stem, deprive the plant of all nourishment. Ample tillage and the encouragement of rooks and other birds are the most effective remedies. The saw-fly (*sirex pygmaeus*) and the gout-fly (*chlorops glabra*) lay their eggs below the first knot of the young plant, and produce maggots which eat away the substance of the stem, and so either cause the stem to break down or to produce an infertile ear. The swallow tribes are the best destroyers of this insect. The wheat midge (*cecidomyia tritici*) or Hessian fly is sometimes very destructive, but, like some other insects, its attacks are partial and at intervals of years. It has long been very destructive in America, where it is said to have been introduced by the Hessian troops employed in the War of Independence. The larvæ are of the colour of the red rust, for which they are frequently mistaken. In the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, it was prevalent in many parts of England and Scotland, especially in the counties of Suffolk, Sussex, and Gloucester. Curtis recommends burning the wheat stubble as a preventive of their spreading; but we



can offer no remedy for its attacks except feeding down the young wheat with sheep.

The aphis flea (*aphis granaria*) is found chiefly on the green ears of wheat in very warm seasons. It draws off all the sap from the grain, which becomes shrivelled and worthless. Early sowing is the best preventive, as then the grain would ripen before the aphis makes its appearance. The ear-cockle (*tritici*) must be of animal origin. The grain is purple externally, but contains a substance like cotton wool; and if a minute portion of this is taken on the point of a pin and examined with a microscope, it is found to consist of a multitude of minute infusorial worms having the appearance of eels. The smallest portion of the cottony substance, when diluted with a drop or two of water, exhibits thousands of these little creatures under a powerful instrument. Damp seasons and want of drainage favour the production of the aphis flea. The corn-moth (probably *butalis corealella*) produces a small, somewhat hairy maggot, which eats the flour out of the grain. It was very prevalent in 1841, and greatly reduced the yield of the wheat crop. The granary weevil (*calandra granaria*) is a small beetle, which destroys the wheat in granary. The female lays an egg in a hole in the grain, which hatches there and eats away the inside; then it passes into the pupa state, and into that of the beetle, which last completes the work of mischief begun by the larva. The grain moth (*tinia granella*) when in the grub state forms a web round and between several grains of wheat, from which it devours the inside, like the weevil. The meal-worm beetle (*tenebrio molitor*) and the *T. obscurus*—the last, an American production—are two forms of beetles producing the meal-worms found in flour bins. Cleanliness, light, and air, are the best preservatives from these insects, which, when in any quantity, are dangerous to health if made up into bread with the flour.

Science in the cultivation of corn crops occupies Chapter XXX., which includes these sections:—1st. On the uses of special manures for corn crops; 2nd. On the quantity and quality of corn to be used for seed; 3rd. On the period of harvesting corn.

Dr. Buckman deprecates manuring for wheat as a “shifting crop” or in alternate husbandry; and we believe the practice is generally abandoned by the best farmers, except by a top dressing if the plant exhibits weakness in the spring, when a mixture of soot and guano should be applied, rolling the field afterwards. When wheat is sown for several consecuti-

years, manure is recommended as indispensable to sustain fertility. Yet Mr. Smith, of Lois Weedon, in Northamptonshire, has sown his land in alternate slips of wheat and fallow, thus planting only half the ground in the season, for thirteen or fourteen years consecutively, without manure and without any diminution of fertility; reaping, too, from the half-sown land, thirty-four bushels per acre on the average. Our author is an advocate for employing *good* seed, except in the case of foreign barley, the thinness of which is of no consequence. But he is *not* an advocate for *thin* sowing, and confines its success to garden culture. If he would visit Mr. Hallett's farm at Brighton, he would there find that thin sowing (one peck per acre) has been *successfully* practised for many years on an extended scale. Experiments respecting the germination of wheat and barley, with the results, are given in the work, and, as might be expected, prove that a variable per-centage of corn does not vegetate. In thin seeding, therefore, it is doubly necessary to select the finest grain for the purpose. Dr. Buckman, however, admits that half the maximum quantity, or two bushels of wheat, is sufficient for seeding the acre; and we think so, too, knowing that this gives sixty-four seeds to the square foot! How they all find room to germinate is another question.\*

Experiments are recorded in Dr. Buckman's work, similar to those made in the case of turnip seed, to test the germinating power of the seed. These showed a loss of from 92 to 0 per cent., the large number being Tasmanian, and the smaller, a sample from Hainhault Farm, we presume, at Windsor. The foreign wheats exhibit great variety in this respect: some of them germinating freely, others having a large proportion of abortive grains. Thus, while one sample of Tasmanian had 92 and another 54 abortive grains per cent., three samples from Victoria had respectively 6, 10, and 22 per cent. A sample of Russian wheat had 68 per cent. abortives. The experiments on barley showed an

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\* The following calculation, from "Stephen's Book of the Farm," will show the waste of seed-corn in a strong light:—

"Wheat of 63 lbs. per bushel gives 87 seeds to the drachm, or 1,403,136 to the bushel, avoirdupois. Three bushels, therefore, the common seeding per acre, contains 4,209,408 grains. Suppose each grain produces one stem, and each stem one ear, it will produce the same number of ears of 32 grains each. Multiply, therefore, 4,209,408 by 32, it gives 134,701,056 grains. Divide this by 87, and we have 1,548,288 drachms. Divide this again by 256, the number of drachms to the pound, and the product is 6,048 lbs., which, at 63 lbs. per bushel, gives ninety-six bushels to the acre. But the largest crop of wheat is not more than sixty-four bushels, and the ordinary yield thirty-six bushels, so that, in one case one-third and in the other nearly two-thirds, of the seed-corn is wasted."

average loss of only 8 per cent. on 25 samples; the highest being 30, the lowest 0 per cent. of abortive grains.

In harvesting corn, it would evidently be for the advantage of the farmer to let his wheat stand until it is "dead ripe," were it not for the loss sustained by shelling and other casualties. But, for the miller, the sooner it is cut, after the "pulp" is set, the better. The most conclusive way to ascertain the fitness of wheat for reaping is to examine it by pressure. If the grain is firm under the finger and thumb it may be cut at once, though the straw may appear unripe. Wheat dies from the root upwards, so that the sap in the straw ascends to the grain after the root has ceased to afford any; and it will do this in the shock as well as when uncut. Any miller will give more for a sample of early-cut wheat, than for one that has stood until dead-ripe. Barley should stand until quite ripe, as it is not liable to shed the grain like wheat, and, unless rain falls, it is of a better colour, and more profitable to the maltster. Oats, like wheat, will shed the grain if left till quite ripe, and should, therefore, be cut early, though part of them may be quite green.

In Part V. of our author's work, we find instructions how to make good fences. These are divided into dead and live. The first consist of stone walls, posts and rails, and earthen banks, which, being all of simple structure, are summarily disposed of. Live fences are made in different ways and of various materials; but for field enclosures or boundaries, nothing is equal to white-thorn for quickness and regularity of growth and for durability, when taken proper care of in its early stages. For gardens, yew, beech, and hornbeam, are much employed; the first as an evergreen, the second and third as retaining their dead leaves until the spring, when the young live ones succeed them, and thus they afford shelter all the year round. Holly forms an impenetrable fence, but is too slow of growth. Evelyn had a holly fence in his garden at Says Court in Kent, four hundred yards in length, nine feet high, and four feet in thickness. The gardens and hedge were destroyed by Peter the Great,\* who hired the mansion during his stay in England, on account of its vicinity to the Chatham Dockyard and Woolwich shipbuilding establishments. The *ulex*, or common furze, makes an impenetrable fence for a sandy soil, on which white thorn will not thrive well. Soak the seeds of the furze, and sow them in the

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\* Evelyn's words, speaking of this hedge, are:—"In my now ruined gardens at Say's Court (thanks to the Czar of Muscovy"), etc. Dr. Buckman infers from this, that Evelyn thanks the Czar for the hedge and garden.

month of February. When the young plants appear, cover them with branches of furze, to prevent the cattle and sheep from nibbling them. A little manure will be of use in planting all kinds of fences, and drains also should be laid in under the bank on which the plants are set.

All young hedges should be kept perfectly clear from weeds; and as birds will carry the seeds of other shrubby plants and deposit them amongst the white thorn, these, when they appear, should be carefully weeded out. Directions are given in the work for planting the "young quicks," either on a mound raised without a ditch on light soils, and having a post-and-rail fence on either side to protect them from the cattle, or by sinking a ditch and planting "the quicks" on the face of the bank raised from the earth; the whole surmounted with a row of brushwood, set in the bank. The third or fourth year they should be cut down within six inches of the ground; they will then throw out shoots the next spring and summer as high as those cut off, and will soon make a close fence. Single rows of "quicks" are recommended in this work, as more easily kept clean, and growing stronger. Yet a double row makes a closer fence when planted in a zigzag form, and from six to nine inches—according to the soil—from plant to plant. Draining tiles laid in under the centre of the bank or mound, have been found to promote the growth of the "quicks."

Timber trees are, in all cases, a nuisance, both to a fence and to the field; but some landlords are despotic enough, not only to prohibit them from being felled, but to insist on planting more. This is no gain to them, while it is a serious loss to the tenant. On old-enclosed farms, too, there are generally more fences than good farming requires. On one field in the occupation of the author, there were formerly fifteen fenced enclosures, with ragged hedges around them. By levelling these, and raising new straight ones, he gained two acres one rood of ground, or four and a half per cent. addition to his farm.

The "Vermin of the Fences" (Chap. XXXVII.) are very properly headed by the rabbit; for, certainly, there is no creature so destructive, not only to the fence, but to the whole farm. No landlord who encourages the breeding of rabbits is worthy of a good tenant. Stoats, rats, mice, and a whole army of reptiles and insects, are harboured in fences, if they are not well looked after. The evil is greatly heightened by the tenants, on some estates, being prohibited from ploughing within four feet of the ditch, and so from clearing away the

rubbish that gathers upon this space, on account of the game. Those who travel in the country will frequently see hedge-rows occupying from fifteen to five-and-twenty feet, covered with brushwood, affording shelter for every kind of creature destructive of agriculture and ruinous to the farmer.

Dr. Buckman recommends the Glastonbury thorn, in preference, for live fences, as more hardy than other kinds. This plant (*cratægus oxyacantha* — glabrous white thorn) flowers in January. Tradition ascribes it to Joseph of Arimathea, who, *when* he visited Glastonbury, struck his staff into the ground, where it forthwith grew and flourished, always producing its flowers in January. It is a useful and ornamental shrub. In planting beech or hornbeam, the sets should be crossed “like a series of xxx’s, overlapping each other, and set at ten or twelve inches apart; by this means the branches interlace, and a compact fence will be formed” (p. 232).

The weeds of hedgerows comprise everything but the plant intended to form the hedge. And we may dismiss the subject with a single piece of advice to our farming readers:—Take care of your fence the first five or six years, after which it will take care of itself with common looking after. Some farmers allow their young fences to grow several feet high before cutting them. They then acquire straight smooth stems without lateral branches towards the root, and thornless, forming a poor defence against the weather for cattle and sheep. In this case it is better to cut them down within a few inches of the bank, instead of plashing them, as is commonly practised, by which the whole fence, though good enough at first, gets out of order in two or three years, and the stocks being weakened soon decay.

Farm covenants respecting leases, are important matters to a tenant. As all fences are included in the measurement upon which the acreage rent is assessed, the tenant has a right, first, to every inch of ground up to the fence; and, secondly, is bound to keep the hedge itself in good order, both on his own account and that of the estate. The following rules for covenants or leases respecting fences are given in p. 260:—

“1. Fences should not be kept up to a greater extent than is required.

“2. A tenant-at-will should not be expected to plant or take charge of fences.

“3. Bad fences are evils on an estate to both landlord and tenant.”  
—Chap. XXXIX., p. 259.

Part IV. is devoted to the question of "How to grow good timber." The preparation of the ground requires "trenching, pitting, and ploughing." *Draining* might properly have been added, being now practised in forming new plantations with excellent effects. Stagnant water in the subsoil, as well as on the surface, is very injurious to the young trees in the first years of their growth. Dr. Buckman considers trenching unnecessary; but we know of no kind of plant, shrub, or vegetable, that will not flourish more in a trenched than in an untrenched soil. Most forest trees (except the *coniferae*) send down a tap-root; and it must be an advantage to a young oak or other tree to be able to do so without obstruction; and the subsoil will get close enough again before the tree requires it.

An interesting account is given of the *cynips*—the insect that produces the gall nut found on the oak, to the great injury of the tree, especially when young. This insect was first discovered by our author in Devonshire in 1853, but it has since spread over the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Sussex, as also into North Wales, &c.

Most of the primeval forests of this country have long disappeared before the march of population, civilisation, and cultivation. The work of "clearing" is still going on, and no adequate compensation is made by fresh plantations. The consequence of this is, that our rivers and streams have greatly decreased in water-power; and in many parts of the country that have become bare of trees, the springs have either totally failed, or been much reduced in their supply of water. It would be well if the landed proprietors would plant a portion of the ordinary land on their estates—large breadths of which are, in some instances, too poor to pay for cultivation, and when let to tenants with the good land, prove a dead weight upon their hands. The planting of these tracts would have the effect of modifying the atmospheric phenomena, by averting sudden storms, and by superinducing a more regular supply of moisture. In France, the enormous extent to which the Royal Forests have been destroyed since the Revolution of 1789, has had so prejudicial an effect upon the land, that the Government has taken the matter up, and by planting very extensive tracts, has restored fertility to land that was quite barren for want of rain.

The chestnut and walnut are less common than formerly; the demand for these trees, particularly the latter, for making gun stocks during the war with Napoleon, and the high price fetched by their timber, while the Continent was shut



against us, inducing those who possessed them to cut them down.\* The Spanish chestnut is valuable on account of its fruit, which forms a considerable article of food in France and Spain. In the mountainous parts of these countries the working classes subsist upon it a great part of the year, and it is found to be a most nutritious article of diet. The timber of the Spanish chestnut is valuable, but is not used so much in building as it was formerly, the Norway fir having superseded both it and the oak, as being cheaper, more easily worked, and quite durable enough for the majority of house builders. The roof of Westminster Hall, built by William Rufus in 1099, was constructed of Spanish chestnut timber, and is nearly as sound as ever. The fruit of the walnut is a luxury with every class of society; and even the husk of the ripe fruit is used in the kitchens of the great in sauces and flavourings. On the Continent, where it is extensively grown, an excellent oil is extracted from the fruit, quite equal to olive oil. Of the elm there are many varieties in England, but botanists reduce them to two species—*ulmus campestris*, the small-leaved, and *ulmus montana*, the broad-leaved, or wych elm. Both the appearance and the uses of the elm are familiar to almost every Englishman. If allowed to attain its mature height and breadth of boughs, it is a very ornamental as well as useful tree. It is much used in rural carpentry, and also in ship-building for blocks, dead-eyes, &c. The elm requires a good deep soil, and if planted on gravel, soon decays at the heart. We refer our readers to our author's work for an account of the varieties of this timber. The wych elm sometimes grows to a large size, as Maul's Elm at Chelmsford, which is forty feet in circumference, and one at Stroud, Gloucestershire, fifty feet. The latter is hollow, and was once used as a cider mill. The wood of the wych elm is more knotty and gnarled than that of the *U. campestris*; and the large excrescences found on it make beautiful veneer for work-boxes and other cabinet uses.

The ash is a handsome tree when in perfection with its young foliage upon it; but as it acquires this late in the season, so it parts with it early and rapidly, having for a long period nothing but naked arms and branches to display. The ash is injurious when planted in hedgerows of cultivated fields. Its roots spread laterally a long way, and nothing will grow over them; and the drip from the foliage is equally

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\* "Such was the demand for the walnut, and such its scarcity, that a single tree has been known to sell for 600*l*."—P. 295.



hurtful to vegetation. The timber of the ash is used in a multitude of forms, by the cooper, the wheelwright, the machinist, the coach-maker, &c.

"The beech (*fagus sylvatica*) is a native of Britain. It sometimes attains a gigantic size, and when at its maturity is a beautiful object. The wood is used for cabinet work, turning, and carpentry of various kinds. It makes excellent fire-wood, but furnishes very little ash, as it feeds principally on the atmosphere and water, taking but little from the soil. It will flourish on a rocky sub-soil with a few inches of upper soil, sticking its roots into the fissures of the stone to attain stability. The copper beech (*fagus sylvatica purpurea*) forms a beautiful object in pleasure grounds and plantations near a mansion."—P. 311.

The soft-wood trees are the sycamore, plane, lime, horse-chestnut, willow, poplar, the pine in all its varieties, the yew, cedar, &c. We cannot go into the history of these, a brief account of which is given in Chapter XLVI.

"Orchards" are the topic of a later portion of Dr. Buckman's book; the apple and pear being the trees to which he limits his observations. Apples are classified as *culinary apples*, or those used for tarts, puddings, &c.; *dessert apples*, usually of a sweet sub-acid flavour, and crisp texture, which are eaten raw; and *cider apples*, the expressed juice of which forms English cider. The same distinctions will hold of the pear, with the difference that pear juice is termed *perry* (p. 321). With respect to the quality of the fruit, our author is of opinion that the goodness of cider, and therefore of the apples, is mainly determined by the nature of the soil. It is a remarkable fact, that in the Vale of Gloucester the apple flourishes until it reaches the lias of which the subsoil is composed, where it suddenly falls off. The same effect appears on the sides of the Cotteswold Hills, when the roots reach the oolite which prevails there in the subsoil.

"No sooner does a Vale farmer become possessed of sufficient capital than he moves to the hills; and, as in his former residence, he had imbibed a love of cider, his first act would be to plant an orchard at his new home. But, alas! the most successful farmer cannot command crops in an uncongenial soil; and so it is not surprising that we should know of instances where not even enough fruit for an annual apple-pudding has been produced from a Cotteswold orchard which had been planted for thirty years."—P. 324.

A useful account of the whole management of an orchard, with a list of the most valuable varieties of the apple and pear, and of the several soils adapted to their growth, will be

found in the volume in Chap. LI. The farmer's practice of plying the labourer with cider to urge him on in his work is strongly condemned, as the fruitful cause of drunkenness, and of every vice and crime. A comparison is drawn between the peasantry of the cider-drinking and the non-cider-drinking counties, greatly in favour of the latter, both morally and physically.

"On one melancholy occasion it was indeed sad to hear the coroner, among other remarks, observe that full four-fifths of the inquests in a cider county were the effects of drink." Again,—“We conclude, as the result of experience, that each sack of corn that finds its way to market from a cider county costs 1s. (or 3*d.* per bushel) in drink, which, though it is produced on the farm, might yet have been sold to produce that amount. Would it not, then, be better to sell such farm produce, and by giving extra money instead of drink to the labourers, and so by allowing them the option of taking less drink but more meat, gradually withdraw them from the temptation to get drunk which besets them under the present system? For while we feel quite sure that the morbid craving for the public house has commenced with drinking on the farm, we may be certain that if, by any means, we can check this system, it will ultimately be a great gain to both master and man.”—Pp. 354, 355.

On the whole, we recommend Dr. Buckman's volume to the agriculturist as affording useful information on many subjects not commonly entered upon by writers on husbandry. The speculative points on which we may be at issue with the author, are open questions. On the other hand, we have found much that is instructive and interesting, conveyed in a clear and familiar style of composition, and the illustrations are correct and artistic.

The subjects of the six lectures contained in M. Ville's work are:—1. The science of vegetable production; 2. The assimilation of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen by plants; 3. The mechanical and assimilable elements of the soil; 4. The analysis of the soil by systematic experiments on cultivation; 5. The sources of the agents of vegetable production; 6. The substitution of chemical fertilisers for farmyard manure.

In the first of these, after enumerating the organic and mineral substances (four of the first, and nine of the second) in plants, the author endeavours to prove that there is a connecting link uniting the mineral with the vegetable kingdom, similar to that which has been established between the animal and the vegetable. After referring to the varied combinations of the elements composing plants, and comparing them to the letters of the alphabet, which, though few

number, admit of almost infinite combinations, he goes on to say:—

“Now, if it be so, we are justified in likening the vegetable to a mineral combination, a more complicated one, doubtless, but which we may hope to reproduce in every part by means of its elements, as we do with the mineral species. This proposition, how astonishing so ever it may appear to you, is, nevertheless, the exact truth. To prove it to you, permit me to establish a parallel between vegetables and minerals, from the different points of view which more especially characterise the latter. We will commence with their mode of formation and growth.

“First, we perceive only differences. A crystal suspended in a saline solution, grows by the deposit of molecules on its surface, similar in composition and form to those which constitute its nucleus. These molecules, diffused throughout the solution, obey the laws of molecular attraction, and thus increase the mass of the primitive crystal. The vegetable, on the contrary, does not find diffused vegetable matter in the atmosphere, nor in the soil in which it is in contact. Through its leaves and roots it derives its first elements from without, causing them to penetrate into its interior, and there mysteriously elaborates them, to make them ultimately assume the form under which they present themselves to our eyes.

“We can, nevertheless, say that the process of vegetable production has something in common with the formation of a mineral. For in both cases, we see a centre of attraction which gathers up the molecules, &c., received from without. In the more simple case of the mineral, the combination of the elements is previously accomplished; only a mechanical grouping takes place. In the more complex case of the vegetable, the combination and mechanical grouping are effected at the same time, and in the very substance of the plant. In both cases a formation is engendered by the union of definite or definable material.”—P. 4.

This comparison is ingenious, but by no means satisfactory. To establish his theory, however, M. Ville proposes the following experiment:—

“Take two seeds of the same sort, having the same weight; remove from each of these seeds a morsel, also of the same weight, only, let one include the embryo in the computation, and in the other let the embryo be left out, and take instead a fragment of the perisperm. Then put both upon a wetted sponge. The seed without the embryo will soon enter into a state of putrefaction; the other, on the contrary, will give birth to a vegetable capable of absorbing and organising all the products resulting from the disorganisation of the first.”—P. 7.

The power by which this is effected he calls “a new power of organic essence, which modifies the ordinary course of

affinities." But surely this is a misnomer. It is not a *new*, but an *inherent*, though dormant, power in the seed; a vital power resulting from a *living* principle, totally different from the power of molecular attraction of affinity which exists between the inert matter of the mineral and the contents of the saline solution in which it is immersed. M. Ville proceeds:—

"This conclusion will acquire stronger and stronger evidence, as we penetrate deeper in our researches, and I shall at once give a striking confirmation of it in showing you that nature does not pass suddenly from the mineral to the vegetable, from crude matter to organised matter, but that there exists on the contrary a class of compounds which lead insensibly from the one to the other, and form the bridge which unites these two series of productions. These compounds, which, for this reason, we call *transitory products of organic activity*, range themselves in two different groups, hydrates of carbon and albumenoids. The following is an enumeration of them:—

TRANSITORY PRODUCTS OF ORGANIC ACTIVITY.

	<i>Hydrates of Carbon.</i>	<i>Albumenoids.</i>
Insoluble . . .	{ Cellulose . . . . . }	Fibrine.
	{ Starch . . . . . }	
Semi-soluble . .	{ Gum Tragacanth . . }	Caseine.
	{ Mucilages . . . . . }	
	{ Protine . . . . . }	
Soluble . . .	{ Gum Arabic . . . . . }	Albumen."
	{ Dextrine . . . . . }	
	{ Sugars . . . . . }	

An elaborate argument is then employed to show, that because these elements form a complete series, and can all be resolved by chemical action and heat into the same substance—grape sugar—which is, or seems to be, the least organised form, the nearest to mineral nature which the type can assume, and because, further, each member of the series contains the same elements of carbon united with water, it follows that the theory of a connecting link between the mineral and the vegetable is satisfactorily made out. Such, at least, appears to us to be the drift of M. Ville's argument and the conclusion to which he carries it.

Before this doctrine of our author can be granted, he must show that there exists in the mineral something at least analogous to the vital power possessed by the plant, which, when it comes in contact with light, heat, and moisture, is called into active operation. A modern writer gives a much more definite explanation of the relationship between the three kingdoms of nature.

"The vegetable kingdom," he says, "is placed in nature intermediate between the mineral kingdom, which is submitted solely to the operation of physical laws, and actuated only by means of mechanical forces, and the animal kingdom, in which vital organisation is most complex and most perfect, and where physical and chemical affinities are subordinate in energy to the refined influence of nervous power. Everything in nature is referrible to one or other of these three divisions, of which the first, the mineral, is distinguished by an absolute fixity of constitution, whilst the materials of which the animal (and vegetable) is composed, are in a constant state of change. If we consider a piece of marble, it contains carbon, oxygen, and calcium, and as long as it has been a piece of marble the same portions of these elements have formed it. But if we consider an animal, it is composed of numerous elements, which have little permanence of arrangement. By the very act of its living forces, the materials of which it consists die, and are thrown off from the remainder, and other new elements of the same kind must be taken in their place, or else the whole animal dies."—*Kane's Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 246.

This passage applies as well to the relationship between the vegetable and the mineral as to that of the vegetable and the animal. Although the vegetable possesses a less refined organisation than the animal, it is, by the vital principle, completely separated from the mineral in material relationship. The vegetable constantly receives fresh accessions of the materials of which it is composed, until it reaches the maximum of maturity of which it is capable; but the mineral remains for ever a congeries of the same simple inert material of which it was at first composed. It neither receives increase, moves, nor lives in any way whatever; and in relation to the vegetable, it is merely the medium of its growth, as supplying a small portion of its nourishment, no other possible analogy existing between them. The vegetable assimilates portions of the minerals, as elementary food, by which it is *itself* prepared to pass to the animal as food; for "in no case," says the same authority, "is an animal able to assimilate to its organism, or use as nutritious food, a mineral material." (*Ibid.*)

M. Ville's second lecture relates to the organic elements of vegetables, namely:—Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. Carbon is absorbed by the leaves from the atmosphere, and by the roots from the soil under the form of carbonic acid. It is under the influence of the sun's rays that the leaves receive it; hence their green colour. And when the sun withdraws his rays, the carbon is given out and is replaced

by oxygen. A certain temperature of the atmosphere is necessary for the carbon to produce its effect upon the leaves of a plant, the flowers of which do not absorb it. The presence of oxygen is necessary to the action of carbon. The supply of this material in the atmosphere is unlimited; and, in proportion as vegetation absorbs it, animal respiration restores it in equivalent quantities. Carbon forms about fifty per cent. of dried plants; but in living ones, the fixed quantity depends upon the extent of their foliage.

The oxygen and hydrogen in plants are derived from water, which is assimilated in its normal state. There is, therefore, an abundant supply of them wherever water is found. It is otherwise with nitrogen—which, though indispensable to the welfare of plants, is found only in small quantities in their composition. It is supplied, however, from the atmosphere and the soil, as well as from manures—a fact abundantly proved by Boussingault. Indeed, the circumstance of the air containing seventy-nine per cent. of nitrogen, will account for it. The difficulty which chemists have met with in their attempts to form combinations with nitrogen gas, led them, at first, to deny this; but further and nicer experiments have caused them to alter their opinion. Boussingault found that in a five years' rotation of potatoes, wheat, clover, turnips, and oats, there was an annual excess of nitrogen per acre of only 8·36 lbs.; in the culture of artichokes, 37·84; and in that of lucerne of 182·06 lbs. It has been attempted to prove that this excess is derived from the ammonia in the air; but as it has been shown that the soil receives only three pounds of nitrogen per acre per annum, this source is quite inadequate to account for the excess of 182 lbs. in the case of the lucerne.

“But it is urged there may exist in the atmosphere some nitrogenous substance assimilable, which is condensed by rain-water, and which has hitherto escaped analysis. Notwithstanding the utter vagueness of this objection, I have wished to reply to it by direct experiment. I have instituted two similar growths in boxes placed under shelter; one of these was watered with rain-water, collected by a pluviometer of equal surface to that of the box, and placed apart; the other received similar quantities of perfectly pure distilled water. The crop with distilled water was nearly as large as that obtained with rain-water. It is, therefore, evident that rain-water contained nothing susceptible of influencing the development of vegetables.”—P. 26.

This is quite a new doctrine in the annals of agricultural chemistry. It has always been believed that rain-water.



independent of its normal elements—oxygen and hydrogen—supplied the plants with nitrogen in the form of ammonia, in quantities equal at least to what they contain. Our author asserts that this is absorbed *naturally* by the plants without the intervention of rain, or the intermediation of nitrification previously accomplished in the soil. And while he admits that in certain cases, important quantities of nitrates may be produced in the soil, he still asserts that this cannot account for the excess of nitrogen in the crops.

“For the 182 pounds to have penetrated into the lucerne by this channel, it would have been necessary to engage 1,756 pounds of nitric acid, which, itself, to be saturated, must have combined with 1,540 pounds of bases. Those 1,540 pounds of bases should be found in the crops; but the latter produced upon combustion only 1,525 pounds of ashes, of which the bases formed 701 pounds. There is then at least half the excess that the hypothesis of nitrification cannot explain.”—P. 28.

We will not follow M. Ville any further in this argument—the experiments in support of which are described in the work—but content ourselves with quoting the summary in the following conclusions:—

“1. That, generally speaking, the nitrogen of the air enters into the nutrition of plants.

“2. In connection with certain crops, especially vegetables, this intervention is sufficient, and the agriculturist has no occasion to introduce nitrogen into the soil.

“3. With regard to the cereals, and particularly during their early growth, atmospheric nitrogen is insufficient, and to obtain abundant crops it is necessary to add nitrogenous matters to the soil. Those which best fulfil this object are the nitrates and ammoniacal salts.”—P. 31.

Lecture III., “On the assimilation of minerals by plants,” goes to prove, that it is in a liquefied state only that this can take place, through the agency of the roots and the medium of the soil. The soil is made up of three constituents—*humus*, *clay*, and *sand*. The first is of organic origin, and is known under the name of “vegetable earth,” and its nature is thus described by Sir R. Kane:—

“After the death of a plant, its elements, yielding to the force of their chemical affinities, enter into new arrangements, and by a series of progressive alterations are finally converted into a dark brown material, termed popularly ‘vegetable mould,’ and by chemists *humus*



or *ulmine*. When pure it contains no nitrogen, and consists of, as prepared—

	FROM WOOD.	FROM SUGAR.
Carbon . . . . .	72·7	65·65
Hydrogen . . . . .	6·1	4·28
Oxygen . . . . .	21·2	30·07
	<hr/> 100·0	<hr/> 100·00

“This substance, in itself, is powerless on vegetation; but as it absorbs water, it assists in maintaining the temperature of the soil. If it absorbs ammonia, it retains it very feebly, for water, in quantity, will withdraw it. When moist it undergoes combustion in the open air, and thus constitutes a source of carbonic acid, which assists in dissolving the mineral elements in the soil.”

Clay, in itself, is equally inoperative on vegetation; but it imparts consistency to a light soil, retains moisture, and fixes ammonia and all saline solutions by capillary affinity, and thus acts as—

“A granary which, out of its abundance, stores up superfluous aliments to distribute them again when scarcity prevails. . . . By its agency the soluble salts resist flowing waters; still more it removes from highly charged saline solutions a much larger quantity of salts, and yields them up again to the water, when it arrives in sufficient quantities. In a very fertile soil, that is to say, in one much charged with soluble salts, when little water is present, the solution it produces might attain to such a degree of concentration as to become injurious to plants.”—P. 38.

Sand—

“Forms part of all soil, of which it is the essential constituent. It communicates to the soil its principal physical properties and its permeability to air and water. It tempers the properties of the clay, and by its association with it, realises the condition most favourable to the development of plants.”—P. 39.

Passing by those elements which abound in all soils, such as silica, magnesia, iron, manganese, chlorine, and sulphuric acid, our author considers phosphate of lime, potash, and lime as—

“The essential minerals, such as, associated with a nitrogenous substance, and added to any kind of soil, suffice to render it fertile. With them we can actually fabricate plants.”—P. 40.

In accordance with this idea M. Ville instituted a series of experiments. He placed in pots of china biscuit—

- “ 1. Calcined sand alone.
- “ 2. Calcined sand with the addition of a nitrogenous substance.
- “ 3. Calcined sand with minerals only (phosphate of lime, potassa, and lime).
- “ 4. Calcined sand with the minerals and a nitrogenous substance.”

In each pot he sowed on the same day twenty grains of wheat of the same kind and weight, keeping the soil moist with distilled water during the period of vegetation. The results were as follows:—

“ In the sand alone the plant was feeble, and the dried crop weighed only 93 grains.

“ In the nitrogenous substance alone, the crop, still very poor, was, however, better; it rose to 140 grains.

“ In the minerals alone it was a little inferior to the preceding; it weighed 123 grains.

“ But with the addition of the minerals and the nitrogenous substance, it rose to 370 grains.”

From the decisive results of these experiments he concludes that each of the agents of vegetable production fulfils a double function:—

“ 1. An individual function variable according to its nature; since the nitrogenous matter produced more effect than the minerals, and as either, employed separately, raises the yield above what the seed produced in the pure sand.

“ 2. A function of union; since the combined effects of the nitrogenous substance and the minerals, is very superior to what each of these two agents produced separately.” — P. 41.

These experiments and their results are both interesting and important, proving as they do the beneficial effects of the combined action of the most important, but least abundant elements of production. Not satisfied, however, with these, M. Ville made further experiments. In the first instance he left out the phosphate of lime, retaining the nitrogenous matter and the potash and lime. The result was, that the seed germinated; but when about four inches in height the plants withered and died. The next experiment was with phosphate of lime, and lime with nitrogenous matter, leaving out the potash. The plants in this case did not die, but the yield was only 123 grains. Potash, therefore, is an essential element only inferior in value to phosphate of lime. In the third experiment, the lime was left out, the other elements being retained, and the result was 840 grains of produce

against 370, when the lime was added. The fourth mixture therefore M. Ville calls "*the complete manure.*"

But although, according to these experiments, lime plays only a secondary part in vegetation, that part is still important; for it has been proved that a soil destitute of lime will not produce a crop of wheat. It is well known to scientific gentlemen in Ireland, that the great limestone plain, which occupies the centre of that country, has not a particle of lime on the surface soil; and that without liming, a crop of wheat cannot be raised there. Such is the land in Tipperary and West Meath, where, before the famine, a yield of twenty barrels,\* or ninety-three bushels per Irish acre, was obtained. But after that period, the farmers being too poor to procure lime, the produce fell off to from five to eight barrels, nor did it recover its fertility until lime was again applied.

Another experiment was made by M. Ville with a mixture of sand and humus, excluding the lime, but retaining the phosphate and potash. The result was a yield of 340 grains, which proves that humus without lime is inactive. But when the lime in a carbonate state was added, it rose at once to 493 grains, showing that "between lime and humus, there is a relation of unity;" that, in point of fact, lime is necessary to bring out the fertilising properties of the humus.

Lecture IV. treats of the analysis of the soil by cultivation with "systematic experiments." A variety of these are given in the work, which we shall refer to as exhibiting, on a considerable scale, the effects of special manures and their absence. Those materials in a soil that do not act upon vegetable production, except as a support to roots, are termed "*mechanical agents*;" those which, at a given moment, penetrate the plants in the form of aqueous solutions, are called "*assimilable agents*;" and all organic and mineral débris, which contain useful elements, such as they yield up to water unless previously decomposed, are called "*assimilable agents in reserve.*" These three kinds of elements are classified by our author in the following manner:—

#### COMPOSITION OF A FERTILE SOIL.

1. Mechanical Agents . . . . .	{ Sand. Clay. Gravel.
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\* The barrel of wheat in Ireland is 20 stones of 14 lbs. each. The Irish acre contains 212 rods to the English 160.

2. Active Assimilable Agents . . .	Organic . . .	{ Humus. Nitrates. Ammoniacal Salts. Potassa. Soda. Lime. Magnesia.
	Mineral . . .	{ Soluble Silica. Sulphuric Acid. Phosphoric Acid. Chlorine. Oxide of Iron. Oxide of Manganese
3. Assimilable Agents in Reserve . . .	{ Undecomposed Organic Matters.	
	{ Undecomposed Fragments of Rocks.	

M. Ville then endeavours to show that modern chemistry has failed in analytical experiments on soils, for want of attending to such a classification; and that Davy, with all his acuteness, only proved dissimilarities in all the soils which he examined. He then proposes the three questions most important to agriculturists, namely:—

1. How much wheat will a certain soil produce?
2. What will be the best manure for it?
3. How long will its effects continue?

He then proceeds to prove, that while the principal elements of fertility are potash, phosphoric acid, lime, and nitrogen, the mere presence of these in a soil is not sufficient to secure fertility, unless they exist there in an assimilable form, or one in which the matter in the soil will dissolve them. All these agents, for instance, are present in a felspathic sand; but the soil would, notwithstanding, be perfectly barren, because those elements are combined with silicates which will not dissolve in water. Experiments upon the soil at Vincennes are given, in which, although the soil yielded to water little potash and no phosphates, three successive crops of wheat extracted 188 pounds of phosphoric acid and 2,036 pounds of potash per acre. He proceeds to show that the new method rests upon the following facts proved by his experiments, namely:—

1. That the association of minerals and all assimilable nitrogenous matters, produces good crops everywhere, while, isolated, these agents are always inert.

2. That lime produces a useful effect only in presence of humus.

3. That lime and humus produce great effects only in a soil provided with mineral and nitrogenous matters.

“This method (system?) adapts itself to all the wants of cultivation, since it is sufficient to scatter a few handfuls of a fertilising

manure upon a field, to indicate at the time of harvest what the soil contains, what it wants, and, consequently, what must be added to it to make it fertile.”—P. 59.

Then follow experiments on three different soils, compared with one on calcined sand, the results being as follows :—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Without Manure.	Complete Manure.	Without Nitrogenous Matter.	Without Phosphate of Lime.	Without Potash.	Without Lime.	Without Humus.
Calcined Sand.	6	24	8	0	7	22	32
Soil from Gascony.	5.5	32	9	6	8	22	...
Soil from Bretagne.	4	29	16	9	18	0	...
Soil from Vincennes.	11	35	20	28	23	32	...

These experiments were made upon a small scale ; but it is shown that the result is nearly the same upon a large one.

#### CULTIVATION OF WHEAT CROP PER ACRE.

Years.	Complete Manure.	COMPLETE MANURE.			
		Without Nitrogenous Matters.	Without Minerals.	Without Potassa.	Without Phosphates.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1861 Straw .	9,100	6,864	7,150	9,966	11,002
1861 Grain .	5,280	4,686	5,500	4,994	5,280
	14,380	14,380	12,650	14,960	14,282
1862 Straw .	8,646	7,326	7,942	8,866	9,966
1862 Grain .	4,180	8,334	3,278	4,136	4,840
	12,826	10,660	11,210	13,002	14,806
1863 Straw .	15,270	6,666	10,648	11,520	12,210
1863 Grain .	8,250	2,831	4,160	5,034	4,356
	23,520	9,497	14,808	16,554	14,566
Average. .	16,908	10,569	12,892	14,839	15,834

From all this we gather that the soil is the best exponent of its own composition by the amount of its produce ; and this is the gist of the author's reasoning ; which shows, likewise, that vegetation furnishes the best analysis of the soil. The results of the culture on the large and the small scale agree sufficiently to prove the correctness of the theory laid down, as the following summary shows :—

	COMPLETE MANURE.			
	Complete Manure.	Without Nitrogenous Matter.	Without Potassa.	Without Phosphates.
Cultivation on a Small Scale.	35	20	28	28
Cultivation on a Large Scale.	35	21·7	30	32

M. Ville's fifth lecture treats on the sources of the agents of vegetable production; and it opens with a comparison between what the writer terms "an ideal manure," or a manure *par excellence*, and the common farmyard manure. The former comprises all the *active assimilable agents* enumerated on page 318, the presence of which constitutes a fertile soil, as is proved by the produce from the calcined sand, when mixed with the complete manure.

Of the constituents enumerated, some are found in almost every soil, as iron and manganese; which, also, are assimilated in very small quantities. Of others, the mode of action is imperfectly understood—as soda, magnesia, sulphuric acid, and chlorine. All these, therefore, are excluded from the "practical manure," which reduces the essential agents to the four enumerated before—namely, nitrogenous matters, potassas, lime, and phosphates. The sources of all these agents, their commercial value, and the quantity required to be applied, with the mode of application, are given in detail in the work. Reference is, of course, made to guano; the introduction of which, proved that a substitute might be found for farmyard manure. With respect to the origin of guano, M. Ville's opinion is, that it is not exclusively the product of the excrement of sea-birds, but that it contains also a large quantity of the ashes and skeletons of the birds themselves, as is proved by the large proportion of phosphoric acid which it holds. He considers, that to form a perfect manure, guano requires the addition of potash and lime. Does M. Ville imply by this, that guano does not contain lime or potash, or that it contains them in insufficient quantities? Nesbit, who studied guano as thoroughly as any man, says:—"The chief mineral constituents of plants—lime, magnesia, potash, soda, chlorine, sulphuric acid, and phosphoric acid (the latter most important)—are found in guano." M. Ville gives an interesting account (though short) of the extraction of potash from the water in which the fleeces of sheep's wool

are washed before dyeing; from the waste-water of sea-salt; and from felspathic rock. These discoveries will probably, in time, reduce the price of this important agent of fertilisation, it being now £51 per ton. The following table exhibits a classification of the elements of production, and their relative order in the construction of manure :—

		IDEAL MANURE.	PRACTICAL MANURE.
Active Assimilable Agents . . . . .	Organic .	Humus . . . . .	
		Nitrates . . . . .	
		Ammoniacal Salts . . . . .	Nitrogenous Matter.
		Potassa . . . . .	Potassa.
	Mineral .	Soda . . . . .	
		Lime . . . . .	Lime.
		Magnesia . . . . .	
		Soluble Silica . . . . .	
		Sulphuric Acid . . . . .	
		Phosphoric Acid . . . . .	Phosphates.
		Chlorine . . . . .	
		Oxide of Iron . . . . .	
		Oxide of Manganese . . . . .	

The distinction here observed, between what our author terms an ideal and a practical manure, may be thus explained. All the elements of fertility enumerated in the table being assimilable, enter into the composition of plants, and are found there upon analysis; but experiments prove also, that without nitrogen, potash, lime and phosphates, no crop of grain can be obtained, or, at most, a very small one; whilst the addition of these four elements at once multiplies the produce in a quadruple proportion, or even more, as in the cases of the soil from Gascony and Bretagne, in which it increased six-fold. M. Ville, therefore, terms them “practical manures,” because without them, in some proportion or other, good crops cannot be obtained.

Speaking of the beet sugar manufacture of France, he refers to the production of potassa from the residue of the beet; as well also in the distilleries as in the sugar manufacture. He shows that the sale of this article off the land without adding an equivalent—a method which would neutralise the profits—has had the effect of reducing the proportion of saccharine matter in the beet root in the neighbourhood of Lille to five or six per cent.; and he warns the manufacturers, that, unless they supply an equal quantity to the soil with that abstracted from it, the manufacture must soon cease.

At present, three of the four substances enumerated, are obtainable only at a great price; but it is probable that they will eventually be reduced in value by the discoveries that are daily made by the aid of chemistry. Thus, phosphate of lime



is found in abundance (fifty per cent.) in the *nodules* of chalk; and still more so in *apatite*, a crystallised mineral, of which there are entire mountains in Spain, and from which the phosphate of lime is very easily separated. The riches of nature in the elements of production are scarcely more than beginning to be developed; in fact, their true character, and the part which each of them plays in the work of vegetable production, is of itself of recent discovery. Every day is adding to the stock of knowledge bearing upon this subject, and the increasing requirements of mankind as population increases, will stimulate inquiry, and elicit fresh facts, affording the means of a larger and cheaper production of food.

Lecture IV. commences with the following summary of the foregoing arguments:—

“1. That there exist four regulating agents, *par excellence*, in the production of vegetables—nitrogenous matters, phosphate of lime, potassa, and lime.

“2. To preserve to the earth its fertility, we must supply it periodically with these four substances in quantities equal to those removed by the crops.”—P. 90.

The writer then shows that farmyard manure, or the dung-hill, must, as the effects of the use of it proves, contains all these ingredients; indeed, analyses, made at the Imperial farm at Vincennes, and at another farm at Bochelbrunn, exhibited them all with no further difference than such as the different composition of the manure would occasion. Experiments on farmyard manure, used on the triennial and the quinquennial systems of husbandry, respectively yielded the following results:—

	TRIENNIAL.	QUINQUENNIAL.
Weight of Dried Crop per Acre . . . .	2,455 lbs.	3,131 lbs.
Nitrogen contained in the Crop . . . .	25 „	44 „

“With the five years’ rotation agriculture has been brought to substitute the exportation of meat for that of cereals, and it has derived decided advantages from the substitution; for the sale of the cereals causes a loss of potassa, phosphoric acid, and nitrogen to the farms, which cannot be compensated for except by a supply of manure, or by irrigation. If, on the contrary, the crops are consumed on the farm by the animals, we find in their excrements almost the whole of the phosphoric acid and potash contained in their food. The quantities that fix themselves in their tissues and bony structures, constitute but a small loss. As to the nitrogen, their respiration rejects about a third of it into the atmosphere in the

gaseous state; the other two-thirds return to the soil in the manure. It follows from this that the raising of cattle results in preserving to the soil almost the whole of the four agents which assure its fertility, and of producing benefits in money without sensibly impoverishing the farm.”—P. 97.

This doctrine is contrary to the opinions of some of our most eminent chemists. Referring to this very subject as applied to Ireland, a writer whom we have already quoted, says :—

“The phosphoric acid so abundantly deposited in those parts of plants employed as food, is destined to the formation of the osseous skeleton of the animal, and on its death returns to the soil, to be again absorbed into the composition of plants, and become the material of the bones of a new race of animals. . . . It is to be feared that before very long considerable loss will accrue to the corn and other food crops of this country, from the deprivation of the soil of this essential ingredient. The cattle exported from Ireland carry out in their bones a vast quantity of phosphoric acid derived from the soil. Of the cattle whose flesh is eaten in the country, their bones form a considerable article of export, as the attention of our agriculturists has not yet been awakened generally to the importance of restoring them to the soil. Let it be recollected *that in one pound of bones there is the phosphoric acid belonging to 28 pounds of wheat, or of 250 pounds of potatoes*; that this phosphoric acid is indispensable to the healthy growth of the plants, and of the animals by which they are consumed, and hence will appear the vital importance to agriculture of preserving to the soil, as far as possible, these valuable materials, and returning them to the land.”—*Kane's Industrial Resources of Ireland*, p. 271.

If, then, the above facts are true—and we firmly believe they are—M. Ville is in error in ignoring bone manure as of no importance in the exportation of cattle, and in representing the loss of them as small. There is, in fact, no manure, except guano, which so permanently imparts fertility to the soil for the production of wheat crops as bones, because, by the slowness of their decomposition, they continue for years to give out phosphoric acid.

The author then goes on to show that the cultivation of beet-root for the manufacture of sugar, is still more advantageous than the five course rotation of husbandry, because the sugar extracted is wholly composed of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen, derived from the water and atmosphere; whilst the pulp, or residue, is consumed by cattle, by which means, nearly the whole of the useful constituents are returned to the soil in the dung. A still more important culture is that of *colza*, or rape seed. The oil extracted

from it, like sugar, is also composed entirely of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen, so that all the remaining produce, stems and pulp, or cake, are given back to the soil without passing through the animal. This, however, depends upon the grower having a crushing mill to extract the oil on his own premises; otherwise, if he sells the seed, the whole produce is lost to the farm, as in the case of grain. Even when the farmer crushes the seed himself, it is sometimes the practice to sell the cake to the merchant for exportation, which is equally a robbery upon the land, unless the loss is compensated for by the substitution of some other manure of equal value. According to M. Ville, the residue, after passing through a hydraulic process, still contains fourteen per cent. of oil, which is worth as much as the cake sells for—namely, 6s. 6d. per cwt. This oil may be extracted by the application of sulphide of carbon in a closed apparatus. This will exhaust the greater part of the remaining oil, leaving a pulverulent cake containing all the constituents taken from the soil, to be mixed with other substances on the dung-heap; and thus full compensation is made to the soil for the crop of seed taken.

Referring to the series of compensations discovered, the superior laws of vegetable production adopted, and the possibility that even a simple system, excluding animals and the loss they occasion to the soil, may be found, he goes on to say:—

“But the fertility of the principles I have explained do not stop here. We must now abolish the practices pointed out to you, and replace them by a simpler agriculture, more mistress of itself and more remunerative. Instead of compelling ourselves, with infinite care and precautions, to maintain the fertility of the soil, we reconstitute it, in every respect, by means of the four agents which I have pointed out, and which we can derive from the great stores of nature. Thus no rotation of crops is necessary, no cattle, no particular choice in cultivation; the soil produces at will, sugar or oil, meat or bread, according as it best serves our interest. We export, without the least fear, the whole of the products of our own fields, if we see our advantage in so doing. We cultivate the same plant upon the same soil, indefinitely, if we find a good market for our produce. In a word, the soil is to us, in future, merely a medium of production, in which we convert, at pleasure, the four agents in the formation of vegetables into this or that crop which it suits us to produce. We are restrained only by a single necessity, to maintain at the disposal of our crops, these four elements in sufficient proportion, so that they may always obtain the quantity their (the crops’) organisation demands.”—P. 100.

These four agents, however, are not required in the same proportion for every crop. Each kind of produce has its leading one; thus, wheat and beet-root require nitrogenous matters; vegetables, potash; and roots, phosphate of lime (p. 104). It is, in fact, this difference in the quality of manure required in the different kinds of crops, that renders a rotation necessary under the present system of husbandry. For instance, green and root crops that are not allowed to seed, consume only those portions of a manure that nourish the verdure or leaves of the cereals; consequently, those which go to form the starch and gluten in the grain, remain in the soil intact, to be appropriated by the crop of cereals that follow them. Wheat, indeed, succeeds best, by having the manure applied to the clover instead of immediately to itself; because the clover by consuming those portions of it which produce a florid vegetation, lessens the tendency of the following crop to run to straw, by which it is prevented from being lodged or broken down by the wind and rain.

“By these simple combinations,” says M. Ville, “we are in possession of a new agriculture, immeasurably more powerful than its predecessor. Formerly, the total matter placed by nature at the disposal of organised beings like ourselves, had its limits. All that the system in vogue could do was to maintain it, but none succeeded in increasing it.”—P. 105.

The bearing of the new systems on the problems of human life and population, is adverted to by M. Ville. These, under the old system, had a barrier to encounter, that amounted to an impassable limit, but which is removed by the new processes. Substances that had no previous value, of which nature possesses inexhaustible stores, can be converted into vegetable products, forage for animals, cereals for man, &c. (p. 105). He then refers to the minute subdivision of the land in France, since the Revolution of 1789, and gives the following statement of the present condition of the landed property:—

Nature of Property.	Mean Extent.	Surface Occupied.	Corresponding Population.
	Acres.	Acres.	
Large Estates . . . .	415	43,320,000	1,000,000
Medium Estates . . . .	87.50	19,250,000	1,000,000
Small Estates . . . .	35.00	16,800,000	2,400,000
Very Small Estates . .	8.62	36,130,000	19,500,000
Totals		115,500,000	24,000,000

M. Ville is quite alive to the evils of this minute subdivision of the land.

"Of the 115,500,000 acres of cultivated lands," he says, "there are 36,000,000 possessed by proprietors whose estates do not exceed eight and a-half acres in extent. What kind of agricultural system can a man pursue who possesses only eight acres for everything, and who requires as much for the support of his family? How, and with what, will he obtain manure? He can have neither pastures nor cattle; he must, necessarily, farm badly; his land is fatally condemned to sterility and himself to poverty."—P. 107.

As a remedy for this evil he proposes the advance of money to the small farmers to purchase manure, to be paid for out of the produce of the land; in fact, to extend the *crédit mobilier* in principle to the whole body of the State, and thus include the rural population in a new system of centralisation of patronage, which is in other departments of social economy, the *rule*. We believe it would be of no use whatever to adopt such expedients; for nothing will or can avail, but an alteration of the law of succession, so as to promote the aggregation, instead of the subdivision, of the land. How can a body of men, like the small farmers of France, be imbued with the liberal ideas which a change, such as M. Ville contemplates, would require? Nor is it possible with so small a portion of land to carry out the new system, scattered and unenclosed as is a large portion of the landed property of France. The only effect of thus subsidising the nineteen millions of the rural population included in the last item of the table, will be to bring them more immediately and intimately under the wing—say the *power*—of the patriarchal government, beneath which France now lies submissive.

However erroneous and eccentric M. Ville's opinions on certain subjects may be considered, his work is extremely valuable for the clear and simple exposition which it gives of the new system of farming, and for the classification of the elements of production which he has adopted. Every one who understands the subject must admire the perseverance and exactness with which he has carried out his ideas. There is no doubt that his work will stimulate enquiry and experiment amongst men of science in this, as well as in other countries; all being alive to the importance of the subject. Great advances, in fact, have been made in the application of *special manures* since Grisenthwaite first intro-

duced the subject forty years ago. But, if M. Ville is not the originator of the *principle*, we are bound to consider him as the most advanced expounder of it, and as having simplified it, so as to bring it down to the comprehension of any one who will take the trouble to read his book. As he has obtained the patronage of the Emperor, we hope to hear more of his experiments, which must possess a deep interest with every enlightened agriculturist and lover of science.

- ART. III.—1. *Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners, Nos. I.—XI. 1856—1866.*
2. *Estimates for Civil Services, 1866—67.* Printed for the House of Commons.
3. *Papers relating to the Re-organisation of the Permanent Civil Service.* 1855.
4. *Report of the Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments.* 1860.
5. *Return to Two Orders of the House of Commons for the Production of Correspondence between the Civil Service Commission and the British Museum.* 1866.
6. *Civil Service Appointments.* By E. LETHBRIDGE, B.A. 1866. London: Cornish.
7. *Under Government.* By J. C. PARKINSON. London: Longmans.
8. *The Civil Service.* An Article by A. Trollope in the *Fortnightly Review*, No. XI.
9. *The Indian Civil Service.* An Article in *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1866.

By the constitution of this realm, the national will is expressed by the joint action of the Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament. They make the laws, they frame the internal organisation of the empire, and they determine its relation with the rest of the world. The exposition and execution of its will thus formed, is confided by the nation (through these its representatives) to the Civil Service of the Crown. In time of war, we deal with our foes through the medium of our army and navy; but they act under the direction of the civil executive. In time of peace, the diplomatic and consular bodies are our direct and only representatives with foreign powers; and at all times the nation deals with its own constituent parts through the civil service. The name, in its broadest definition, includes the whole vast machinery of our Government; and ministers of state, judges, and ambassadors, are only the more prominent members of a body, whose important functions, whose influence, and whose numbers and respectability, give it the best possible claim to our careful attention. When we add to this, the fact that its higher branches constitute a popular profession, admission into which is eagerly sought for by multitudes of our educated youth; and that its inferior



posts afford a certain and decent livelihood to an immense number of our fellow-countrymen in other grades of life; it will readily be seen that there is a large field for interesting and useful enquiry, in the consideration of the civil service, with regard both to its high duties and ends, and also to its nature, prospects, and requirements, when viewed in the light of a profession. In treating of its composition and functions, we shall take it in its widest aspect, as we have indicated it above; whilst in the social and economic portion of our subject, for obvious reasons, we shall limit our observations to that part which is commonly called the Permanent Civil Service, consisting mainly of the metropolitan public offices, with many subordinate offshoots at home and abroad, and with one grand department in India. Of this part we shall take into consideration only those appointments that are usually filled by persons of education, for these constitute the profession of the Civil Service. Above them are places that are prizes for the successful statesman, for the able or fortunate lawyer, for the clever diplomatist; or, occasionally, the endowments that are reserved for high rank when combined with energy or ambition. Below them are places which, though of considerable importance, are somewhat beyond the range of an article like the present. Herein we shall discover the apparent anomaly of a calling whose "good things"—in the Home Service, at all events—are very few in number, and of comparatively little value, nevertheless offering such powerful attractions, that a formidable barrier of educational and other preliminary tests has no terrors for the crowd of competitors that is always thronging its avenues. By this line of thought we shall be led to the much vexed question of competitive examinations—their advantages and drawbacks; about which, though the discussion has been opened and reopened again and again in the pages of nearly the whole periodical press, the supporters and enemies of the system are as little able to agree now, as they were on its first introduction in 1855. We shall study the theory of the educational test in its various forms; and we shall endeavour to show that the conclusions to which we may be led, are borne out by the facts that we can gather from the eleven years' probation through which the system has now passed.

The Civil Service of the British Empire is nominally defined as the body that is employed by the Crown for the country, in the transaction of the public civil business. For a descriptive definition we shall follow generally, though not

entirely, the broad divisions laid down in the Parliamentary estimates. These are:—I. The Public Offices; II. Education, Science, and Art; III. Law and Justice; IV. Colonial, Diplomatic, and Consular Departments. To these we must add a fifth division, the Civil Service of India; and there might be enumerated yet another, viz. those colonial appointments that are under the jurisdiction of the local legislatures; but this last branch we put aside as beyond our present purpose. The first and fifth divisions will demand by far the largest share of our attention; the others, which for this treatise we must regard merely as *πάρεργα*, we shall consider in a few words.

Out of eight millions sterling voted by Parliament for the expenditure to be provided for by the Civil Service estimates, nearly a million and a half is now assigned to the great division of education, science, and art. Thus in point of cost to the nation, it is one of the most important branches of the service; and doubtless the intrinsic importance of the vast interests hereby to be cared for, is immensely out of proportion even to this large outlay, when we compare with it the sums allotted to some other claims on the public purse. The truth of this statement has been allowed by most of the leading politicians and political economists of the present day; and the anomaly is only accounted for, and excused, by the more pressing urgency of other demands, and by the unfortunate exigencies of immediate necessity. Of the sum voted, such as it is, rather more than a million is expended in the direct encouragement of public education in Great Britain and Ireland; this has to provide for all the grants to the various elementary, normal, and other schools, as well as for the whole paraphernalia of inspection and administration. The aids granted to the Scotch and Irish universities and colleges, and to the London University, may be regarded as supplementary to the above. This department is presided over by a Committee of the Privy Council. It will readily be seen that, whilst the grave importance of its functions can scarcely be overrated, its place in the Civil Service as such is not a prominent one; for the majority of its *employés* have not a close and immediate connexion with the service; and the remainder—the inspecting and administrative portion of the staff, are comparatively insignificant in point of numbers. The unimportance of their position in the Service is, however, in a measure, neutralised by the great attainments and high standing of the inspectors of schools and the educational examiners as a body; who are, for the most part,

gentlemen who have won distinction at our great universities. We may notice here in the estimates, as an instance of the low value that is set on qualifications of this nature by those who have the ordering of such details, that the highest stipend (£600) attainable in this class after many years of continuous work, is not more than can be obtained by many clerks considerably below the highest rank in some of the more favoured offices.

The Science and Art Department, with its grand nucleus at the South Kensington Museum, and the great collateral establishment at the British Museum, have for their operations a field very similar to that occupied by the Education Office; for they, too, are mainly designed for the education and cultivation of the people. Here we find schools and museums in every division of art or science. The duties of the administration are for the most part technical; so much so, that for many posts a specific course of previous study is required. Thus we have at South Kensington numerous appointments like those of assistant geologists, assistant naturalists, and the like, which can be properly filled only by men whose tastes have already led them to a proficiency in their respective sciences; and a similar state of things exists at the British Museum. Of course the choice of men possessing the various qualifications required is somewhat limited; and this fact has been a fruitful source of complaint against the Civil Service Commissioners. We shall enter into this question more fully hereafter. We may however remark, in passing, that the plain point at issue between the Commissioners and the Museum authorities seems to have generally been, whether the former should admit to the Museum those persons—and those only—who might show the best knowledge of the subjects prescribed by the rules drawn up with the assent of those authorities, or whether special technical knowledge should not be allowed to outweigh all proficiency, and even atone for utter ignorance, in the prescribed subjects. Before leaving the department of Education and Science and Art, we will give a summary of the more important posts therein to which appointments are made. There are, in the first branch, the inspectorships and sub-inspectorships of schools, and the examinerships and clerkships in the Education Office; the patronage of which lies with the Committee of Privy Council on Education, and is virtually in the hands of the Lord President. In the latter branch there are the various clerkships and assistantships in geology, natural history, &c., at South Kensington, who also are appointed by

the Committee of Council;\* and there are the assistantships in the different departments of the British Museum, who receive their nominations from the principal trustees, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons.

We now return to our General Divisions. The third, that of Law and Justice, has a less intimate connection with what is conventionally known as the Civil Service, than any of the others; yet it takes about two millions and a half from the estimates, and consequently demands a few words in this article. This sum does not include the salaries of the judges, which are otherwise provided for, as follows:—The revenue of this country, from taxation and other sources, is collected into one great mass, called the Consolidated Fund. The first charge on the Consolidated Fund is the interest on our funded and unfunded debt. It is then charged with the payment of the Civil List to the Sovereign, for the maintenance of the Royal dignity and household; and also with certain annuities to members of the Royal Family. It is next charged with the salaries of the Cabinet ministers, the judges and other great officers of State; and it is only after all these claims are satisfied, that the surplus is paid into the Exchequer to provide for the general expenses of the nation. The patronage that comes under the head of Law and Justice is mainly exercised by the judges. It consists of the appointments in the various courts, and of numerous miscellaneous law appointments—such as revising barrister-ships and the like. It has been stated\* by Mr. Horace Mann, the Registrar to the Civil Service Commission, that information about the legal branch is not readily procurable; and accordingly, in his discussion of the “practical working of the system of open competition” (of which he is an able and enthusiastic advocate), he neglects that branch altogether. An important department is that of Police; and the prisons and convict services in England and Ireland contain a number of lucrative and responsible posts: these are, we believe, subordinate to the Home Office.

The Colonial, Diplomatic, and Consular division, which stands fourth on our list taken from the estimates, has much more interest for us in our present discussion than either of the preceding. We shall here discard the arrangement followed thus far; for if we separate this department from that of the Public

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\* *Report of Civil Service Commissioners*, XI. p. 155.

† *Report of Select Committee*, Appendix 4.

Offices (No. I.), somewhat of a cross-division is produced. The Colonial Service is a branch of the Colonial Office in London, and under its control; whilst the Diplomatic and Consular services are similarly integral portions of the Foreign Office, and are managed from Whitehall. The same remark will hold of the vast establishment in India, which is ruled by the India Office. We have now, however, sufficiently cleared off those outlying branches of the Civil Service which (though from their importance necessarily included in this notice) are not essential to our purpose, to enable us to group the remainder of our subject, without endangering the clearness of our arrangements. We proceed, therefore, to describe the Public Offices at home, with their sub-divisions abroad and in the Colonies.

The Lords Commissioners appointed by the Sovereign to execute the functions of the Lord High Treasurer of England, and commonly called the Board of Treasury, are the head and chief of the whole Civil Service. They hold the purse-strings of the nation; and the enormous power in their hands is, theoretically and constitutionally, the reason for the substitution of a Commission of five persons in the place of one lord treasurer, who might become too strong for the equilibrium of the State. The five are, of course, the First Lord of the Treasury (usually, but not necessarily, the Premier), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the three junior Lords. All offices of financial administration, of receipt, and of simple expenditure, are under the immediate control of the Treasury; and the indirect influence thus acquired over the whole service is very great. In addition to the five Lords Commissioners, there are two Under-Secretaries of State, whose appointments are likewise political. The remainder of the central establishment of the Treasury is strictly a branch of the Permanent Civil Service, of which these posts are perhaps the most important and lucrative. There is also a class of supplementary Treasury clerks, to whom is committed most of the routine business; their duties are consequently little more than mechanical, though the salary is so good as to attract a body of men scarcely, if at all, inferior to those who hold much more responsible places in other offices. The chief offices of financial administration—we are here adopting the divisions and nomenclature of Mr. Horace Mann in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee—are (in addition to the Treasury itself) the Exchequer, the Audit Office, the Mint, and the Paymaster-General's Office. The principal depart-

ments of receipt are the Customs, the Inland Revenue, the Post Office, and the Woods and Forests. The three former are by far the largest establishments in the whole service, with the exception of the Admiralty and War Departments. The Inland Revenue is absolutely the largest for our present purpose, as we do not take into consideration the lowest classes, such as artizans, labourers, and the like. When a friend of the Government is asked to assist the son or *protégé* of a constituent, a nomination to one of these offices is the boon most readily accorded. The pay and general position and prospects are, as a rule, inferior to those of other departments. The offices of expenditure are, the Board of Works, the Stationery Office, and a few others. The Public Record Office, where the duties are akin to those of some of the higher scientific branches, and many miscellaneous offices (as, for example, those of most of the temporary and other Commissions), are under the control of the Treasury. Taking the whole of this great division, we find that there are about 36,000 persons employed; and of these, more than 9,000 are of that more or less educated class with which we are now especially concerned.

Our next division may be dismissed in fewer words. The business of the British Navy and Army is in the hands respectively of the Admiralty and of the War Departments; about 21,000 in the aggregate are employed in the former, about 18,000 in the latter. Of these numbers, nearly 2,000 in the Admiralty, and 3,000 in the War Departments, belong to the higher class of appointments; though these, of course, have widely different duties and positions in the various branches of each. Of those who are concerned with navy matters and in the naval executive, some are employed in the administrative offices at Whitehall and Somerset House; some in the great naval yards, steam factories, and other dépôts at home and abroad; whilst a considerable proportion of our numbers consists of civil officers actually afloat. The divisions of the War Departments are even less homogeneous; we have the great office of the Secretary of State at Pall Mall, and the lesser office of the Commander-in-Chief; the distinctive duties of the two are not very clearly defined, as recent debates in the House of Commons have demonstrated. There are also the offices of the Adjutant-General and of the Quartermaster-General, the Army Medical Branch, the Military Store and Commissariat Services, the Educational and Scientific Branches, and many other subordinate offshoots, too numerous to be given in



detail. Both here and in the Admiralty, it is somewhat difficult to draw a line around the Civil Service, because many of the branches in each partake of the nature of the combatant services with which they are intimately associated. In these remarks we have endeavoured to make a broad general distinction between combatants and non-combatants; we should add that, in considering the Civil Service as a profession, our main concern will be with the head-offices in London, and with the subordinate offices at what we may term the naval and military out-stations.

The Home Office has a very wide and miscellaneous jurisdiction. With it are connected the great sections of Law and Justice, and the Police and Convict Services, to which we have already alluded. The Registration department, and various Commissions (such as the Copyhold Inclosure and Tithe, the Charity, and those under the Factory and Labour Acts, the Fisheries Act, and others) are more immediately controlled from the Home Office; whilst the Poor Law Board is also a subordinate section, having its own representative in the Cabinet. If a condemned criminal is to be reprieved, the exercise of the Royal prerogative devolves on the Home Secretary; if a poacher has fixed an illegal engine in a salmon river, or a manufacturer has transgressed the Ten-Hours' Act, it is not unlikely that the same great officer will have to be the *Deus ex machinâ* of the prosecution. It will thus be seen that the duties of the head office are both varied in character, and often of grave importance, requiring much versatility and a discreet and sound judgment.

The province of the Board of Trade, which is nominally a Committee of the Privy Council, borders on that of the Home Office; and, in some cases, the boundary line might seem to the unofficial mind, at first sight, a faint and rather arbitrary one. The distinction may perhaps be best explained by two illustrations. In the control of our Fisheries, the department that is charged with the protection of public and private interests in salmon rivers, and similar rights, is ruled by the Home Office; that which is concerned with the encouragement, development, and protection of the fishery trade (especially in our Irish and Scotch fisheries) is under the dominion of the Board of Trade. Again, the Home Office directs the general registration of the United Kingdom; whilst the Seamen's Registry, and that of Joint Stock Companies, and of Designs, are branches of the Board of Trade. The whole of our vast mercantile marine is more or less amenable to the latter department; and hence its authority over such



corporations as the Port of Dublin and the Northern Lighthouses, and its connection with the Trinity House; all of which may be considered as sub-sections of this division. The statistical and meteorological departments are important sections of the head office.

The Privy Council Office, though in itself small, must be accounted one of our great divisions; partly, because its chief is an influential Cabinet minister, and it is the exponent of the orders of the Sovereign in Council; more especially because (in the performance of this function) it is the head of the great departments of Education, Science, and Art, and of other departments originated by similar orders in Council. Its offshoots are, for our present purpose, more important than the parent stock; and these we have already briefly considered.

Three divisions, the Colonial, Foreign, and Indian, now remain to be described. There is yet another—the Civil Service Commission; but this we reserve for our subsequent remarks. Each one of these three will be found to comprehend one or more of those great divisions, taken from the estimates, with which we started. Thus, the Colonial embraces not only the head office and its subordinate at home, the Emigration Office, but also all those establishments in the Colonies which are under its jurisdiction; those in Colonies which pay their own expenses, and which are under the patronage of the local legislatures, will of course be omitted here. The majority of the Colonial appointments are high political or judicial ones, such as governorships and judgeships, which are given directly to men of distinction at large, with no preference to men already employed in the service; and which, consequently, cannot strictly be considered a part of the regular service. The writerships in Ceylon are the chief exceptions; these are very similar to the much-coveted Indian appointments of which we shall speak presently, and usually attract the same class of men.

The Foreign Office, like the Colonial, derives but little of its importance to us from its establishment in London. But this small nucleus is the administrative dépôt and centre of all our diplomatic and consular services throughout the world, and the mainspring of the vast machinery that regulates our relations, and represents us as a nation, with other powers. Many mistakes have been made, and much misapprehension still exists, as to the nature and position of our consular service. The popular idea of a British consul is a vague one. It was recently stated in a leading news-

paper that "our consuls are mostly traders at the present time," whereas the truth is exactly the reverse.\* There are only two or three actual traders in the service; and they are the survivors of the old school. A few unpaid vice-consuls at minor ports are engaged in commerce; but these would be better described as consular agents. It is true that, as a rule, the rights and privileges of our consuls are obscurely and diversely recognised, and the extent of their authority is not clearly understood or set forth; but the Commission, that sat in 1858 to enquire into the state of this service, has done much to improve its condition and to enhance its dignity; and it may now be regarded as a regularly constituted and consolidated branch of the Permanent Civil Service. The most lucrative consulates are usually conferred as rewards for state or political service; for instance, it was stated in the public press at the time of the death of the late consul at Hâvre, that he had obtained that place (worth £900 per annum) as a recognition of his ability and success as one of the North American Boundary Commissioners. The Diplomatic Service has one great advantage over nearly every other branch of the Civil Service; it is, that each one who enters it will have a chance of attaining to its highest posts, and with ordinary talent and good fortune may fairly hope for any except the very highest. Thus every unpaid attaché may look forward to the time when he will be a Resident Minister, or at all events a Chargé d'affaires; and it cannot be doubted that in this way hopefulness and self-reliance are encouraged, and a sense of responsibility developed. In the Civil Service at large this is not the case, as we shall notice hereafter; when we shall also discuss the reason why it is not, and consider whether that reason should be done away with. In the Diplomatic Service the social position and similar qualifications requisite for the dignified performance of such high functions, present and prospective, are ensured by the care taken in the nominations in the first instance; and partly also by the fact, that the aspirant to diplomatic honours is obliged to spend the first few years of his official career as an *unpaid* officer in the expensive society of a foreign Court.

The department under the control of the India Office is emphatically an *imperium in imperio*. It contains in itself all the elements that constitute our Home Government, and consequently reproduces under another aspect the forms of our

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\* For a full account of the Consular Service, consult the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 16th, 1866.

Home Civil Service. It has its own administrations for Finance, for Law, Justice, and Education. It transacts for itself the various duties of a Home and a Foreign Office, and of a Board of Trade ; and also (though in a less independent way) those of an Admiralty and a War Office. It has frequently been affirmed that the position of England in the councils of Europe as a first-rate power is owing to, and maintained by, her preponderance in Asia ; and the tendency of our European policy of late years has appeared to confirm that notion. Be this as it may, it cannot be questioned that any mistakes or malversation in our conduct of the affairs of India would prove disastrous to the English fame and prestige, if not to the material prosperity of England, in a little less degree than would be effected by similar blunders or crimes in our rule at home. Yet in India the promotion and other conditions of service are very different to what they are in England ; all but the very highest officers, as in the Diplomatic Service, are drawn from the ranks ; and every one of what is called the Covenanted Service, almost from the moment of his first entrance, has to perform high and important duties—duties worthy of his education and of his position in society. From the Fourth Report of the Civil Service Commissioners (1859), we learn that there are about 873 members of this Service ; and that their salaries, commencing with between £300 and £400 (according to the Presidency), range from an average of £600 in the lowest class to one of £5,207 in the highest. The social position and other appanages of these posts are in accordance with the dignity of their functions. All these advantages are well set forth in the admirable and exhaustive essay on this subject, whose title we have quoted ; at the risk of appearing to forestall in some measure the second portion of our discussion, we give a short extract from this paper. It should be premised that the author does not confine himself, in the context, to this bright side of the picture ; whilst he fairly states the sweets, he describes in the strongest terms the many bitters that counterbalance them in the career of the Indian civilian :—

“To have some share, first in framing, and then in carrying out new and philosophic ideas of criminal, civil, and revenue law, as fitted to the condition of the people as knowledge and wisdom can make them, to be the chief executive power for miles and miles of a populous territory, to decide cases involving the succession to vast estates, or the life and liberty of individuals,—to vary these grave and weighty matters by planting trees, laying out roads, cleansing filthy towns and suburbs, and promoting vernacular and English

education,—to be the channel of communication between a government which, though respected by, is removed from, the mass, and a people which leans like a child on the strong arm of the English invader,—to know that the years of your prime are not clouded by disappointment or embittered by the want of means and the absence of patronage—these are considerations which may well justify a glowing contrast between the early struggles in an unremunerative profession in England, and the thorough independence, and the reasonable success of a career in India.”

It is in this way that the India Service has become what it now is, the recognised prize of the cleverest and most ambitious of that portion of our educated youth whose circumstances or whose wishes necessitate the choice of a profession. Lord Ellenborough once said, “The Civil-servant in England is a clerk—in India he may become a pro-consul !”

We may now obtain a clearer view of our subject at large, having carefully analysed our subject-matter, and described its constitution and extent. We proposed to consider the Civil Service as a representative of the nation whose power it wields, whose discipline it guides, and whose collective duties it discharges—we now know the magnitude and importance of this body, and its vast and multifarious functions. We proposed to consider the Civil Service as a profession for the educated classes of this country—we are now acquainted with the different ramifications of this profession, and may form some idea about their relative requirements and attractions. We proceed then to discuss this latter portion of our theme in its more general aspect, and with the aid of the light thus acquired. We shall consider the various advantages and disadvantages that are attached to civil appointments under the British Crown; their position, emoluments, and other characteristics; the work to be done, the men whom the nation employs to do it, and the rewards it assigns to them. The question will naturally arise, Does the Service need re-organisation?—and thus we shall be led to the third and most difficult (because most controverted) part of our subject, viz. the mode of appointment to the junior posts. The two divisions thus indicated can with difficulty be entirely separated, for the two questions involved are almost mutually dependent. We shall, however, for the sake of clearness, endeavour to maintain the distinction; and in cases where the same fact or statement is necessary to both lines of argument, we shall not hesitate to repeat it or to refer to it again at length, rather than risk the confusion that would probably result from a junction of the arguments. We shall leave till last the full consideration of

the mode or modes of appointment; but it will be necessary, for the right understanding of the other branch of this subject, to state succinctly, without reference to their respective merits, the various methods that have obtained of late years in filling up vacancies. It should be noticed here that we do not include the legal departments in our subsequent remarks, unless they are referred to by name; they are unnoticed in most of the Reports we are reviewing, and when mentioned they are only spoken of as exceptions to the rules laid down for the others. Mr. Horace Mann (in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee) says, "Excepting the legal departments, as to which information is not readily procurable."

The reform movement which gave birth to the Civil Service Commission, culminated in 1855 with the Parliamentary Report, whose title we have placed amongst those at the head of this article. Its first great demonstration was the Report (embodied in that subsequent one) of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1853, which did full justice to the abuses then existing in the Civil Service. Until this time the system of appointment had been one of patronage, pure and simple. The nomination was a virtual appointment, the slight checks that existed in some offices being (as we shall see) little more than formal ones. In those departments which possessed a political head, *i.e.* one who vacated office on a change of ministry, appointments were made by him;\* where the chief was a permanent officer, the patronage was with the Board of Treasury. In consequence of the Report of 1855, three remedial methods were devised, and all three are at present in operation and may be regarded as being still on trial. The Civil Service Commission was instituted to carry these remedial measures into effect; and their duties may be understood, sufficiently for our present purpose, by the nature of the certificate which (by the Order in Council, 21st May, 1855) must be obtained from them by every candidate before he can be appointed to the permanent service, or become entitled to any claim on the Superannuation Fund. They must certify:—

"1. That the candidate is within the limits of age prescribed in the department to which he desires to be admitted.

"2. That he is free from any physical defect or disease which would be likely to interfere with the proper discharge of his duties.

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\* *Civil Service Appointments*, p. 8.

“3. That his character is such as to qualify him for public employment.

“4. That he possesses the requisite knowledge and ability for the proper discharge of his official duties.”

In the wording of the order, the rules applicable to each department, under each of the above heads, were to be settled, with the assistance of the Commissioners, by the authorities of the particular department; no change was to be made in the patronage, except in so far as it was modified by these rules; there was to be a period of six months' probation for each candidate, after his actual admission on the certificate of the Commissioners, during which—and this will be an important point in our later arguments—“his conduct and capacity in the transaction of business shall be subjected to such tests as may be determined by the chief of the department for which he is intended.” The only exception to these rules may be made in favour of special professional requirements. The three remedial schemes or methods of appointment, which we mentioned above, differed mainly as to the literary examination under the fourth clause; the three other clauses as to age, health, and character, being included in all. The first scheme was that of open competition, modified only by these three necessary qualifications; this has been applied in its full force to the India Civil Service, but has ruled at home only in one or two isolated cases. The second scheme was that the patronage should remain as before, but should be guarded in its operation by a test examination before the Commissioners; this plan has been distinguished by the motto *detur digno*: whilst the third, whose motto has been *detur digniori*, was that (the nomination being vested as in the second scheme) several nominees should compete for each vacancy, and of course a proportionate number for a collection of vacancies. These two plans have been in general use, with some modifications founded on the Report of 1860, since the establishment of the Commission; the tendency having been towards the adoption, for the better class of appointments, of the last method, that of *limited competition*. We shall return to these hereafter. We now proceed to the consideration of the appointments themselves, and the men appointed.

A paper, carefully prepared by the Registrar of the Civil Service Commission, and embodied in the Report of 1860, gives us approximately the numbers of the classes under notice. He does not include the Indian service, nor the legal departments. The general result is as follows:—



I.—Heads of departments (political)	34
Ditto (non-political)	156
II.—Sub-heads of departments and heads of branches	1,489
Clerks (established)	13,768
Ditto (temporary)	389
III.—Professional officers (indoor)	1,922
Ditto (inferior)	1,921
IV.—Inferior officers (indoor)	2,259
Ditto (outdoor)	36,566
V.—Artisans and labourers.	29,613
VI.—Persons not wholly employed, women, &c.	14,941
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	103,058

It will be seen that we have only to do with the first two sections and the first part of the third; and our main concern will be with the second section, and the non-political part of the first. The third section may be dismissed in a few words. Its superior class consists of lawyers, doctors, and other professional men, whose practice is taken up and paid for by the Government, but who, in other respects, belong rather to the ranks of their respective professions than to those of the Civil Service. We may instance the solicitor's branches in many of the great departments, and the Medical Services attached to the Admiralty and the War Office; all these we must evidently exclude from the Civil Service considered as a distinct profession. The main stem of this profession, then, consists of the clerks (established and "temporary"), the sub-heads, and the non-political heads of departments. The great mass of first appointments are to junior clerkships; and the men thus appointed may expect, with ordinary good luck and ability, to rise through the different gradations of clerkships to the foremost ranks of that class, before they complete the forty years that are supposed to be the usual span of an official career. A few of the more fortunate will attain to the position of sub-heads or heads of branches; but this is the highest point to which the most soaring ambition or the most commanding abilities may aspire, and the attainment of such a place appears often to be a question of good fortune and longevity rather than of merit or genius. One of the sorest and most reasonable grievances of the Home Service appears to be that, whilst the political headships are of course necessarily and rightly occupied by the Government for the time being, the non-political and permanent headships are most frequently given, not to deserving men who have worked their way up the toilsome ladder of Civil Service promotion, but to



political partisans, or private friends, who have attained to eminence or prominence in some other and entirely distinct profession. We shall see the hardship of this even more presently, when we have seen the exact character of the promotion in most public offices. The class of officers comprised under the name of "clerks," may be described generally as constituting that portion of the Civil Service which is employed in sedentary occupations, involving no other than intellectual (or, at least, clerical) labour. They may be roughly subdivided into two classes, the one consisting of the clerks belonging to the higher departments, who, on entering the service, are employed in merely routine work, but who gradually rise to influential positions in such offices as those of the Treasury and the Secretaries of State; the other consisting of clerks in the Revenue departments, whose functions, though highly important, and requiring a large amount of intelligence for their discharge, do not, as a rule, demand the same amount of liberal education, knowledge of men, and general information, as are essential in the higher departments. Of the former and higher class of clerks, we may take those in the Foreign Office, and those in the Colonial Office, as fair specimens; and from the evidence of Mr. Hammond, one of the Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, before the Committee in 1860, we shall be able to get a good idea of the position of the former, when we combine with it the more recent and detailed information obtainable from the Civil Service Estimates; whilst we may obtain some description of the latter from the correspondence,\* in 1856, of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Herman Merivale, C.B.) with the Civil Service Commissioners. Mr. Hammond says that the junior clerks in his office are not called upon, during the first few years of their official career, to do much more than copy; that they enter at a salary of £100 a-year, rising by £10 a-year to £150, at which stage they await promotion to the next class. This promotion is made regularly, as vacancies arise, "except in flagrant cases;" the next class begins at £150 a-year, and rises by the same increment as before, to £300. Thus, if nothing has occurred to hasten or impede his progress, the gentleman who entered at £100 a-year, would, in the twenty-first year of his public service, be earning £300. Then comes the first-class of junior clerks, and from these the promotion is to the class of "assistant-clerks;" but, as the latter have to take charge of the division in the absence

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\* *First Report Civil Service Commission*, p. 64.

of the senior clerk, this promotion may be delayed, in case of incompetence to perform the high duties of the latter class. Speaking of the intelligence and position of the young men appointed, Mr. Hammond adds, "I think that a man coming into an office at twenty-one, seeing his compeers getting on (say at the Bar, making money), would very likely be discontented at struggling on with from £100 to £150 a-year for several years."

[*Question*] "But do not those high class of men know what they have to meet with in public departments?"

[*Answer*] "I believe very few people understand what the drudgery of a public office is. . . . In former times I have known clerks to be fifteen years in the office waiting for promotion."

Turning to the Colonial Office, we learn from Mr. Merivale that—

"The functions of the Colonial Office are remarkable for their variety, importance, and difficulty; and experience and ability of a high order are necessary to their proper performance. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that no department in the State requires qualifications of a higher order for the execution of the more important part of its functions. The clerks of the senior ranks are not only called upon to supply the Secretary of State with the results of their own official information and experience in order to enable him to form a decision on a given question, and to perform the practical operations necessary for carrying that decision into effect (although these alone are functions of importance); they have also to give their suggestions and advice to the Secretary of State on frequent emergencies, and thus to take a subordinate but material part in the conduct of the correspondence of the office with the numerous and variously governed dependencies of the empire. A sound and, if possible, a quick and versatile judgment, a mind trained to reasoning, retentiveness of memory, facility and accuracy of composition, a good knowledge of modern history and geography, and some knowledge of the elementary principles of law and jurisprudence, especially constitutional; these are among the qualities, natural and acquired, which may be said to be most frequently in requisition here. . . . To these may be added a knowledge of the most generally diffused modern languages; . . . a knowledge of figures and accounts, for which there is very frequent use; and, lastly, classical acquirements. . . . But it is essential to bear in mind one consideration, which, it may be feared, rather adds to than diminishes the difficulty of dealing with the subject. Although the above description of the qualities required in the higher departments of this office is in no degree exaggerated, it is nevertheless true, to revert a gain to the opinion expressed in the Report already cited, that the 'official education' which occupies generally the first years of a clerk's

employment (more or less according to circumstances over which the clerk himself can have but little control) must partake, in a great degree, of a mechanical character."

We have quoted these expressions of fact and opinion at length, as we think them of considerable significance, coming from such high authorities as Mr. Hammond and Mr. Merivale. We obtain from them a good notion of the general duties and responsibilities of the superior class of public officers. There appear to be two points that are fairly open to criticism. The first point is that an unnecessarily long period of an official career is occupied in mere official drudgery, copying, and the like, during which the highly-educated and intelligent Civil servant has to perform duties that could be equally well discharged by a person of inferior education, and is paid at a rate at once far below what is due to his mind and his position, and far above the actual value of the work at which he is kept. The second point is one to which we alluded before—viz. that the duties of the foremost ranks of clerks, and of the sub-heads of departments, demand so much experience, such ripe and accurate judgment, and such high general mental and moral qualifications, that the able and zealous discharge of these might well entitle the deserving public servant of this rank to the only promotion possible in such cases; that is to say, to the headships of a department, where such headship is not necessarily a political office. Both these criticisms will apply, though with diminished effect, to the inferior offices—those of Revenue and the like; for though the class of men appointed are, probably, not so highly educated, as in the cases we have taken, it appears that the years of drudgery and inadequate pay are even more than proportionately prolonged. With regard to the first point, the opinion seems widely spread amongst the best authorities (and we might quote the evidence of Mr. Arbuthnot of the Treasury, Mr. Merivale, Sir B. Hawes of the War Office, Mr. Hammond, and others) that a certain amount of "official drilling," in copying and other mechanical and routine work, is essential to the education of a thoroughly good and efficient government clerk. We cannot, then, doubt the necessity for an experimental knowledge of this routine; the difficulty seems to be that this acknowledged necessity has had the unfortunate effect of very generally jumbling together the intellectual and the mechanical work of the various offices, by uniting them in the duties of the junior officers. The excess, in point of duration and of continuous application, of this routine-education

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is prejudicial to the development of high administrative ability, as its entire absence would doubtless prove to the better use of that ability. An esteemed writer has recently said on this point:—

It is an inevitable defect that bureaucrats will care more for forms than for results: or, as Burke puts it, ‘that they will regard the substance of business not to be much more important than the forms of it.’ Their whole education and all the habit of their training make them do so. They are brought young into the particular details of the public service to which they are attached; they are occupied for years in learning its forms—afterwards, for years, too, in applying those forms to trifling matters. They are, to use the phrase of an old writer, but ‘the tailors of business; they cut the clothes, but they do not find the body.’ Men so trained must come to think of the routine of business not a means but an end—to imagine the elaborate machinery of which they form a part and from which they derive their dignity, to be a grand and achieved result, not a working and breaking instrument. But in a changing miscellaneous world the means is now one evil and now another. The very means which you yesterday may very likely be those which most impede you to-morrow—you may want to do a different thing to-morrow, and all the accumulation of means for yesterday’s work is but an obstacle to new work.”

The evils that result from employing the same class of men for the combined work of two essentially different classes have been very generally acknowledged; and attempts have been made in many departments, in a somewhat partial and unsystematic way, to lessen the burden by the introduction of a distinct copying-class, under the appellations of “supplementary clerks,” at the Treasury and the Board of Trade, “extra clerks” at the Customs and Post Office, “writers” at the India Office, “copyists,” and a variety of others in other departments. Many suggestions have been made in reference to this acknowledged evil, and several are given in the reports before the House. The most detailed are contained in an elaborate paper by Horace Mann, appended to the Report of 1860; in a paper by Mr. Lingen, of the Education Office (1854); and in the evidence of these two gentlemen, and of Mr. Arbuthnot, in 1861.

Mr. Arbuthnot, who is Auditor of the Civil List, and was frequently one of the high authorities at the Treasury, after stating that it was very difficult in such a department to draw a line between the different classes of work, beyond the line of the mere mechanical duty of copying, proceeded with his evidence, in answer to the questions of the Select Committee, as follows:—

“Would you propose to throw the whole establishment into one, and make every man enter as a copyist, with a view to rise to be Auditor of the Civil List?—No; but I would make every one go through the probation of copying; I would not take a man out of the copying department until he was able to write a good hand, and index well.

“That is, having a copying department, you would put each established clerk through a course of it, but you would still keep the copying department?—I would still keep the copying department.”

This plan appears, by the remainder of the evidence, to have been adopted, to a certain extent, in the Treasury; the supplementary clerks forming the copying-class. One flaw in the arrangement is pointed out as having been the cause of much discontent and heart-burning; comparatively little difference has been made between the pay of the higher and of the lower class respectively, and the result has been that a set of men has been attracted into the lower class scarcely, if at all, inferior in point of culture to the established clerks—several of them being, in fact, graduates of universities; these have consequently, and naturally, become disgusted with the character of their work, and with their anomalous official position. In the administrative establishment of the Education Office a more thorough measure has been adopted, and its working, according to the authoritative statement of Mr. Lingen, the secretary to the Committee of Council, leaves little to be wished for. The Inspectors of Schools, of whom there are sixty-six, form a class to themselves, and are, of course, a special peculiarity of this department. In the office itself there are, under the nominal headship of the Lord President and the Vice-President, a secretary and two assistant-secretaries, who are the permanent staff-officers; under them there is a limited class of superior officers, called examiners, who manage not only the examinations connected with public education, but also divide among them the correspondence of the department in the first instance. That body constitutes the upper part of the office, and then the whole of the work under them is discharged by a body of fifty-two clerks, grouped in three classes, and paid and promoted according to the usual plan. Mr. Lingen's justification of this arrangement confirms some of the arguments we have already put forth. He says,

“There is such a very large mass of detail work, which requires great method and arrangement, almost of the nature of an actuary's office or of a bank, requiring a large body of men, with habits of business and habits of exactness, but not a very high standard of education; but over them we want a certain number of very

highly educated men indeed, to direct the correspondence, and to direct the mechanical work. Whether all other offices would present quite the same features as our own in that respect, I could not undertake to say . . . I think my paper [of 1854] turns very much upon the division of work in every office; my idea had been to mark out the office completely in two divisions."—*Report of Select Committee*, pp. 218, 219.

This idea, as we have seen, has been carried out at the Education Office; an inferior division has been constituted, obtained by a species of indirect open competition, which has resulted from freely giving nominations to the Society of Arts, and other educational bodies in the same rank of life; whilst the upper division has been appointed directly into the office, usually from young men who have been at the universities, and appears to be obtained, in the majority of cases, by a selection from the higher classes in the honour-lists at Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. Horace Mann, in the well-matured and elaborate scheme\* (to which we alluded above) for a somewhat similar division of labour, appears to shrink from the responsibility of recommending an entire reorganisation of the Civil Service, such as would be involved in adopting a thorough measure like that on which the Education establishment is framed. This view is incidental to Mr. Mann's particular line of argument, which is almost wholly based on motives of economy; he enters very little into the question of general expediency, but what he does say on this subject appears to favour a more complete revision of the service. The main feature of his plan is a proposal to employ a staff of strictly temporary clerks (principally lads, and with no claims to any superannuations) for the mechanical work; and in this work he includes, not only copying, but also indexes of names, filling up forms, docketing letters, simple arithmetical work, reading proofs to another clerk, and similar duties; and all this, and even some more intricate business, he informs us is transacted at the Civil Service Commission by such youths. He affirms that the objection to the plan of assigning the whole of this routine duty to the hands of the subordinate staff, on the ground that it would involve a loss to the superior officers of the necessary acquaintance with these details, is certainly without foundation. The very nature of the duties of a superintendent would impose upon him the necessity of mastering all the details of the business to be executed under

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\* *Report of Select Committee*, Appendix, 1860.



his control; "and this mastery," he justly adds, "extending to a variety of details, would be much more valuable than the familiarity with a single process, acquired by a clerk whose attention is restricted to some particular detail, and who, therefore, does not perceive the relation of one detail to another, and their combined effect upon the entire scheme of work."

We observed another point that appears to be open to criticism in the present system of organisation, as unfolded to us in the evidence we have cited; viz. the virtual closing of many of the highest permanent offices in the service against the regular members of the service itself, by the custom that obtains of making these good places the prizes for extraneous merit or success. That this obvious injustice is not rendered necessary by the incompetency of the class we have termed sub-heads, is plain from the nature of their functions, which often (perhaps usually) include those of the nominal heads, except in matters of form and ceremony; and this fact is confirmed by the whole tenor of all the Parliamentary papers before us; wherein the most profound homage is paid to the high abilities, zeal, energy, and other administrative virtues of chief clerks, and sub-heads generally, as a class. Mr. Anthony Trollope, in the *Fortnightly Review*, is reasonably severe in his censure of the impolicy of the system. After referring to the opinion expressed by Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan in the Report of 1853, that it would be natural to expect so important a profession would attract into its ranks the ablest and most ambitious of the youth of the country—that the keenest emulation would prevail among those who had entered it—and that such as were endowed with superior qualifications would rapidly rise to distinction and public eminence—Mr. Trollope pertinently asks what the Civil Service offers in return for ambition, keen emulation, and superior qualifications. He illustrates his answer by another reference to the same authorities, who in another place state that few public servants would feel the appointment of a barrister of known eminence and ability to some important position, like that of Under Secretary of State, as a slight or discouragement to themselves! He indignantly continues:—

"It is to be considered as no slight to twenty men that a barrister should be put over their heads—because he is a barrister! And yet it is expected that the ambitious youth of this country will seek a



profession which is to be subjected to such usage! The rewards actually existing in the Civil Service and within possible reach of those who enter it young, are not rich. There is no bench, as there is for the church and the law. There is no possibility of a great career. There is a comfortable certainty which will attract many; and those that are so attracted will be higher in quality the fewer be the numbers of outsiders, barristers or others, who are allowed to poach upon such moderately good things as the Civil Service has at its disposal."

The Select Committee of 1860 seem to have had this point in view, when they declare their opinion\* that success in obtaining qualified candidates for the Civil Service, must depend quite as much on the prospects and opportunities of promotion subsequently held out to the clerk in his official career, as on the immediate pecuniary advantages offered, or the judicious selection of young men in the first instance.

We now return to the consideration of the various modes of making the first appointments to the junior posts, that have been in use or that have been proposed. This portion of our subject, as we have said, has already been the battleground of many and fierce contests; the rival systems of simple patronage—patronage qualified by a test, or still further limited by a competitive examination—and absolutely open competition, have all had their eager supporters and their violent enemies. We propose to review, as briefly as possible, the apparent merits and defects of each of these methods as revealed in the evidence before us. Space would fail if we attempted to follow the manifold turns and windings of the controversy at length, as it has been waged in the current journalistic literature of the last ten years. In the good old times, when party influence did everything, and when numbers of places in the Civil Service were looked upon as sinecures to be enjoyed by the more stupid or lazy sons of powerful or well-befriended men, the nomination was an absolute one; and was dispensed, as we have already said, by the political chief of the department, if it had one—by the Treasury, if it had not. The ever-increasing pressure of public business, and the frequency of ministerial changes, combined to swell the proportions, and to increase the importance of the permanent service; until at length, a separate department, under the "Patronage" Secretary, had to be instituted at the Treasury to direct this part of the business. It has been almost universally supposed that this patronage must be a

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\* *Report*, 1860, p. xv.

very valuable addition to the rights and privileges of those in power; but we learn from the evidence of Mr. Fremantle,\* that it is usually regarded rather in the light of a troublesome and invidious duty. Mr. Fremantle states that he has been private secretary to the Patronage Secretary under several governments of different political views; he has, consequently, had the best opportunity of forming an accurate judgment on the point; and he distinctly states to the Select Committee his belief, that the patronage is of no advantage to the Government, and that the power of recommendation is considered to involve an irksome duty by most members of Parliament. A system whereby a man could obtain a certain provision for life, merely by the influence of his friends, and without the slightest merit on his own part, could not fail to have the worst effect on the general tone of its nominees. The Commissioners of 1853 observe, that "admission into it (the service) is indeed eagerly sought after; but it is for the unambitious, the indolent, and the incapable, that it is chiefly desired." It was but natural that those whose abilities did not warrant an expectation that they would succeed in the open professions where they would have had to encounter the competition of their contemporaries, and those whom indolence of temperament or physical infirmities unfitted for active exertions, should be placed in a profession which would afford an honourable livelihood, into which the admission was not barred by a single mental or bodily qualification; and the facts disclosed in 1860, proved that this was what actually did occur. The case of the Registrar-General's Office, detailed by Major Graham in his evidence, is probably and apparently a very extreme one; but it incontestably demonstrates the necessity of some measure to prevent even the possibility of such a state of things. Major Graham says, that on the occasion of his Office (for the Registration of births, deaths, and marriages), being constituted in 1836, "a great number of those appointed were very objectionable on account of age, on account of their broken state of health, and on account of their bad character, and want of proper qualifications." One of these persons had been imprisoned as a fraudulent debtor; another was detected by Major Graham himself in a fraudulent act; one was unable, from his state of health, to associate with the other clerks, and died shortly after a separate room had on this account been provided

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\* *Report*, 1860, p. 59.

for him ; the accountant had to be removed for inefficiency ; the deputy-registrar did not attend the office for fifteen months, when his appointment was cancelled as unnecessary ; the services of the solicitor attached to the office were also not required, and his duties were transferred to the solicitor to the Treasury ; twelve of the least efficient clerks were discharged by Major Graham on his appointment in 1842, and eleven or twelve more were removed subsequently on the same ground, besides four who were dismissed by Major Graham's predecessor for disgraceful conduct. It is consoling, after such a recital, to be assured by Major Graham that the state of affairs has of late years been entirely altered ; and that such things would now be impossible.

It was a point much insisted on by the supporters of the old system of simple patronage, that it afforded the Government an economical and ready way of gracefully rewarding the services of their old and tried servants by making a good provision for their sons. It was contended that the high education necessary to enable the sons of meritorious officers to enter the lists of a competitive examination successfully, would be too expensive for the means of most civilians. This argument seems based on very questionable notions of State economy ; it must be evident that it would be bad policy on the part of any government to atone for its parsimony to the fathers by accepting the second-rate services of their incompetent children. Most of the witnesses in 1860 were of opinion that justice and national gratitude demand that some preference should be shown to those young men who have an hereditary interest in the Civil Service ; but they were unanimous in declaring that this should only be the case where the aspirants are well qualified for the duties which they propose to undertake, and where the service would not be injured by the rejection, in their favour, of better men. The preference, in point of fact, should only take effect when all other motives of choice are equal ; and this would seem to be the usual course at present ; for nominations are freely given to this favoured class without regard to political influence ; but the nominations confer nothing more than a right to compete with other nominees.

The system of making the admission into the service dependent on a literary examination was not entirely unknown before the institution of the Civil Service Commission ; in the Admiralty, the Customs, and some other offices, departmental examinations were held ; but they were in

general little better than illusory. Sir Richard Bromley describes those at the Admiralty; he says, "It became so much a matter of form that we used to have an examination paper, which was generally known about the office, and which every one almost had access to; it was, if I may so describe it, a leaping-bar test, and if the clerk did not quite come up to the test the bar was somewhat lowered until he made such a jump as to clear it. . . . It was in my opinion a very strong reason for having an independent Board of Examiners."

Such was the general complaint and such the general want, to meet which the Civil Service Commissioners were appointed in 1855. We have already stated that their duties may be classed under four heads of inquiry, corresponding to the different qualifications with which they must credit every candidate before he can enter on his appointment; inquiries, namely, in respect of age, health, character, and literary attainments. There has been, and can be, little doubt about the necessity for inquiries under the first three heads. Some slight objections have been raised about the investigations into the moral qualifications of candidates. It has been urged that a sufficient guarantee is already afforded by the sense of responsibility attached to the power of nomination; but this is disposed of by the fact that within four years (1856—1859), seventy-six persons who had been duly nominated were rejected by the Commissioners on the score of moral delinquency; and, indeed, it is a matter of common notoriety that patrons as a general rule know little more of their nominees than that they are the relatives or *protégés* of constituents or of private friends. Another and more plausible objection has been urged with considerable vehemence by no less an authority than Mr. Trollope, with regard to the *mode* of conducting these invidious inquiries, which has been by secret and confidential reference to former employers, to schoolmasters or tutors, and to referees named by the candidate himself. Mr. Trollope says, "The whole theory is bad and unnecessary. In the old days there was complaint of want of education on the part of newly appointed clerks, and there was some complaint in regard to their physical deficiencies. But I believe that I am justified in saying that there was no complaint as to the moral character of those who entered the service." This belief is at once proved to be erroneous by the evidence of Major Graham; but Mr. Trollope goes further:—

"The men rejected on character may probably have been worthy of rejection. But the causes of rejection should have been ascertainable.

The fault is, that the Commissioners have enveloped themselves in a panoply of secrecy—which secrecy is itself an evil. . . . But I deny that he is where he was before. All his friends, all those on whom he has to depend, far and near, know that his certificate has been refused on the score of his character; and he is unable to tell them why it has been so refused. It is idle to say that a man so circumstanced has not been injured.”

The secrecy that is here so much objected to may be “antagonistic to the instincts of an Englishman;” but we believe it to be necessary, if the inquiry is to be anything more than a mere form. If the Commissioners were bound to disclose their reasons for rejecting candidates, and the latter were to be allowed to defend or excuse their alleged misconduct, the result would doubtless be a sort of irregular and scandalous trial; in which the person who, from conscientious motives, had (probably with pain and reluctance) given the damnatory information, would be compelled to assume the odious part of public prosecutor. In such a case it would rarely happen that even in the most flagrant instances any one could be found at once so bold and so conscientious as to face this duty for the good of the public. As it is, every candidate knows what he has to expect, and we may safely affirm that few whose antecedents can bear inspection will dread the ordeal. It is true that we have to put so much faith in the honesty and discretion of the Commissioners as to believe that they will exact rigid proof of the imputed wrong-doing, and not allow themselves to be influenced by the vague or random statements of unknown and perhaps malicious persons; but there is nothing unreasonable in such belief as this; we habitually, and without fear, repose a similar confidence in our judges, and even in our justices of the peace. Mr. Trollope himself allows that it has not been an unreasonable faith hitherto; for “the men selected (as Commissioners) have, by the force of their own names and reputation, given us the strongest warranty that evil would not be done;” he only fears for future Commissioners, and asks, “*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*” But the blame would rest in the case of improperly chosen Commissioners, not with the system that confides so much to them, but with the Government that could nominate to such posts men unworthy of such high confidence; the only remedy proposed by Mr. Trollope (beyond the implied abolition of this test altogether) is to make the Commission directly subject to the Treasury; who would thus be accountable to Parliament (and through Parliament to the nation) for any injurious decisions

of the Commissioners. But we have seen in the recent case of the British Museum candidates, that the Commission is already virtually answerable to Parliament for its conduct; and any direct control from the Treasury would, in itself, nullify one of the main objects for which the Commission was created, inasmuch as the latter would no longer be an examining board apart from, and independent of, those who possess the power of nomination.

The most powerful and most sustained attacks that the Civil Service Commissioners have had to bear, have been directed against their literary examinations; and here, as in the case of their investigations into character, objections have been raised both against the system itself in general and against their particular methods of working it. It does not necessarily follow that this part of their proceedings is more vulnerable or less reasonable than their other duties; it is quite natural that this should be the part most frequently and most fiercely assailed; for herein are to be found the most striking innovations that have been introduced by the late changes. It must be remembered, too, that these innovations have destroyed many rights of patronage and much nepotism and favouritism; and that incompetence of every kind has been hardly dealt with, even when backed up by powerful interest. In this way lamentations arise both from the patrons and from the rejected candidates. The Commissioners in their Second Report allude to this; they say, "We cannot, nevertheless, shut our eyes to the fact that each rejection must cause disappointment to the candidate and dissatisfaction to his friends; that these feelings naturally find vent, sometimes in complaints against the system of examination, sometimes in criticisms on the details of our proceedings."

Of the latter kind of complaints, those, namely, against the particular procedure of the Commission apart from the general question of an educational test, one of the most serious is fully detailed in the correspondence relating to some appointments in the British Museum, published as returns to two orders of the House of Commons; and this complaint we notice in this place, because, in many respects, it may be considered to be typical of its class.

We have not space here to enter at length into the merits of the controversy which has been warmly carried on in the pages of several well-known critical journals; we can only briefly state the case and its leading points as they appear to us. The appointments in the British Museum are made on



the principle to which we have assigned the motto *detur digno*; that is to say, the principal trustees nominate a candidate, who has to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that he is fit for the place in other respects, and that he comes up to a certain standard in literary attainments. A person who had always been employed in the entomological branch in an inferior capacity was thought worthy of promotion, and was nominated accordingly to one of the junior posts of the superior class. The promotion was probably intended as a reward for special technical merit; and it is only natural that the Museum authorities should feel annoyed that the man of their choice should be rejected, mainly for ignorance of a prescribed subject, the knowledge of which could in no way affect his entomological usefulness. But this is only a portion of the grievance of the Museum. In 1864, a candidate for an assistantship was passed by the Commissioners, who, according to the Principal Librarian, ludicrously broke down as soon as he was put to the test of actual work. On these two cases, the Principal Librarian somewhat hastily concludes that "as the certificates are now given, it is quite impossible to feel any confidence in them." But it must be remembered, with regard to the first case, that these prescribed subjects had been settled by the Museum Trustees themselves, with the consent of the Commissioners; and that the latter could not rightly grant their certificate to any one who, however proficient in the other subjects, was entirely ignorant of any one—just as, at Oxford, ignorance of Bible history will pluck (and has plucked) a sure first-class as ruthlessly as if he were a mere pass-man. With regard to the second case, the candidate alluded to has published a memorial to the Trustees (reprinted in this Return) from which it would appear that he has been rather harshly dealt with, and that his blunders—most of them in the translation of crabbed mediæval documents which many scholars would be unable even to read—have been made the most of. Whether this be so or not, the charge against the Commissioners must fall to the ground from the mere fact that their certificate only professes to be an *à priori* warranty; they have uniformly insisted on the necessity of their guarantee being confirmed by the actual and experimental test of a six months' probation; and this, in fact, is enjoined by the Order in Council under which they act. Much has been said both in these and similar complaints, and in the criticisms of the press thereon, about the refusal of the Commissioners to justify their decisions by the production of the examination papers;



but it has always been considered the inalienable right of every examining body, whether at the Universities or elsewhere, to repudiate the indignity of an appeal to any other tribunal.

The various objections that have been raised against the system of a literary test generally, are somewhat conflicting. It has been stated that no examination can properly test a man's qualifications as a clerk; that whilst the successful candidates will often be good men in many respects, they will not unfrequently be wanting in diligence and business-like habits. These objections are urged with increased force against competitive examinations; it is added that the men will often be too good for their work, and will thus become discontented or insubordinate; that cramming and superficial reading and smattering in new branches of study will be encouraged. In appointments by open competition these accumulated evils are aggravated, according to the opponents of the system, by the danger of either getting men socially objectionable, or of confining the choice to men rich enough to procure a high education; by the absence of a safe guarantee for their moral qualifications; by the supposed difficulty and expense of the method; and by many similar risks and inconveniences. Most of these objections can only be dealt with by reference to actual experience. Up to the time of the sitting of the Select Committee, the evidence of experience was, in the opinion of that Committee unquestionably in favour of a *bonâ fide* competition of some sort, and had a tendency towards a support of open competition; and subsequent results do not appear in any way to invalidate this testimony.

Every vacancy in the India Civil Service has of late years been filled up by a general competition, open to all natural-born subjects of the Queen, under certain limitations with regard to age, health, and character; and the scheme appears to answer admirably for the service, notwithstanding a considerable amount of jealousy from some civilians of the old school from Haileybury, the sneers of one of the most influential weekly reviews, and the evident distrust of other portions of the English and Indian press. We have full particulars of the progress and working of the method in the Reports before us; and the results therein set forth, seem to contradict in almost every particular, the adverse anticipations which we have quoted. The successful candidates appear to be drawn, with very few exceptions indeed, from the same social ranks that supplied Haileybury. Of course the hereditary character of the service has been less marked

than in the time of the old school ; but it is a remarkable fact that, whereas formerly the preponderating element consisted of sons of old civilians, it now consists of sons of the clergy—men not less respectable in a social point of view, and who certainly cannot, as a rule, owe their success in learning to their abundance of riches. The classes that will probably benefit most by the adoption of open competition, are exactly those who have otherwise the greatest difficulty in suitably placing their sons in life ; those classes, namely, who are best able to appreciate the advantages of a high education, and who, therefore, will make any sacrifice (if necessary) to give their sons this advantage ; but who actually do not possess the means to continue the course to such an extent as to follow it to its ordinary end, a good settlement in one of our great liberal professions.

We have already indicated the plan that is usually followed in the investigation of the character of candidates, and have answered the objections made to it ; it is manifestly as applicable to open competitions as to any other mode of appointment. With regard to physical qualifications—a point of vital importance in a climate like that of India, and in a profession in which it may chance that much of the duty will have to be performed far from European aid, and will demand a constant life in the saddle—it has been the fashion with some writers to insinuate that candidates chosen for their learning will, as a rule, be poor weakly creatures, bad riders, unfitted for hard exercise, and in fact mere bookworms. We need only cite the manly and hardy habits of our universities and great public schools, to prove that this theory is not usually true in practice. Most Oxonians will bear witness, that the colleges that take the foremost place in the class-lists, are also generally, in proportion to their numbers, the most distinguished on the river and in the field.

Before leaving the subject of open competition, we should notice an alternative scheme, proposed by Mr. Horace Mann in 1860, and based on what is called *open nomination*. It is substantially the same as the open competitive plan, with the simple modifying clause, that each candidate must produce a nomination from some person in a responsible position—a magistrate, or clergyman, or the like. The modification will appear of little consequence, when we remember that it is already virtually in operation, only as a sequel instead of being a preliminary to the examination ; for the inquiries of the Commissioners into the moral qualifications of candidates are practically always addressed to responsible persons. It

was, however, adopted as an extra precaution in the only thoroughly open competition that has been held for civil appointments at home, when nine writerships or inferior clerkships in the India Office were competed for by 891 candidates; and on this occasion the plan is reported to have succeeded admirably.

The system that is most in use in making the home appointments, that of limited competition, is avowedly a compromise between the simple test of bare literary efficiency, and the plan of open competition. It finds favour with many opponents of the latter scheme, inasmuch as it preserves, and indeed increases, vested rights of patronage. On the other hand, the practical working of limited competition is shown to be frequently unsatisfactory, and sometimes painfully unjust, by the admissions of the examiners themselves before the Select Committee. The candidates being grouped in small numbers for the various competitions, it very often happens that the lowest candidate in one set obtains more marks than the winner in another set; and in this way, success in a limited competition often indicates nothing more than good fortune in being grouped with very inferior men. The Report of 1860 was very decided on the impolicy and injustice of such a method; and strongly recommended that as many vacancies as possible should be competed for at once, so that the winning candidates should be actually, and not only relatively, the best men nominated. The subsequent proceedings, however, of the Civil Service Commission, show that few departments have acted upon this suggestion.

Whatever may be the comparative merits of the two forms of competition, there can be very little doubt about the superiority of both over the mere test of efficiency. The Select Committee agreed with the Commissioners in urging that, as long as the qualified candidates for the service are more numerous than the vacancies, we should follow, in making a necessary selection amongst eligible men, the reasonable rule *detur digniori*. They affirm that the system of pass examinations, applied as a check on the nomination of individuals, is difficult to maintain at its proper level. The minimum standard directly interferes with the discretion of the authorities who appoint; it frustrates the wishes of the patron; it causes delay and inconvenience, by the rejection of candidates, and the necessity of providing others; and the rejections throw unpleasant discredit on the patron. If these rejections are frequent, their frequency,

instead of being ascribed to the unfitness of those sent up to pass, is attributed to the standard being fixed too high. Again, the candidate who fails after nomination, considers himself aggrieved by the loss of an appointment which he had looked upon as his own, and his patron probably shares in the feeling. These objections do not apply to the method of competition. The candidate who fails in a competitive trial is not rejected as unfit; he is made to give way to some one else who has proved himself intellectually fitter. There is no inducement to lower the minimum standard of qualification, for that minimum is supplied in most cases by the competition itself. Nor can it be said that the standard is fixed too high for the requirements of the office to which it is used as a means of admission; for the fact of candidates coming forward to compete, shows that the prize is thought worth the cost of its attainment.

Of all the objections that have been raised against the broad theory of a selection on literary considerations, the most sweeping is to the effect that no examination can test a man's merits as a civilian. Lord Ellenborough, when Indian Secretary, said on this point, "I feel the vanity of examination when applied to the discovery of abilities for administering an empire. It can exclude the man clearly unfit, and direct the studies, and thus open the mind of the man who may seem to be worth a trial. It can do no more. *But let us try to do that.*" It is allowed, on all hands, that the fact of a man's passing a creditable examination is a satisfactory proof of his having acquired habits of application, conscientious industry, and perseverance; and these and similar qualifications (thus indirectly discovered) are exactly the most essential in the public service, and the most difficult to ascertain by any other mode of selection.

The idle fear that success in these trials of skill is obtainable by other means than actual ability and industry, has been maintained by the cry, that even at the present time is often raised, about the danger of what has been styled "cramming"—a name that contains in itself a *petitio principii*—a name that begs the question of the applicability of the implied process to preparation for examinations of this kind, and that foolishly condemns, by implication, any special preparation at all. As originally used, the word signified the process of getting up a vast quantity of facts and details, dates and the like, to be retained in the memory for the short period that must elapse between the preparation and the reproduction on paper in examination; which fictitious knowledge, having thus

served its turn, was supposed to be of no further use to the recipient, and to be consequently discarded from his mind as soon as possible. A little consideration will show this to be an error; the greater part of the early career of an eminent barrister (for instance) must consist in thus alternately "cramming" facts and precedents for the case in hand, and discharging them from his mind when the case is over; but it will be in this way that his experimental and practical knowledge will be gradually acquired. The author of *Civil Service Appointments*, speaking of the historical paper (which he calls "the favourite domain of the special crammer"), says:—

"I do not regard this as in any wise detracting from the merit or value of such a knowledge; a widely comprehensive and philosophical appreciation of the science of history, viewed in its broadest aspect, cannot be expected in candidates for an examination that only professes to test the result of a general liberal education. Where such an appreciation exists, it has been derived, by long study and much thought, from a previous acquaintance with these facts and figures, which, though partly forgotten in detail, have left the impression of their substance and meaning on the mind."

But "cramming" is now generally understood to mean the process, really inseparable from any examination that gives anything like scope to men's abilities, of attempting to acquire as much information as possible, in a short space of time, about certain specified subjects. Where these subjects have been long and carefully studied previously, it is difficult to conceive what objections can be raised to the process of rapidly reducing a mass of crude general knowledge into such a condensed and methodical form that it can readily be produced in answer to questions; and where the subjects are entirely new ones, it can scarcely be denied that the facility of acquiring information, displayed in thus speedily obtaining some insight into strange and presumably difficult branches of learning, is a most valuable attainment, and one that may be turned to important account in any department of the public service.

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- ART IV.—1. *Apollonius von Tyana und Christus; oder das Verhältniss des Ppthagoreismus zum Christenthum.* F. C. BAUR. Tübingen.
2. *Philostratus (Flavius).* Opera Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca.
3. *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana.* Translated, with notes and illustrations, by E. BERWICK. London. 1809.
4. *Apollonius of Tyana, the Pagan Christ.* By ALBERT REVILLE, Doctor in Theology and Pastor, Rotterdam. London. 1866.

“SERIOUS arguments,” says Paley, in one of the noblest passages in the English language, “are fair on all sides. Christianity is but ill defended by refusing audience or toleration to the objections of unbelievers. But whilst we would have freedom of inquiry restrained by no laws but those of decency, we are entitled to demand, on behalf of a religion which holds forth to mankind assurances of immortality, that its credit be assailed by no other weapons than those of sober discussion and legitimate reasoning:—That the truth or falsehood of Christianity be never made a topic of raillery, a theme for the exercise of wit or eloquence, or a subject of contention for literary fame and victory—that the cause be tried upon its merits—that all applications to the fancy, passions, or prejudices of the reader, all attempts to preoccupy, ensnare, or perplex his judgment, by any art, influence, or impression whatsoever, extrinsic to the proper grounds and evidence upon which his assent ought to proceed, be rejected from a question which involves in its determination the hopes, the virtue, and the repose of millions—that the controversy be managed on both sides with sincerity; that is, that nothing be produced in the writings of either, contrary to, or beyond, the writer’s own knowledge and persuasion—that objections and difficulties be proposed, from no other motive than an honest and serious desire to obtain satisfaction, or to communicate information which may promote the discovery and progress of truth—that in conformity with this design, everything be stated with integrity, with method, precision, and simplicity; and above all, that whatever is published in opposition to received and beneficial persuasions, be set forth under a form which is likely to invite inquiry and to meet examination. . . . Who can refute a sneer?” Paley illustrated these remarks by a refer-



ence to the great historical work of Gibbon, then recently published—and the history of letters does not afford an illustration more admirably in point; but an equally elaborate, and perhaps still more expressly intentional attempt had been made some little time previously to sneer away the fundamental facts of the Christian revelation. The material used for this purpose was the biography, by Philostratus, of “Apollonius the Tyanean.” A French translation of the work was brought out by Castillon in 1779. It professed to have no other aim but to present to the world of intelligence, in the easy garb of a modern language, one of the most curious and instructive records of antiquity. It was accompanied, however, with notes by the famous English sceptic, Charles Blount—notes first published in 1680, but which, in their conception and execution, seemed an anticipation of Voltaire’s finest edged and most bitter and cutting irony; and it was introduced with a dedicatory preface to Pope Clement XIV., from the pen, as is alleged, of Frederic of Prussia. The preface was, of course, derisively satirical. Those were the days of young philosophism, when royalty gambolled with the pretty child, and kings made themselves merry over all that had been the strength and stay of kingship; unconscious, as rats gnawing the planks of a ship in mid-sea, that there could be any danger to themselves in the procedure. The drift, both of the preface and the notes, was to suggest that no material difference existed between the miracles of Jesus Christ and those of Apollonius. No formal argument was attempted, but the insinuation was most studiously conveyed that one miracle was as good as another, every miracle being a mere portent or wonder, at which the vulgar stared and wise men smiled.

The time had, in fact, already gone by when it could have been plausibly represented in a regular disquisition that a parallel might be drawn between the Lord Jesus and the philosopher of Tyana. Even in the eighteenth century, criticism had cast so powerful an illumination into the early times of Christianity, and the class of men sufficiently informed to benefit by that illumination had become so great, that no man with a character for scholarship to lose, would have deliberately maintained that what Gibbon incidentally called “the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana,” could be set in comparison with the historical accounts of Jesus Christ. In our day even the sneer has all but died away; and it is only in moments of special audacity or forgetfulness that infidels permit themselves to



speak of Apollonius and Mahomet as figuring, along with the Divine Founder of Christianity, in a class of personages who asserted a claim to work miracles. That such a sneer is still occasionally met with in periodicals of distinction is certainly disgraceful; and the fact that it exerts an influence upon uninformed or unguarded minds, is one reason why the subject may be once more profitably treated; but it is nevertheless true that Apollonius and his history can no longer be classed with those things or persons in connection with which infidels attempt seriously to maintain an argument against Christianity. A change has consequently taken place in the feelings of Christian writers towards Apollonius and his biographer. While it was imagined that the hero of Philostratus could be in any sense a formidable rival to the Lord Jesus, he was detested and dreaded, and no scruple was entertained to blacken his memory. Eusebius represented him as a magician in league with the infernal powers. In 1680, when Blount had published the two first books of his translation of Philostratus, the enterprise was brought suddenly to an end in the apprehension that the hold of Christian religion upon the general mind would be weakened if the publication were completed. Even Cudworth could throw out the hypothesis that Apollonius, who was born about the same time as our Saviour, might be an incarnation of the Spirit of Evil, an anti-Christ specially originated by diabolical agency to be an opponent to the Saviour. All such views are now obsolete. It being conclusively ascertained that infidelity could make nothing of Apollonius, the dust which controversy had raised around the figure of the man was laid, and his true features began to be discerned. In a spirit of calm scientific inquiry, the investigation into his character and history was undertaken afresh. It was found that neither Apollonius himself, nor Philostratus who wrote his life, could be convicted of hostile intentions towards Christianity; and that, in particular, the little which could be known or guessed respecting Apollonius, told to his advantage rather than the reverse. Gradually it became evident that the biography of Philostratus offered many points of view from which the strength of the historical evidences of Christianity might be illustrated; and that, if any controversial use whatever were made of the work of the courtly rhetorician, and of the Apollonius whom he delineated, it would be favourable to the Christian faith. The brief but well-reasoned essay on Apollonius, recently published by Dr. Reville, of Rotterdam, is conceived and written in accordance with this view

of the case; and it is entirely in the feeling that an opportunity is afforded us of bringing into relief one or two of those points in which the transcendent superiority of Christianity to any system of human devising appears, together with a few of those historical characteristics in which the evangelical records contrast most strongly with legendary or mythical narratives, that we enter upon this subject. When a position is taken from an enemy, the next thing to be done is to turn its guns upon his retreating columns.

In the first years of the third century the intellectual world of Europe and of Western Asia was in a state of change and fluctuation. One of the most important revolutions which has taken place in the spiritual history of mankind was in rapid progress. The old Paganism was thoroughly discredited; the fables of the Olympian mythology, which for centuries had been laughed at by men of culture, hardly retained their hold upon the peasant and mechanic. One system of philosophy after another had sprung up and attained celebrity; but no one of the conflicting systems had made good its superiority over the others, or afforded a resting-place to the inquiring and agitated spirit of man. Endless, fruitless disputation, pleasant enough for those whose trade it was, and who got their bread by it, could not but prove unsatisfactory to those who sought in philosophy a means of living nobly, and a permanent basis on which to weave the fleeting interests and activities of time. It was an age of little faith, but of much desire for faith. The old temples of religion, the old porches and halls of philosophy, were visibly in decay; the silence of despair was succeeding to the din of controversy; but multifarious attempts were made to resuscitate the forms of thought which once lent animation to those abodes, or to take here a stone and there a stone from the old structures, and build them into new. Eclecticism and spiritual resurrectionism, the unfailing and infallible symptoms of a time when belief has lost its youthful vigour, its unity, its unconsciousness, were at work on all sides. Many an Hypatia put forth her hand to snatch from the captivating splendours of the old mythology a beauty wherewith to adorn the abstract truths of philosophy. From amid the withered boughs of the different philosophical systems, every spray in which sap yet seemed to flow, and on which green leaf and ruddy fruit still appeared to hang, was carefully gathered, and with these a vain attempt was made to set forth a banquet that might still be fresh and wholesome. The best things of many systems were selected,

in order that there might be some renewal of that enthusiasm with which they had once been singly regarded by their adherents. Idols of Egypt and the East, which, in the heyday of the classical mythology, would have been regarded with contempt, were introduced into Rome, and the hateful rites of Serapis vied with the sun-worship of the Arabian desert in producing a faint glow of sensational devoutness in the degenerate bosoms of the Romans. Among the cults and systems which pleaded for acceptance, none was better adapted to the time than that of Pythagoras. It was partly religious, partly philosophical; it was clothed in a mantle of convenient and imposing obscurity; it enjoined devotional exercises, and respected the popular religion, and yet was too mystical and refined to be quite vulgar; it was very ancient; it favoured a simple and manly style of life, temperance, cleanliness, control of the passions. Revived Pythagoreanism, accordingly, was much in vogue.

Through the working chaos of these agitations, calmly, ceaselessly, irresistibly penetrating the mass with the ordering and tranquillising power of its light; differing, essentially and irreconcilably, from philosophy on the one hand and Pagan mythology on the other; fraught with principles destined to subvert from its foundations the entire edifice of ancient society, and inexorably declining alliance with the eclecticism of the time; Christianity was arising to regenerate the world. Amid the cheap tolerance and loquacious sentimentalism of a faithless and decadent period, it spoke with an authority which demanded entire submission, and, while boundless in its indulgence for the erring, disclaimed intellectual tolerance of anything which lay beyond the limits of the truth. Faith, not disputation, it announced as the method by which the spiritual needs of mankind were to be satisfied; and, if faith required demonstration, it was to be given in life rather than in logic. The procession of martyrs, serene in white robes, passing to the flames—the smiling face of the Christian youth or maiden awaiting the spring of the lions—these were more than dialectic; and, in these, a world which had found in the disputations zeal of philosophy a mere elaborate process for unlinking the chainwork of man's instinctive moral beliefs, could not but perceive, with growing clearness and impressiveness, an authentication of spiritual realities infinitely more reliable than any other which the time afforded. Definitely and conclusively responding to the highest want of the pure religious consciousness, by its doctrine of the unity and spirituality of God, as preserved, under Divine guidance,

by the great Monotheistic nation of Judæa—supplying, by the more than Hellenic amplitude of its view of humanity and the limitless capacities of its assimilative sympathy, precisely that which Hebraism lacked to make it the religion of the world—bestowing sovereign honour upon the spirit of man by its proclamation of the immortality of the soul, and upon the body of man by its doctrine of the resurrection—Christianity gathered up into a whole of loveliness and of power those scattered members of the body of truth which had given influence to particular systems of philosophy, and, by the potency of its Divine and authoritative syncretism, swallowed up and annihilated the lifeless and bodiless eclecticism of the day. The religion of Jesus had now been in the world for two hundred years; and though its leavening, conquering progress was still but commencing, it was already known to all; a surmise that its might would prove irresistible, was stealing over minds which clung to the mythological or philosophical past; and its essential character, as dependent upon, conditioned by, proceeding from, one Divine-human personality, was generally, though vaguely, apprehended. The centre, the sum, the all in all, of Christianity was felt to be the Christ. The hope that Jesus Christ could be put aside—that ethnicism, whether philosophical or priestly, could overcome and obliterate the influence of the Saviour—had been extensively abandoned by intelligent Pagans. The question remaining to be answered was whether the Christ could be induced to share the homage of mankind with other exalted personages, whether Christians could be weaned from the exclusiveness of their worship, and persuaded to bestow a reverent, an adoring admiration, upon other historical or mythological characters. Among the intelligent persons who believed that a compromise of this kind might still be made, a prominent place was occupied by Julia Domna, empress of Septimius Severus.

Julia Domna, the second wife of the warlike emperor, was the daughter of a priest of the sun, and was brought up in constant contemplation of the rites of sun-worship, in the temple of Emesa, in Coelesyria. Astrologers had declared, at the birth of the infant, that the position of the celestial bodies assigned her a royal destiny, and her personal merits were such that, according to Gibbon, she “deserved all the stars could promise her.” Beautiful in person, lively in imagination, enthusiastic in temperament, fond of intellectual pursuits, and sound in judgment, she became the centre of a court adorned by all that was most eminent in the literatu-

science, and philosophy of the time. "Julia," says Gibbon, "applied herself to letters and philosophy with some success and with the most splendid reputation. She was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius." The scandalous chronicle of the period accused her of personal immorality of a gross and even an incestuous kind, but Dr. Reville agrees with Bayle in regarding the silence of two contemporary historians, Dion Cassius and Herodian, as conclusive in her vindication. She held court at Rome, about the close of the second century, and among the men of parts and celebrity, in whose conversation she delighted, was Philostratus, the eloquent, ingenious, plausible Lemnian, sophist and rhetorician by profession, inexhaustible purveyor of fine talk and fine sentiment for the empress's evening parties. Philostratus was exactly the man to flourish in an age of eclecticism. Stern inquisition into truth, life and death upon the issue, was not in his way; and he would, naturally, be shocked, though without revealing it more than became a pedant and a fine gentleman, by the exclusive pretensions of Christianity. The empress, for her part, had an inbred reverence for the ancestral sun-worship of her home; a respect, inseparable from her position, for the gods whom the great old Romans and Greeks had honoured; a feeling of interest, semi-tolerance, but by no means sympathy, for the Christian religion; and probably a decided preference for the philosophy of Pythagoras. She heard of Apollonius of Tyana, who was vaguely understood to have died about a hundred years before, and whose reputation as a wise man and beneficent magician was one of the many fancy-tinted mists floating in the intellectual atmosphere of the time. Certain memorials of him existed or were supposed to exist. Damis, the Ninevite, companion of his wanderings had left an account of their travels, and Mœragenes, of Ægæ, where Apollonius resided in his youth, had written something concerning him. Julia Domna took counsel with Philostratus, proposed that he should construct a biography of the hero, and found him exactly the man for the work. Philostratus produced a book of great length and extraordinary interest; a book casting more light than could be done by half-a-dozen histories of battles and diplomatic transactions, upon the character of the period; a book in which, as in a camera obscura, thrown out in vivid distinctness against the general historical darkness of the beginning of the third century, the men of the time, in their thinking and talking, their worshipping and philosophising, their sin-

gular limitation of knowledge and idea, their childish credulity, their general condition of political and religious unrest, move before our eyes. Philostratus intended the Apollonius of his biography for a model of all perfection, a divine man, the highest ideal conceivable by mortals; and, before we inquire into the reliability of the portraiture, it will be instructive and perhaps not unpleasant to commit ourselves with docility to the rhetorical artist, and bid him unveil the statue of his hero.

Apollonius was born in Tyana, a Greek town of Cappadocia. Philostratus has a superb indifference to dates, but this event is supposed to have occurred about the same time as the birth of Christ. Shortly before his birth, Proteus, the Egyptian sea-god or sea-monster—something, as Homer represents him, between a merman and a talking seal—appeared to his mother, and informed her that her child would be an incarnation of himself. From Proteus, Apollonius derived the gift of foreknowledge; but he much excelled his progenitor. The manner of his birth was striking. His mother, warned in a dream, betook herself, along with her maidens, to a meadow to gather flowers. Her attendants dispersed themselves about the meadow; she fell asleep on the grass. As she slumbered a flock of swans formed a chorus around her, clapping their wings “as their custom is,” and singing in unison, while the air was fanned by a gentle zephyr. The singing of the birds awoke her, and at that moment she was delivered of her son. In the same instant a thunderbolt which seemed ready to fall on the ground, rose aloft and suddenly disappeared. “By this,” says Philostratus, “the gods prefigured, I think, the splendour of the child, his superiority over earthly beings, his intercourse with them, and what he was to do when arrived at manhood.” The boy was precocious. His memory was strong, his application steady. The people of the place spoke a rude dialect, but his speech was pure Attic. He was exceedingly beautiful. At fourteen, his higher education commenced at Tarsus under Euthydemus, a celebrated rhetorician. He liked his master; but the townsfolk seemed to him a parcel of fools, preferring fine clothes to philosophical discourses, and wasting their time in sitting like waterfowl on the banks of the Cydnus, which flows through their city. Young Apollonius addressed to them a letter of contemptuous remonstrance, and retired with his master to Ægæ, a town in the neighbourhood, in the vicinity of which was a temple of Æsculapius, where he could enjoy the conversation of the disciples of Plato, Chrysippus, Ari-



stotle, and Epicurus. He now embraced "with an ineffable zeal" the opinions of Pythagoras. He was sixteen years of age, and had already outstripped his masters. He avowed his intention of conforming in all things to the Pythagorean discipline, abstained henceforward from eating anything which had life, and drank water only. Wine he did not altogether despise, but deemed it adverse to a composed state of mind, "by reason of the power it possessed of disturbing the Divine particle of air of which it is formed." With the alteration in his diet corresponded certain alterations in his dress. He went barefooted, clothed himself in linen, rejected the use of garments made from living creatures, and let his hair grow. The officers of the temple were charmed with these marks of superior discernment, and even the god would politely observe to the officiating priest, that there was comfort in performing his cures in the presence of so fine a fellow as Apollonius. The boy appears to have stood in quite a patronising relation to the god. On one occasion, when a man was sent away without cure, because he was a sinner, Apollonius turned towards Æsculapius and said, "You, Æsculapius, exercise a philosophy at once ineffable and becoming yourself, not suffering the wicked to come near thy shrines, even when they bring with them the treasures of India and Sardis; and this prohibition is given from knowing that such supplicants do not sacrifice and burn incense from reverence to the gods, but from the selfish motive of making atonement for their own sins, to which you will never consent from the love you bear to justice." Æsculapius must have been gratified by being thus familiarly patted on the head by a youth of sixteen; and the pleasing confidence with which Philostratus depicts this "Hail fellow well met" intercourse between the god and the pupil, will be probably not without suggestion for the reader, as bearing upon the historical pretensions of the eloquent biographer. At the age of twenty, Apollonius buried his father and divided his inheritance with his elder brother. Some time after he bestowed half his own share on his brother, who was addicted to gambling, drinking, and foppery, and succeeded in reclaiming him. Finding a donative promotive of conversion in this instance, he gave the remainder of his fortune, with reserve only of what was sufficient for the supply of his own wants, to his relatives, and converted them in turn. Philostratus mentions it as a circumstance specially honourable to his hero that he was never in love, though he admits that some have accused Apollonius of spending about this time a year



in Scythia with a view to sowing his wild oats, and taking what Mr. Carlyle calls a mud-bath of profligacy. He now, as a true Pythagorean, entered upon his probationary period of silence, and continued speechless for five years. The discipline was, he confessed, irksome, which, considering the vivacity and volubility of the youth, we can imagine; but it is likely that Æsculapius and others who had enjoyed the benefit of his good advice might take the privation of his remarks with resignation. He did not, however, remain in one place during his silence. He travelled in Pamphylia and Cilicia. When he entered a town which happened to be in a state of insurrectionary uproar, the mere grandeur of his deportment and appealing look, restored tranquillity. We do not fail to recognise here the sweet Roman hand of Philostratus at its work of embellishment, for, as Dr. Newman, in his essay on Apollonius, pertinently observes, "the disciples of the Pythagorean school denied themselves during their silence the intercourse of mixed society."

Having completed his period of probationary silence, Apollonius proceeded to Antioch, and devoted himself to the task of instructing the inhabitants in the doctrines and duties of philosophy. That contempt, however, with which he had previously regarded the people of Tarsus found employment in his new sphere; and he resolved to turn from promiscuous audiences, and seek in temples and retired places a more select and appreciative circle of hearers. "It was not," he said, "the company of illiterate rustics he sought." In his religious exercises he was a Pythagorean and sun-worshipper. "At sunrise he performed apart from all certain ceremonies, which he communicated only to those who had exercised a quadrennial silence." He went from city to city, restoring religious rites to their pristine purity, discoursing upon wisdom, discouraging vice, and both by precept and example enforcing a temperate and manly habit of life. He took daily a cold bath: for "hot baths," he said, "were the old age of men."

Things continued in this train until he was between forty and fifty years of age, when he resolved to travel into the east, and compare his wisdom with that of the famed sages of India. He started, therefore, with two domestics, and speedily arrived at Ninus, a town situated somewhere between Antioch and Zeugma, on the Euphrates. At this place he fell in with Damis, a Ninevite, fond of travel, acquainted with the route between Ninus and Babylon, and disposed to profit by the instructions of such a philosopher

and friend as Apollonius. He informed Apollonius that he was familiar with the languages of the Armenians, Medes, Persians and Cadusians, a circumstance in which Apollonius could take but an abstract interest, seeing that, as he told Damis, he knew them already although he had learnt none of them. Damis put, we presume, money in his purse, filled his writing-horn with ink, and prepared to be henceforward the inseparable attendant of the philosopher. Damis was partly a Sancho Panza, partly a Bozzy; as Apollonius combined with the vagrancy, if not with the enthusiasm, of Don Quixote, a large infusion of the pedantry of Dr. Johnson.

An illustration of the ostentatious sapience of Apollonius is afforded us before we accompany the travellers any considerable length on their journey. Passing into Mesopotamia by the bridge of Zeugma, they were asked by the tax-gatherer what they brought. "I bring with me," said Apollonius, "temperance, justice, continence, fortitude, patience." He named several other virtues, rhetorically personifying them as if they were females. The honest publican, being, as would appear, quite a fool, requested that toll should be paid upon this retinue of damsels. "They are not," quoth the philosopher, "my maidens, but my mistresses;" whereupon the publican, fool as he was, perceived that he was not to have a fee, but a fine sentiment, and that Apollonius meant to say he was under the dominion of those shining virtues. An incident this, we may presume, which never did befall in the annals of terrestrial tax-gathering, but which sprang naturally enough from the invention of this solemn wiseacre, cultivating noble sentiment at the court of Julia Domna. In Mesopotamia, the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, the friends wandered up and down for some time; and Apollonius availed himself of the opportunity of converse with the Arabians, to make himself master of the language of beasts and birds. The Arabians are "of all people best versed in its theory and practice," a talent which is obtained, "according to some, by their feeding on the heart, and according to others, on the livers of dragons."

They now entered the territories of Babylon, and were met by the king's guard, sharply interrogated by the officer in command, and carried before the satrap. This functionary was at first disposed to treat them with severity; the philosophically innocent but vernacularly alarming statement of Apollonius, that the whole earth was his, and that he might go where he pleased in it, suggested to the untutored mind of the Babylonian that some secret meaning

might lie hid under the words which it would be well to elicit by torture. Descending, however, from his rhetorical stilts, and informing the man who he was, Apollonius received a cordial welcome, and was forwarded on his journey to Babylon.

An incident occurred on the way which gave occasion for a fine exhibition of the wisdom of Apollonius. Proceeding about twenty stadia, the travellers lighted on a lioness just killed in the chase, which was one of the largest ever seen in these parts. When the lioness was opened, she was found to contain eight young ones. Said Apollonius: "O, Damis, the time we are to stay with the king will be just a year and eight months. He will not suffer us to go sooner; and I do not think it would be proper for us to depart before the expiration of that period; as the number of the months may be conjectured from that of the young, and the year from the mother, for things perfect in themselves can be only compared with what are perfect." Damis objects that Calchas, a diviner mentioned in Homer, foretold, from the eating of eight sparrows and their mother by a serpent, that the War of Troy would last nine days. Why leave the mother out of the present calculation? "Homer," replied the sage, "compared the young of the sparrow to years; and he did so because they were born and in possession of life; but in the case before us, the young are imperfect, unborn, and perhaps would never have seen the light; and why should I compare them to years? for the irregular productions of nature are not easily brought forth, and if they are they soon perish." Readers must not blame us for quoting this on the ground that it is trash; for, though it is palpable, it is but fair that our description of the lauded wisdom of Apollonius should not be made to supersede the actual teaching of the sage.

The arrival of Apollonius and Damis at Babylon is the signal to Philostratus for an ornate and elaborate description of the city. It was built within a circumference of four hundred and eighty stadia; its walls were about one hundred and fifty feet high; its royal mansions were covered with brass; the apartments and porticoes were adorned, some with silver, some with golden tapestry, some with beaten gold in place of pictures. One of the chambers seems to have furnished a model for the reading-room at the British Museum; for its "ceiling was arched in the form of the heavens, and covered with sapphire, a stone of an azure colour, resembling the sky." Apollonius, however, was too much of a philosopher to care for things like these, and passed through them talking of more indifferent matters.

The first time he approached the king, his majesty was engaged in sacrificing a white horse to the sun. Apollonius could have no part in the shedding of blood, but he took frankincense in his hand, and uttered these words, "O, sun! conduct me to whatever part of the world it may seem good to you and me; and grant me only to know the virtuous; but as to the wicked, I wish neither to know them, nor to be known by them." He then threw the frankincense into the fire, observing how the smoke rose, and curled, and shot into spiral forms, and exclaimed, "O king! do you continue to sacrifice after the ceremonies of your own country; for my part I have observed what belongs to mine." He then withdrew, being determined that he should not be made partaker in the shedding of blood.

Apollonius favoured the king with a brief and compendious confession of his faith. The wisdom he professed was, he said, that of Pythagoras, from whom he had learned to discern the several natures of the gods so as to be able to offer them appropriate worship, to abstain from food and clothing derived from animals, and to let his hair grow. Not even with the king could he indulge in the gratifications of the table; but to make up for his defect in good fellowship, "I promise," he said, "to free you from perplexity or vexatious cares; for I not only know, but foreknow what is to be."

On becoming aware of the character and ability of his guest, the king set no bounds to his hospitality. He offered Apollonius apartments in the palace, which, however, were sensibly declined. His majesty urged the philosopher to accept handsome presents. Damis, who was not so high-flying in his notions as his friend, argued strongly in favour of acceptance. Apollonius, however, read him a long lecture, pointing out that his reputation as a philosopher would be gone at once if he yielded to the love of money. "But perhaps," he added, "you think, Damis, that committing a fault at Babylon is not the same as committing one at Athens, or Olympia, or Delphi; and do not consider that every palace is Greece to a wise man, who esteems no place desert or barbarous whilst he lives under the eyes of virtue, whose regards are extended to but very few men, and who looks on such with a hundred eyes." Damis was convinced, and left Apollonius to deal with the ten boons which the king offered him as he chose. The philosopher declared that there was one which he would accept, and pleaded for certain privileges on behalf of the Eretrians, whom, on his journey, he had discovered to be in a state of misery and peril.

The king granted his request, and asked him to proceed to nine boons which remained. He had nothing further to ask. "Is there nothing," said his majesty, "of which you stand in need yourself?" "Nothing," replied the sage, "but some fruit and bread, which make me a most sumptuous repast."

Pushing still eastward, the travellers now cross the Caucasus, though it is difficult to see how this range of mountains, which lies geographically at least a thousand miles to the north-east, could have barred their access to India. Not only, however, did they cross it, but Damis saw the chains by which Prometheus had been fixed to the rock. The particular species of metal used for the purpose, this cautious and exact observer could not undertake to describe. In the solitudes of the mountains, Apollonius conversed on the relative advantages of hills and plains, viewed as situations on which to pursue the study of Divine things. Damis thinks that the point of elevation is of small importance, and Apollonius confirms him in this opinion. "In what manner a supreme being superintends the human race,"—this is the summing up of Apollonius—"and how he delights to be worshipped; what virtue, justice, temperance are; neither will Athos shew to those who climb its summit, nor Olympus, so renowned in song, if the soul does not make such discussions the objects of its contemplation; and if it does engage in such topics pure and undefiled, I will not hesitate to assert that it will rise far above Caucasus itself." This is sensible enough—not superhuman; and above this level of judicious common-place, our paragon of wisdom really does not ascend.

On the further side of Caucasus they had much intercourse with Phraotes, another monarch who cultivated philosophy. Phraotes and Apollonius had much discourse, generally of a childish description, on dreams, divination, water-drinking, and so forth. In one instance the wise man was able to give the king a useful hint in a practical emergency. His majesty was troubled with a difficulty in the administration of justice. A piece of ground had been sold; soon after, a treasure was found in it; the seller claimed the gold—the buyer refused to give it up. The former declared that he would never have sold the land for the money received for it, had he known the treasure was there. The latter said he bought the field and all it contained. "In my opinion," quoth the king, taking counsel of Apollonius, "the plea of both is reasonable; and yet, were I to advise them to divide the money, I should not be considered as a very subtle lawyer, inasmuch as such a decision might

be made by any old woman." What would a philosopher and friend advise? "I perceive plainly," said Apollonius, "that these two men are no philosophers, by the manner they wrangle about the gold. But you, O king! will judge the matter most equitably by taking into consideration, first, that the gods have especial care of those men who excel in philosophy; and next, that their care extends to all who are free from vice, and least disposed to evil. To philosophers they give the power of discerning between divine and human things; and to other men of good characters, such a competency of the necessaries of life as may keep them from doing anything unjust to acquire them. I think then, O king, that the behaviour of both should be weighed as in a balance, and the life and action of each well examined; for my opinion is, the gods would never have taken the land from the one had he not been a bad man, nor given it to the other had he not been a good one." The next day both came to plead their cause; and it appeared that the seller was a man who despised the sacrifices due to the terrestrial gods, and the other, one who did not, but was a devout worshipper of them. The opinion given by Apollonius determined the case, and the good man departed under conviction that he was favoured by heaven. This little narrative proves very conclusively two things; first, that Apollonius had, like his contemporaries, a loose general belief in a multiplicity of gods; secondly, that Apollonius could, on occasion, speak very decided nonsense.

Leaving Phraotes, and proceeding eastward, they found that a world of wonders opened upon them. It was when they reached the Hyphasis, which may be imagined as one of the five rivers of the Punjab, that the marvels thickened. Space would fail us to do justice to the fish with blue fins, spotted scales, and yellow tails; the insect which produces a flame that burns down the battlements of besieged cities; the horn-cup, from which he who drinks is not sick for a day, nor sensible of pain if wounded, nor affected by fire, nor injured by poison; the dwarf-woman, black from head to bosom, white from bosom to foot; the pepper-cultivating apes; the dragons thirty cubits long, or fiery-red, with eyes like stones of fire, possessing a virtue powerful in the discovery of secrets. At last they arrived at the hill where dwelt the famed sages of India. It was defended on all sides by an immense pile of rocks, on which might be observed traces of cloven feet, of beards, of faces. Bacchus and Hercules had once attacked the place with an army of Pans. These made the assault;



but "thunderstruck by the superior skill of the sages, they tumbled one upon another, and left imprinted on the rocks the marks of whatever were most defective in their bodies." A cloud covered the hill, by means of which the sages could make themselves invisible at pleasure. As Apollonius climbed the mountain, he saw a miraculous well, "the well of discovery;" a crater of fire, "the fire of pardon;" two black vessels, the one containing wind, the other rain. The sages dispense wind and rain to the surrounding region. On the top of the hill the natives "worship fire, which they boast of drawing down from the rays of the sun, and sing hymns in honour of him every day at noon." This is but a sample of the wonders beheld, but we daresay it is enough. Iarchas, the chief of the wise men, informed Apollonius that he had brought with him a letter of introduction, from which the letter D happened to be in one place omitted, and proceeded to give him a minute account of his family, and of what had passed at Ægæ, many years before. Apollonius felt that this was a wise man with a vengeance. He asked these astonishing people what they thought of themselves. Iarchas replied, "We are gods." "Why gods?" said Apollonius. "Because we are good men," was the answer. "Which," adds Philostratus, "Apollonius considered so replete with wisdom, that he afterwards used it as his apology to Domitian." That all good men are gods was a principal tenet in the creed of Apollonius. Enough now of the sages of India, among whose gifts, we may mention, was one which anticipated the power possessed by Mr. Home, the spirit-rapper, of floating about in the air.

Returning from India, Apollonius was preceded by his fame. Wherever he came labour was suspended, and men flocked to behold this incarnation of wisdom. Oracles bore testimony to his preternatural endowments. Ephesus was peculiarly favoured by his teaching, and here he performed one of his most eminent miracles. The city was being desolated by the plague, the citizens implored him for relief, and the mode he adopted of removing the infection was to order a poor harmless beggar to be stoned to death. The atrocity seemed, at first, too horrible to be perpetrated even by the alarmed and credulous multitude, but Apollonius hounded them on, and the wretched creature was murdered.

Among the feats of exorcism which he performed at this time, one has become remarkable by attracting the attention of a genius, compared with whose artistic touch the most elaborate rhetoric of Philostratus was but paltry daubing. Menippus Lycius met



a fair woman between Cenchreæ and Corinth, fell in love with her, paid assiduous court, in her splendid mansion, in Corinth, and invited his friends, Apollonius among the number, to a marriage-banquet in her house. They came, everything promised well, the rooms were magnificent, the choicest delicacies of the season graced the feast, when, at a critical moment, the cold piercing eye of the philosopher fixed its gaze on that of the lady, convicted her of being an Empusa, Lamia, or Serpent-woman, and caused the whole affair, house, furniture, viands, down to the very cooks, to vanish into thinnest air. This wild, repulsive legend came in the way of Keats. He perceived in it materials fitted to the action of his genius. He dipped it in an atmosphere of moonlight and romance, brought all its rudeness into exquisite proportion, arrayed it in soft, delicately brilliant colours, unfolded its beauty to a rich flute-melody of delicious rhythm, and inscribing it with the name "Lamia," added it to the literature of his country as by far the finest example of elaborately-fanciful, half-earnest, half-playful delineation in the English language.

Having seen the extreme East, Apollonius now turned towards Europe and the West. He proceeded to Rome, was prosecuted by Tigellinus, the agent of Nero, miraculously erased his indictment from the parchment scroll containing it, was pronounced by Tigellinus, on this account, more than human, and escaped. While in Rome he raised from the dead a young girl of noble family, who was being carried to her grave. Expelled the city, in virtue of Nero's decree against philosophers, he visited Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Greece, and, after the death of Nero, proceeded to Alexandria and attached himself to Vespasian. He had already begun to take an active interest in political affairs, and bore a part in several of the conspiracies of the time. He detested a cruel and besotted tyranny like that of Nero or that of Domitian, but he distrusted the multitude, and thought that the best form of government was that of a wise and benevolent despot. Vespasian honoured him so highly that a feeling of bitter jealousy arose in the mind of Euphrates, a counsellor, who also stood high in the favour of Vespasian. For this reason the memory of Euphrates is industriously blackened by Philostratus. After the accession of Domitian, whom Apollonius vehemently opposed, the latter got again into trouble. He attempted to organise an insurrection in the cities of Asia Minor, but was arrested in the work by a summons to Rome. He voluntarily obeyed the summons, arrived in the city, was

thrown into prison, and brought to trial as one who affected singularity in dress, was a religious impostor, and was the occasion of excitement among the people. His surrender had been spontaneous; his rescue was miraculous. Having first shown Damis, in prison, that he could take his feet out of the fetters, and replace them, like a modern Davenport brother, he dismissed that worthy to Puteoli, about one hundred and fifty miles from Rome, to await what might betide. At noon he vanished from before the eyes of his judges; in the course of the afternoon he appeared to Damis at Puteoli. "Are you alive?" exclaimed the disciple. He invited Damis to touch him. Damis did so, was convinced, and believed henceforward that Apollonius was more than human. On his return to Asia Minor he proclaimed, in Ephesus, the death of Domitian, by an assassin, at the moment it was taking place. His own disappearance from the world occurred soon after. As he passed outwards through the gates of a temple, the voices of young girls were heard singing in the air, inviting the philosopher to "leave the earth and come to heaven." He was never again seen except in the character of one revisiting the glimpses of the moon from the regions of the dead. In order to convince a youthful sceptic that he still lived, he reappeared in a vision shortly after his departure. He had been on earth for about one hundred years.

We have done no more than touch, in a very cursory manner, upon the principal features in the life-length portrait painted by Philostratus, and we have been studious to bring out such points as might tell favourably for Apollonius. But we think that upon neither of the questions which now arise—first, whether the work of Philostratus is credible as a biography; second, whether the Apollonius of Philostratus admits of any comparison, however remote, with the Lord Jesus—can much doubt remain in the mind of the reader. As a biography it has not even a discoverable groundwork of fact. From first to last it is a romance. Whether the materials from which Philostratus professes to have constructed his narrative possessed any historical value cannot now be ascertained. The wrappages of the sophist and rhetorician have extinguished what slight life-breath of reality they might contain, as the burden of lace and jewellery has sometimes stifled the infant at a royal christening. It evidently never occurred to Philostratus to make strict inquisition into the life of Apollonius, or to admit no fact into his biography which he had not subjected to critical scrutiny. He wanted to construct a taking and brilliant book, and whatever con-

tributed to that result, whether it was the ocular attestation by Damis of the binding of Prometheus on Mount Caucasus, or the bottling up of wind and rain by the Indian sages, down it went upon the pictured page. An imaginary geography and topography—an impossible Caucasus and a Babylon of the brain—were no difficulty for Philostratus. Of the political history of the time, and the reputations of well-known men, Euphrates for example, he made very wild work, if required to do so for the embellishment of his narrative or the exaltation of his hero. The account of the journey to the East is as visionary as any story in the *Arabian Nights'* Entertainments; the proceedings of Apollonius in the West—his importance as a political conspirator, his intercourse with emperors—are disproved by the fact that they are never alluded to by contemporary historians. Ferdinand Baur, in his masterly treatise on Apollonius, decides absolutely against the historical pretensions of Philostratus, basing his judgment mainly upon the circumstance that he makes his hero for many years a public character, while he is totally unknown to those writers who made it their business to chronicle public events at the time. "The philosopher," says one who sums up briefly the argument of Baur, "who in the reign of Nero had been the observed of all observers in the first city of the empire, the promoter of the conspiracy of Vindex, the counsellor of Vespasian, the correspondent of Titus, the rebellious opponent of Domitian, and the supporter of the pretensions of Nerva would, surely, not have been wholly unnoticed by the reflective Tacitus, or the gossiping Suetonius. In the case of Euphrates, the false friend and traitor of the story, the misrepresentation of Philostratus admits of a direct exposure. Euphrates happens to be an historical character. Epictetus praises his eloquence, and signalises his philosophical sincerity; and Pliny the younger, an intimate personal acquaintance, celebrates both his wisdom and virtue in an interesting letter addressed to Attius Clemens." It is unnecessary to insist further upon this point. That the work of Philostratus is a romance is now admitted on all hands. The critical intellect of this age penetrates its character at a glance. And not the least of the valuable properties of the book is that it exhibits with astonishing practical force the unscientific, vaguely fanciful, childishly credulous, and fantastically superstitious character of the age in which it was composed. The historical Apollonius may be considered as good as lost. The miniature likeness, probably derivable from a judicious and skilful use of the materials possessed by Philostratus, has retained

no traceable feature when spread by the rhetorical artist over half-an-acre of illuminated glass. It is certain, or nearly so, that a man of this name lived in the first century, and it is likely that he was a harmless kind of person, given to peripatetic lecturing, philosophising, dreaming of dreams, and divining of divinations. His Pythagorean asceticism, and a spiritual enthusiasm, strong enough to raise him above the ruder vices and the love of money, not strong enough to raise him above vanity, may be pretty safely taken for granted. That it never entered his head to consider himself a divine man is quite sure.

It may be deemed rather wonderful that Philostratus, working with all the appliances at the command of one well versed in the philosophies of antiquity, and, what is far more important, with the Christian Gospels in his hands, should not have succeeded in realising something more respectable in the way of ideal man, and rival Messiah, than the Apollonius of his biography. On any theory the latter comes out a poor affair. A prevailing self-consciousness precludes the very possibility of his seeming great. He is dreadfully formal, pedantic, long-winded. Five-sixths of his discourse are the flattest common-place, and the remainder consists either of sheer nonsense or of tolerably shrewd and pertinent remark. His actions correspond, sometimes generous and well-considered, sometimes affected and coxcombical, sometimes cruel and atrocious. He is slave to some of the worst superstitions of his time, prides himself on his skill in divination and in interpreting the language of animals, is haunted with the notion that people are possessed with devils, and attaches immense importance to a vegetable diet and linen garments. He has no precise or coherent system of opinion; he talks, sometimes, the language of Polytheism, sometimes of Pantheism, and appears to be unacquainted with the abstruser portions even of that Pythagorean system which he lauds to the skies. Pagan philosophy and Pagan mythology, at the time when they were specially striving to idealise and elevate themselves, might really have produced a better Christ than this.

The miracles, so-called, of Apollonius require little further discussion. They are totally unproved as mere facts, and if they had some kind of truth as matter of fact, they would have no religious significance. "They did not," observes Dr. Newman, "profess to be miracles in the proper meaning of the word, that is, *evident exceptions* to the laws of nature. At the utmost they do but exemplify the aphorism 'Knowledge is power.' Such as are within the range of human

knowledge are no *miracles*. Those of them, on the contrary, which are beyond it, will be found, on inspection, to be unintelligible, and to convey no *evidence*. The prediction of an earthquake (for instance) is not necessarily superhuman. An interpretation of the discourse of birds can never be verified. In understanding languages, knowing future events, discovering the purposes of others, recognising human souls when enclosed in new bodies, Apollonius merely professes extreme penetration and extraordinary acquaintance with nature. The spell by which he evokes spirits, and exorcises demons, implies the mere possession of a secret; and, so perfectly is his biographer aware of this, as almost to doubt the resuscitation of the Roman damsel, the only decisive miracle of them all, *on the ground of its being supernatural*, insinuating, that perhaps she was dead only in appearance." The same writer pertinently remarks that, in the letters imputed with doubtfulness to Apollonius, "we meet with no claim to extraordinary power." The Indian sages, as we saw, were still more expert than their Tyanæan brother in the performance of prodigies. They declared themselves to be gods in virtue of being good men, and if Philostratus had attempted to frame any theory accounting for the wonder-working power of Apollonius, he would have pronounced it a natural consequence of his being a superlatively good man, and therefore a god. The very highest moral elevation attained by Apollonius is that of Pantheism. Believing a good man to be a god, he has genuine sympathy with honourable and masculine sentiments, and though Philostratus preposterously exaggerates the matter, it is not unlikely that he may have offered some opposition to Nero and Domitian more practical and manly than philosophers generally throw in the way of tyrants. It is hardly necessary to add that a large proportion of the miracles mentioned by Philostratus are childish and absurd. In point of fact, those only which have been modelled upon the wonderful works related in the evangelical narratives are characterised by rationality or dignity.

The Apollonius of Philostratus is a genuinely mythical personage; and, by viewing the account we have of Christ in the Four Gospels in connection with the biography of Philostratus, we are vividly impressed with the difference between history and legend, and with the wisdom and bounty of Providence in securing for the sublime facts on which the Christian faith reposes, precisely those means of transmission to future ages which were used for that purpose. Had human wisdom arranged the matter, is it not certain that some one man,

deemed specially competent, some Christian Philostratus of ready pen and fertile imagination, would have been employed to work up the Four Gospels which we possess into one elaborate biography of the Saviour? And is it not certain that, if the originals had been lost, criticism would have denied this compilation, on the ground that it consisted of mere hearsay evidence, authority insufficient to establish any extraordinary or very important fact? Criticism has now put it almost beyond dispute that the latest of the Gospels was composed within forty or fifty years after the death of Christ. One of those Gospels, though containing certain facts, and these of high importance, peculiar to itself, is in some measure a Divine commentary upon, and inference from, the others. The synoptics consist, as is now the almost unanimous judgment of critics, of the *ipsissima verba* of the Apostolic preaching. They are the absolutely correct reflexion of that Gospel which was orally delivered to the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and which originated in the very words and deeds of Christ. The state of the Jewish nation for centuries—their reverent observance of the law and exact recollection of its requirements—fitted them, with marvellous completeness of preparation, to retain in memory the exact words of a religious teacher. The most intense historical accuracy is thus attained, and it is, accordingly, fast becoming one of those propositions on which doubt is no longer possible, that in respect of historical reliability, the Four Gospels belong to the very highest order of human compositions. This is the verdict received at the bar of criticism, and, apart from any question of inspiration, it leaves the world without excuse in rejecting the Christian testimony to the supernatural powers and Divine mission of Christ.

But the most wonderful circumstance in connection with this whole subject is that infidelity should have fallen into the mistake of attempting to derive from the history of Apollonius, as detailed by Philostratus, an argument against the exclusive Divinity of Jesus Christ. We return to the point whence we set out, and muse with Paley in sad amazement on the perversity and frivolity which would compare Jesus with such an one as Apollonius. Were it but the sublime earnestness of all the utterances of the Saviour, an earnestness pervading the whole revelation of God from Sinai to Calvary, there would be enough to put an infinite distance between Him and the prosing pedant of the sophist's romance. Not one of those grand elements for which we must look in every system of religion, even plausibly recommended to our



consideration, is afforded us in the teaching of Apollonius. He has no tenable or rational doctrine of the Divine nature, none of creation, none of virtue, none of redemption. The aristocracy of antiquity clings inseparably to the man and his work; he turns from the poor and uneducated, and looks for an audience of philosophers or blue-stockings. Of sin and atonement there is no conception in his system. Not only does he bring no healing to humanity,—he has no idea of the death-wound that it carries in its heart. F. C. Baur distinctly and forcibly alleges that this characteristic alone—the absence of any just view of sin and reconciliation—suffices to open an impassible gulf between Apollonianism and Christianity. Serious argument is in fact, as we said, out of the question upon this matter, but Christians have a right to be angry at having been called upon to discuss it. They have a right to spurn with indignant contempt the insolent frivolity which would institute a comparison between the Divine Founder of Christianity and the waxwork sage of Philostratus. It is needless to lift our eyes to those heavens on heavens of spirituality which Christ opened up above the world of human life,—needless to refer to the infallible cure for all ills, relief for all woes, supply of all wants, afforded to mankind by the Divine Healer,—needless to speak of that communion, in fellowship with angels and archangels, in blessedness of eternal light, in melody of immortal love, of the soul of man with its God, which is Christ's final solution of the enigma of human destiny. We have but to look upon the first broad aspects of the Saviour's work,—we have but to contemplate in most meagre outline what, by His life and His death, He did for mankind,—we have but to cast a glance over Christian civilization, of which His impulse was the origin and power, of which His religion is the vital breath, to be forced to experience a thrill of shame and distress, to hang the head for poor, mean, heartless, ungracious, ungrateful human nature, at the thought that men could have been found to put side by side Apollonius of Tyana and Jesus of Nazareth.

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- ART. V.—1. *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other Parts of Europe.* By Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Antiquarian Association of Zürich. Translated and Arranged by JOHN EDWARD LEE, Author of “Isca Silurum,” &c. London: Longmans. 1866.
2. *Habitations Lacustres des Temps Anciens et Modernes.* Par FREDERIC TROYON. Lausanne: Georges Bridel. 1860.
3. *Pre-Historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages.* By JOHN LUBBOCK. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.
4. *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man.* By Sir CHARLES LYELL. London: Murray. 1868.

As might be expected, the scientific spirit of the age is zealous in its efforts to track out the beginnings and primordial life of man on the earth. The same enthusiasm of research, which leaves the chemist and metaphysician dissatisfied unless they can reach the bottom of things material and spiritual, takes hold of the student of human nature. Some three or four thousand years back we find ourselves on the dubious frontier of the oldest secular history. Races, we hardly know what, are coming out of cradles, we hardly know where, and are assuming vague forms of political consistence and activity. A few steps further away in time, and the frontier is completely passed—we are moving among ghosts and shadows. Then the thick night soon follows, and the most vivid dreamer can see nothing but nothing. Indeed with respect to by far the largest proportion of the peopled area of the globe, a dozen or twenty centuries backward suffice to land us in a pre-historic antiquity, where the best lanterns which ethnology, language, and legend have hitherto been able to furnish, do little more than show how utter is the darkness.

It is neither likely nor desirable that science should sit down contentedly under such a condition of things. If inquiry be legitimate anywhere, or anywhere tend to noble and serviceable issues, that will surely be the case, when the question is one so vast and yet so near to us as man—his birthplace; the home of his youth; his first migrations and settlements; the multifarious fortunes which befell him before history began; the processes by which he came to be personally and socially what he was as he first appears in

Western Asia and Egypt, in Tartary and Scandinavia, in the Americas and in the Islands of the Southern Ocean. And, as matter of fact, for some years past scientific men of both hemispheres have evinced a growing interest in this obscure but most attractive province of antiquarian and philosophical investigation. No doubt the geographical discoveries of the last century did much to call attention to the race distinctions, and primeval history of man. The labours of modern missionaries, too, have prodigiously enlarged the sphere of our knowledge on these points, and have stimulated and sustained a spirit of inquiry into the unknown past of human life. The like effect has been produced by the marvellous revelations, which Assyria, Babylonia, Mexico, and other countries of the old or new world have recently given us of "kindreds, and nations, and peoples, and tongues," whose life had previously been either a cypher or a name. Moreover, the steady advance and ever strengthening fascination of a strictly inductive geology has at once kindled new lights in the ancestral darkness of man's career on the earth, and has awakened an irrepressible curiosity and purpose in multitudes of minds to acquaint themselves, so far as may be, with the facts which the finger of science thus marks and points to. To crown all, the purely scientific interest in prehistoric man, which causes such as those now named have either created or confirmed, has of late, particularly, been linked with a religious feeling, which has intensified it for good or evil a hundred-fold. The cosmogony and chronology of Holy Scripture have been supposed to look unfavourably upon what are affirmed to be the plain and straightforward readings of the newly-discovered scientific phenomena; and this circumstance has invested the phenomena themselves with a more than scientific importance, and has added indefinitely to the zest with which the physicists and *savans* have prosecuted their researches. According to the views which men have taken of the interpretation and authority of the Bible, they have looked with hope or alarm to the findings of the geologist and antiquary; and a keen-sighted, religious jealousy has stood by while busy hands have explored the mysteries of cairns and cists, of barrows and bone caves, of prehistoric dead men's skulls, and of ancient remains of human industry buried in water or in earth.

If the man of science is disposed to complain of all this, let him remember that the blame lies partly at the door of the rashness and flippancy of some of his own class; that the interests which hang upon the credit of the Sacred

Volume are such as may very well excuse even a passionate clinging to what is believed to be its testimony ; and that the exactness and caution demanded by religious faith at the hands of science on ground which justly belongs to both, will really promote the interests of science itself, and will help to bring about that final accord between history, nature, and the Scripture revelation, of which all true knowledge is the sure herald and earnest. Whatever the philosophy of the fact may be, it is certain that a wide-spread, keen, and constantly augmenting interest is gathered, in the present day, about those many and various monuments of the pre-historic part of man's life on the globe, which modern science is everywhere dragging from their sepulchres, and by means of which it seeks to recompose the forgotten annals of our race.

The focus of the interest in question has undoubtedly been those mysterious flint implements, which the geologists have discovered in so great numbers, and in so great a variety of circumstances, in different parts of the world, especially such of these implements as have been found buried in ancient river gravels, and in the stalagmitic floors of osseous caverns of the mountain limestone and other rock formations. Second only, however, to the importance of the chipped and trimmed flints, in the feeling of the scientific world, has been a most unlooked-for series of discoveries made within the last few years, and still making, in Switzerland—discoveries which show, that in times antecedent to the known history of that country, the margins of very many of its lakes were tenanted by a people or peoples, who lived not on the shores of the lakes, but in houses built on piles driven into their water-beds ; and whose personal and social habits and condition are, in not a few cases, brought clearly to view by innumerable remains of their dwellings, dress, food, utensils, weapons, &c., which have rewarded the search of a crowd of eager explorers.

The first account of these Swiss lake dwellings, presented to the scientific world with anything like pretension to combined detail and completeness, was that given in M. Troyon's elegant volume, entitled, *Habitations Lacustres*, which was written in French, and published at Lausanne in 1860. Prior to this date, however, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, President of the Antiquarian Association of Zürich, and the original discoverer of the lake dwellings, had begun to issue in German, under the auspices of his society, what is now, on the Continent at least, a well-known series of reports on these

extraordinary antiquities. On this side of the water, Dr. Keller's publications were not likely to make their way into the hands of more than a few readers; and what Englishmen knew of his topic, they learned either from M. Troyon's work, or from the comparatively brief descriptions of the lake dwellings and their appurtenances, furnished by Sir John Lubbock and Sir Charles Lyell.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Lee was led to entertain the idea of translating, rearranging, and putting into a shape fitted for the use of Englishmen, the whole contents of Dr. Keller's reports. He rightly believed that such a work would be acceptable and useful to his countrymen; and, in the noble and thoroughly English book, the title of which heads this article, we have the praiseworthy results of his laborious and judicious editing of his originals. In accordance with his plan, Mr. Lee has not simply translated Dr. Keller's reports in the order in which they were given to the public. To use his own words—"The order is entirely different . . . the substance remains, though the mode of stating it is altered . . . in most cases the language and expressions are the same translated into English. Some few things have, under his (Dr. Keller's) direction, been omitted, and several additions have been made by him. In a few instances I have added notes of my own: my province, however, was not to illustrate but to translate; and, as these few notes rest on my own authority alone, they are marked at foot with the letters *Tr.*" The value of Mr. Lee's volume is greatly enhanced by nearly a hundred carefully-executed lithographic plates, illustrating the construction of the lake dwellings, and the objects of art found buried in the wreck of them. On this subject the translator writes:—

"With respect to the plates, it may be well to mention, that about one-half are actual 'transfers' (re-arranged in the octavo form) from plates drawn at Zürich, either for the last report, or for the previous ones. Another considerable portion consists of copies, either by myself or my friends, from the other plates of the Zürich reports; while a smaller portion, including the sketches of localities, were drawn by myself from nature, or from the objects themselves, during a visit to Switzerland last summer."—*Preface*, p. vi.

Prefixed to the volume as frontispiece, is an "Ideal Restoration of a Lake Dwelling." This is not the often-copied "Restoration" which appeared in Dr. Keller's first report, but a new drawing made at Dr. Keller's suggestion, "in accordance with the latest discoveries," and approved by him before it finally left the hands of the lithographer. If

the plate has something of the dimness of dreamland about it, this will be easily excused by those who consider how unscientific it would be to give a sharp-lined reality to things only just emerging from the airy sphere of fancy and mythical song.

The story of the first discovery of the Swiss Lake Dwellings is pretty familiar. "In the winter of the years 1853 and 1854, the extraordinary drought and long-continued cold occasioned a very unusual phenomenon in the Alpine districts. The rivers shrank to their smallest compass, and the level of the lakes was lower than ever had been known before. On the stone of Stäfa the watermark of 1674 had always been considered the lowest known in history, but in 1853-4 the water was one foot below this mark." This circumstance of the extreme lowness of the water of the lakes led to the adoption of measures, in certain cases, for the recovery of land on their shores; and while this was being done in the little bay between Ober Meilen and Dollikon, on the east side of the Lake of Zürich, the workmen, to their astonishment, lighted upon the heads of wooden piles, with stags' horns, and sundry implements, all sunk in the bed of the lake, and indicating, to appearance, the former occupation of the spot as the residence of man." This was in January, 1854. The Antiquarian Association at Zürich was immediately informed of what had occurred, and took steps without delay to secure to science the full advantage of the discovery. The proprietors of the land at Ober Meilen were forward to co-operate with the *savans*. As the excavations proceeded, the importance of the discovery became more and more manifest. Plainly human beings of a prehistoric age had lived in houses built on the tops of these piles; for here were the visible, tangible relics of the timbers that had formed or supported their huts, of their hearth-plates, their corn-crushers, their pottery, the creatures they had fed upon, and a multitude of other objects, connected with their personal habits, or social condition and manner of life.

No sooner was public attention drawn to the antiquities thus unexpectedly brought to light on the Zürich lake, than remains of the same class began to reveal themselves in other parts of Switzerland. Before the close of the year 1854, relics of pile buildings were found in the Lake of Bienne, the Lake of Neuchâtel, the Lake of Geneva, and elsewhere. And between this date and the present time the margins of nearly all the lakes in the north-east, north, and west, of the country, have yielded the like harvest to the labours of antiquarian



research. In the extreme north-east, the Ueberlinger See, and Unter See, the two great forks of the Lake of Constance, are "thickly studded with settlements;" some of them, like those of Nussdorf, Maurach, Unteruhldigen, and Sipplingen, on the former water, remarkable at once for "their extent, and the number of the antiquities found in them." To the south of the Unter See, and lying between it and the Lake of Zürich, the Lakes Nussbaum, Pfäffikon, Greiffensee, and others, have all furnished remains of ancient lake dwellings. Robenhausen, "situated on the great moor on the southern side of the Lake of Pfäffikon," is one of the most curious and interesting of all the monuments of its order. The Zürich Lake has not hitherto added much to its original honours as the father of our knowledge of the Swiss lake dwellings. Some five or six such dwellings have been discovered on the borders of the Lake of Zug, south-west of that of Zürich. Further west, the Lakes of Baldeg and Sempach, both in the Canton of Lucerne, have rewarded the explorations of Colonel Schwab with proof of the former existence of some dozen or more settlements upon their banks or water-margins. The little lakes of Mauensee and Wauwyl, near the Sempach Lake, have likewise contributed something to the list of the north-central lake dwellings. "The Lake of Moosseedorf, distant about two hours' walk from Bern, belongs, as its name imports, to that numerous class of lakes in Switzerland called *moor lakes*." Here there are remains of a settlement, which a strict application of the stone, bronze, and iron theory of the antiquarians must pronounce to be of very high antiquity. The Lakes of Bienne, Neuchâtel, Morat, and Geneva, on the west and south-west of the country, are rich in their treasures of wreck and ruin. Thanks to Colonel Schwab, more than twenty sites of lake dwellings have been more or less fully explored on the Lake of Bienne. Of these the settlement at Nidau, at the northern extremity of the lake, is remarkable for the wealth of its relics of bronze. As many as fifty settlements have been discovered on the Lake of Neuchâtel, chiefly, as in the case of the Lake of Bienne, on its eastern border. The Lake of Morat has supplied between fifteen and twenty examples of the pile dwellings. These lie both on the eastern and western shores of the lake. Lastly, upwards of twenty spots are known to have been occupied by the mysterious men of the waters on the Lake of Geneva. The settlement at Morges, to the west of Lausanne, on the north shore of the lake, was one of the first to be determined and examined

after the original discovery at Meilen early in 1854; and the antiquities which it have yielded has given it a high place among its peers. Altogether, nearly two hundred sites of lake buildings have been ascertained to exist in different parts of Switzerland. Of those which have been discovered in other countries, particularly such as lie about Switzerland, we may have occasion to speak further on in this paper.

The scientific industry, and acute but cautious inductions of the Swiss explorers, enable us to go far in explaining how the builders of the lake dwellings went about the work of establishing their water-homes; as also what was the material of which those homes were made, and how the makers of them used it in their architecture. For the most part, the situation chosen by the pile builders for a settlement appears to have been the margin of a lake, where the water was neither very deep nor very shallow, and where the bottom was soft enough to admit of the easy planting of their piles. When such a situation was selected, they proceeded to cover a certain area of the lake, sometimes a very large area, with a forest of piles driven two, three, or more feet, into the lake-bed, and having their heads raised a yard or two above water. The first row of piles ran parallel with the shore at some distance from it; thence other rows, standing side by side with this, extended outward towards the deeper waters of the lake. In some cases the piles do not seem to have been fixed in rows; but usually a general parallelism was preserved, the piles being driven in lines forming a right angle, or nearly so, with the shore. The piles were not always planted single. Occasionally they are found in pairs. And while in some instances they are crowded thickly together, in others they are considerably wider apart. At Meilen and elsewhere the average distance between the piles was a foot or a foot and a half; but the intervening spaces were not unfrequently larger, as at Robenhausen and Nussdorf, where the average would be two or three feet. At Wangen, on the Unter See, M. Löhle states, the "piles were driven in for the most part one or more feet apart, so that in the space of a square rod there are at least twelve, though sometimes seventeen or twenty may be seen." The number of piles in a settlement was of course determined by various conditions of necessity, convenience, or inclination. At Nussdorf, where the settlement covers about three acres, the piles are reckoned at three thousand. Unteruhldigen is supposed to have had at least ten thousand; Sipplingen, extending over twenty-five acres, forty thousand; Wangen, just mentioned, not fewer than fifty or sixty thousand; Roben-

hausen, perhaps as many as a hundred thousand. The wood used for the piles was chiefly oak, beech, birch, and fir; but elm, ash, alder, aspen, maple, willow, hazel, and even cherry, it is said, have been found in various localities. Whole stems with their bark on were commonly employed for the piles; but they were often split, so as to furnish timbers of from three to seven or eight inches in diameter. The lower ends of the piles were almost invariably sharpened by fire, and by tooling with the stone hatchet or celt, in order to prepare them for driving. Less frequently they are found to have been wrought with tools of bronze or even of iron. There is reason to believe, that in many cases, as, for instance, at Unteruhldigen and Nidan, horizontal beams were sunk among the vertical piles, or that the piles themselves were fastened together by such beams, with a view to the bracing and strengthening of the sub-structure. It is not always easy to determine, whether the timbers now lying horizontally or obliquely among the rotten pile-heads at the bottoms of the lakes were originally interlocked with the piles by the builders of the lake dwellings, or whether they are portions of the platforms supporting the houses, that have fallen from above, and so are mixed up with what at first sustained them. In some settlements clay seems to have been used to bind the piles and other supports of the houses into a more solid basis; and in other cases large stones have, apparently, been brought in canoes and dropped among the piles for the same purpose. "In fact, one boat or canoe, still loaded with the stones which proved too great a cargo for it, and which consequently sank it to the bottom, is still to be seen at Peter's Island in the Lake of Bienne." The outermost row of piles "appears to have been covered or closed in by a kind of wattle or hurdle work, made of small twigs or branches, probably to lessen the splash of the water, or to prevent the piles from being injured by floating wood." Large fragments of this protective matting have been recovered at Robenhausen and elsewhere.

The piles having been driven so that their heads should all be at the same level, the next business was to cover them with a wooden platform, suitable for the erection of the houses. "To accomplish this," says Dr. Keller, "stems or trunks ten or twelve feet long had holes bored in them at both ends, and they were then fastened with wooden pins to the heads of the upright piles. Trunks of fir wood five or seven feet long were then split into boards about two inches thick and fastened with wooden pegs into the framework" of timber

beneath them. Thus a solid and tolerably even foundation was provided for the huts. The existing wrecks of the settlements are in evidence that these wooden platforms were not so closely knit but that hatchets, hammers, and the like might easily slip through between the boards; and it is one of the surest of the deductions which the *savans* have gained from this same source, that at certain intervals open spaces were left in the platforms to serve the purpose of ash holes and rubbish pits. "The quantity of broken celts, broken pottery, and refuse of animal and vegetable food lying together," and that most commonly at regular distances, establishes the truth of their conclusion. In some cases, if not generally, the dwellings do not appear to have been built upon the naked boards of the platform, but upon "a bed of mud, loam, and gravel," laid on the surface of the boarding and "beaten down firmly either by the feet or by the wooden mallets, of which several have been found" in the settlements.

On the subject of the huts of the Lake dwellers, our author writes :

"There can be no doubt that small piles or stakes formed the framework of the huts. Some of these have been actually found projecting considerably above the platform. Probably in some cases . . . fresh piles were driven in for this purpose, which did not go quite down to the bottom of the lake. . . . Of course these piles would mark out the extent of the dwellings themselves, and in one or two favourable instances we have thus the ground plan of a settlement; but we have more than this: the size of the house is further marked out by boards, forced in firmly between the piles, and resting edge-ways on the platform, thus forming what at the present day we should call the skirting boards of the huts or rooms. It cannot now be determined whether this was continued higher than a single board, as more than this has not as yet been actually discovered. . . . The walls consisted of upright poles, wattled with rods or twigs, and in order to keep off the wind and the rain this wattle work was covered both inside and out with a bed of clay from two to three inches thick.\* . . . This is proved by numbers of pieces of clay half burnt or hardened in the fire, with the impressions of the wattle-work still remaining. These singularly illustrative specimens are found in nearly every settlement which has been destroyed by fire."—Pp. 7, 8, 296, 297.

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\* Speaking of a settlement at Auvernier, on the Lake of Neuchâtel, Professor Desor says : "The wattle work which formed the covering or walls of the huts is lying on the bottom, and consists of poles from two to two and a half inches thick, at a distance of two feet apart. Rods one and one and a half inch thick are closely interwoven crosswise with these poles. Unfortunately this wattle-work is too rotten to be taken up from the bottom."—*Lake Dwellings*, pp. 153, 154.

The question was early raised, in the course of the Swiss discoveries, whether the form of the huts was rectangular or round. M. Troyon's restoration, in the first of his plates, exhibits them as circular, though he allows and argues that possibly the square form may have been in use likewise. He says—

“ La forme circulaire des cabanes, générale dans l'ancienne Europe, est confirmée par les débris de revêtement en argile retrouvés sur quelques emplacements de la Suisse. Des huttes de forme carrée ont cependant existé, dès le premier âge en Irlande, en Suède et ailleurs, aussi doit on reconnaître que les constructions ont pu présenter des variétés à la même époque, dans le même pays, et sur le même lac. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce dessin . . . représente le genre prédominant des constructions lacustres de la Suisse, si l'on admet que la plupart des cabanes étaient circulaires ? ”—P. 456.

Dr. Keller expresses himself positively that the houses were generally squared and not round, though he thinks it not impossible that the round form may have been sometimes adopted. He says—

“ All the evidence, which has yet come before us, proves that the huts were rectangular; but some of them may possibly have been round, as, from ancient authors, it is very evident that the huts of many nations on terra firma were round in form.”—P. 8.

In another place he writes :

“ There can be no doubt that the huts of several kindred races on the main land were in many cases circular (Strabo, iv. 4. ‘ The Belgian Gauls made their huts spacious, out of boards and willow hurdle work, dome-shaped with a high roof ) ; but all the evidence we possess as yet respecting the huts of the lake dwellings in Switzerland, tends to show that they were rectangular. The curve of the small pieces of clay covering of the wattle-work found at the bottom of the water cannot be brought forward to prove that the huts were circular, still less to show their diameter : these pieces are generally not more than one foot wide, and have evidently been exposed to great heat before they fell into the water, besides which slabs with very different curves and some even perfectly flat, were found promiscuously on the same spot.”—Pp. 296, 297.

As to the appointments and fittings of the pile houses little can be affirmed with confidence. “ It is not known whether the huts were divided into several rooms or not. . . . From the remains of straw and reeds found in every lake dwelling it seems almost certain that the huts were thatched with these materials, and highly probable that the dormitories

were strewed with the softer kinds of straw or hay." The huts seem to have been floored with clay or with a mixture of clay and gravel. In the middle of the floor was a hearth, consisting of three or four large slabs of rough sandstone; and it is probable, from the almost universal prevalence of clay weights for weaving, that most, if not all, of them were furnished with a loom. Among the buried ruins of the dwellings "portions of young trees, with their branches partially lopped off," are not unfrequently met with, and it has been suggested that these were probably fastened to the roof or walls for the purpose of hanging up mats, nets, pots, tools, &c., some of which seem to have had rope handles attached to them. "It is impossible to ascertain whether the platform was covered densely or sparingly with huts, though we know that in one case, at Niederwyl, they stood very close together."

One very interesting fact must not be lost sight of in describing these lake settlements. Herodotus, in the often quoted passage respecting the pile-builders of Lake Prasias, near the mouth of the Strymon, states that their "platforms stand in the middle of the lake," and "are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge." There is every reason to believe that the Swiss lake-dwellers followed the same practice. Describing the relics found at Moosseedorf, Dr. Keller says:—"Cross-branches laid on the bottom, in the manner of a fagot bank, or fagot road, appear like the remains of a bridge or stage connecting the settlement with the shore." Again, the settlement at Robenhausen is described as having been connected with the shore "by means of a bridge or stage, of which the piles are still visible." So of the settlement at Allensbach, on the Unter See, it is said:—"In one place the rows of piles take the direction of the mainland in such a manner that they may, with tolerable certainty, be considered as the remains of the ancient stage or bridge." In all probability the bridge was part of the perfection of a lake settlement, but there seem to have been cases in which it was dispensed with.

The plan and style of the lake buildings, wherever found, are all but identical. One type of variation, however, claims to be noticed. In some of the settlements, as, for example, Niederwyl and Wauwyl, instead of piles being driven into the bottoms of the lakes as supports for the hut-platforms, the substructure was built up of "a mass of fascines or fagots laid parallel and crosswise one upon another." The lowest bed of fascines rested immediately upon the lake-bed. Then



came a layer of brushwood, or of clay and gravel. Then another layer of fascines was thrown down, and so on, till the required elevation was attained. In order to give coherence and stability to the fagot-work, vertical wooden piles were driven into it here and there, and these appear to have served, in some cases, as poles for the house-walls. How such architecture as this could have been successfully performed under water, is a question more natural to ask than easy to reply to. Dr. Keller says rather strongly:—

“The only conceivable mode of explaining it seems to be this: at the commencement of the work several piles were driven into the mud from a raft, from twelve to twenty feet apart, and then fagot sticks were piled up between them horizontally, one upon another, just as we find them arranged in the excavation; when loaded with a sufficient quantity of gravel the whole mass of fascines must necessarily have sunk down to the bottom between the upright piles which served as piles or stays. In this manner a number of masses of wood were laid in the water one after another till the substructure had attained the desired height. Naturally the part above the water was more carefully executed. The upper beds of fascines in fact lock into one another at the ends, and form one continuous mass; and no large vertical gaps or chinks filled with clay, gravel, branches, or brushwood, are to be found here, like those which are very common when the lower part is exposed. This fact seems to confirm the above idea of the mode of construction.”—P. 70.

In several parts of Dr. Keller's volume the reader will find detailed descriptions of the fascine lake dwellings. Our limits forbid our following him further. As may be supposed, the dwellings of this class are only found in small and shallow lakes, and the antiquities which they have yielded seem to point to a lower civilisation than that which the pile settlements in general may be believed to represent.

In connection with the relics of the pile settlements, hitherto described, are found, sometimes sunk in the lake-beds, oftener buried in mud or peat, at various heights, above them, innumerable objects in stone, bone, horn, clay, wood, bronze, iron, flax, &c., with several kinds of grain and fruits, evidently used by the occupants as articles of food, dress, household economy, or the like.

Mention has already been made of the hearthstones of the huts. These have been dug up at Meilen, Wangen, and elsewhere, not unfrequently reddened, and in some cases partially covered with soot, the result of the action of the fire which once burnt upon them. Many slabs, either of sandstone or of granite, have also been found with lines or furrows, caused

by the grinding and sharpening of the stone hatchets shortly to be spoken of. It would seem, too, that some such slabs, whether of the one rock or the other, were commonly used in the crushing and mealing of grain. Occasionally a cavity was formed in the slab to assist the process. The grain was bruised by means of so-called "corn-crushers" and "mealing-stones." These are "roundish stones, the size of a man's fist, made out of very hard rolled sandstone, and with certain hollows and flattened surfaces. They vary in form; some are like an orange; others like a ball, with depressions on the four opposite sides." Corn-crushers and mealing-stones have been met with in all the lake-dwellings. Colonel Schwab obtained several granite slabs, with cup-like hollows scooped in them, from the Lake of Bienné. A similar slab, found at Auvernier, had a hollow in it  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch deep, and weighed 88 lbs. Slabs of this description would be employed either as mills or mortars.

By far the most abundant of the stone implements found in the Swiss lake dwellings are the celts or hatchets, with their companion tools the chisels of various type. The celts are wedge-shaped. They were all made with a sharp cutting edge; indeed, some of the specimens in the Swiss museums "might readily be used for cutting lead-pencils." When the cutting edge spreads out beyond the general width of the tool "they resemble hatchets; but, if they are of uniform breadth, or bulge in the middle, not an uncommon case, then they take the form of chisels. The section of many specimens about the middle is square with sharp corners; others are roundish or oval in section, and consequently approach the form of a cylinder." The size and weight of the celts are very unequal. Some are eight inches long: one found at Meilen was only an inch and a half in length. Some weigh a pound or more; others weigh only half or even a quarter of an ounce. All were originally hafted. On this subject Dr. Keller writes, with reference to Meilen, what will equally hold of the other settlements:—

"All the celts and chisels found at Meilen were originally hafted in pieces of stags' horn, and a considerable number were found still in their handles. To make this hafting, a piece of the requisite length and thickness was cut out of the main stocks of the stag's horn, clearly with no other instrument than a stone celt. A hole was then worked out at one end, wide and deep enough to receive the lower [or blunt] part of the celt. The other end [viz. of the piece of horn] was cut into a four-sided tenon or plug, evidently intended to be set in a shaft, a stick, or a club. Of this third limb of the imple-

ment not a single perfect specimen was found here. . . . The perfect implement with all its three parts has been found at Robenhansen.' ”  
—P. 19.

There can be little doubt as to the manner in which the celts were ordinarily manufactured. They tell their own tale. First some hard and tough specimen was selected from among “the rolled or rubble stones abounding in the Swiss valleys.” This having been “partially sawn through on opposite sides by means of flint saws, used with water and quartzose sand, was then broken in two by a blow.” Afterwards the tool was finished by the toilsome process of beating with stone hammers and of grinding on slabs of sandstone.

With respect to the material out of which the celts, &c., were made, Dr. Keller states that the stones used for the purpose are so numerous and diverse, that even advanced geologists are often puzzled to determine their true nature and the localities from which they came. “The celts found at the Lake of Bienne, at Bern, at Zürich, and at the Lake of Constance, form quite as good a collection of specimens of the rocks of the high Alps, from which the different valleys descend, as the erratic blocks used for building the castle towers and the city walls.” Of a thousand stone implements, celts, chisels, axes, hammers, &c., found at Nussdorf, Dr. Lachmann says, that while nearly fifty celts were made of nephrite—of which more hereafter—he found among them examples of “serpentine, diorite, epidote, decomposed green schist, basalt, porphyry, gneiss, and other alpine rocks.” At the pile settlement of St. Andreas, near Cham, on the Lake of Zug, celts were met with consisting of “very coarse gneiss, containing a quantity of epidote.” Others were “of a kind of serpentine, which does not occur in erratic blocks in the canton of Zug.” One single specimen seemed to be Julier granite from the pass of the same name or from the Grisons.” Another specimen was a “talco-quartzite, of which numerous blocks are to be found in the eastern part of the canton, being, in fact, erratics from the canton of Glarus.” So, speaking of the stone implements generally, Dr. Keller finds amongst the materials from which they are found, “red flint probably from Bavaria or the Voralberg, micaceous schist from Davos, Scaletta, and Fluela in the Grisons, red sandstone, now used for whetstones from Rheinfelden (Aargau), crystals from the high Alps, asphalt from the Val Travers (Neuchâtel), white marble from the Splügen,” &c.

An exceeding interest attaches to one kind of stone, of which the celts are often found to consist—the transparent

jade or nephrite just alluded to. Nephrite celts occur "in all the older settlements," particularly at Meilen; and yet, so far as is known, there is no nephrite to be found either in Switzerland or in any other part of Europe, the mineral being only obtained from Egypt, China, and a few other extra-European countries." So far as existing evidence enables us to judge, nephrite came ready wrought from the East into the hands of the pile dwellers. "No Swiss geologist has found it either *in situ* or in the shape of gravel; and no unworked pieces, nor any waste or chippings from it, have yet been found in the lake dwellings." On this point Dr. Keller quotes from a paper published at Bern in 1865, by Professor Von Fellenberg, affirming the stone celts from Meilen and Concise, which he (Professor Fellenberg) had carefully examined and analysed, to be "genuine nephrite," and endorsing the general belief that the Swiss lake people must have obtained it in the way of barter from Africa, Asia, or some other part of the world beyond the confines of Europe.

It is a remarkable fact that as yet not a solitary example of a flint celt has been discovered in any one of the pile settlements of Switzerland. And what is also worthy of remark, though stone hammer-heads of serpentine and of a rock allied to serpentine have been found at Meilen and elsewhere, bored for a handle, this kind of tool, and indeed bored stone tools of every kind, are among the rarities of the relic-beds.

As flint celts are altogether wanting, so there is no great abundance of flint implements of other descriptions in the lake dwellings. "The reason of this is, that the raw material or the nodular flint found in the beds of the chalk is not met with in Switzerland." France and Germany appear to have supplied the greater portion of the flint used by the pile builders; perhaps some of it came from the Jura. The tools manufactured from it were generally of small size, such as knives, scrapers, arrow-heads, lance-points, with other kinds of instruments for cutting and piercing. At Moosseedorf, what might be called a saw-knife was dug up, fastened with asphalt or mineral pitch into a fir-wood handle. A rude tooth-brush with a jagged flint blade instead of the bristles would give a fair idea of this instrument. At Meilen a somewhat similar saw was found, the blade of which was fixed by means of asphalt into a piece of yew wood of the form of a weaver's shuttle, the obvious design being to enable the workman to use the tool with greater ease and safety. Wrought flint flakes of a blunted rectangular form, varying in length from an inch to six or eight inches, are among the most

common implements of this class yielded by the wrecks of the lake dwellings. Some of these are probably knives without their setting; others, perhaps, were used as scrapers for scaling fish or for some kindred purpose. Meilen is the settlement which has proved richest in its store of flint implements, but they have been obtained in larger or smaller numbers from the other stations. Moosseedorf and Wauwyl would seem to have been the seats of very considerable flint implement manufactories. Speaking of the former of these lake dwellings, in terms of the report of M. Jahn and Dr. Uhlmann, Dr. Keller says—

“ Every little hillock in the surrounding marsh land, still partially covered with peat, and hardly rising above its level, appears to have been a place where flint was worked into implements, for nothing else but flint is found in any of them except some broken white pebble-stones and traces of charcoal; more than a thousand pieces of flint in flakes, cores, or implements intended for some special purpose, cracked off in all sorts of ways, and afterwards hammered to the required shape, were found in these localities. The flakes are found of various sizes, from that of fish-scales up to two inches in length. . . . The majority consisted of what may be called plates, rather long and with a sharp cutting edge, which by further manipulation could be made into little knives, scrapers, saws, and piercers, as well as into the heads of arrows. . . . The colour of these flints is as varied as their form; they are found white, brown, black, red, and bluish, of all shades; also, translucent, like agate and chalcedony. The greater part appear to have come from the Swiss Jura (chalk), some few from the Alps. Those of a better kind of stone are, doubtless, of foreign origin. The tools used for making these flint implements do not seem to have been of the same material, but of gabbro, a bluish green and very hard and tough kind of stone. Several of these implements have been met with; their form is very simple and varies between a cube and an oval. The oval specimens were ground down in one or two places, and the most pointed part was used for hammering.”—P. 36.

Appearances resembling those of Wauwyl and Moosseedorf have been remarked in other localities, and it is probable that future explorations will increase their number.

Thousands of implements of bone have been gathered from the lake dwellings. Stags, roes, boars, and other animals, in some cases birds also, have furnished the material for implements of this kind. The bones of small animals and birds were used for tools of lesser magnitude: “the larger instruments were made out of the ribs and leg-bones of the roe and stag, and the ulnæ of various ruminants. The hollow bones of these

animals were cut into two parts, lengthways, by means of flint saws, generally along the arterial hollow; and thus, when the fracture was fortunate, each piece had an articulating end for a natural handle. The tool was then finished by means of the grinding-slab of stone." Dr. Lachmann describes the bone implements from Nussdorf as made, some "out of the whole bones of small animals, others out of splinters of those belonging to larger beasts. The bones of the extremities were chiefly used for this purpose, such as the radius, femur, tibia, and fibula; some were ground all over, and some only at one end." Among the tools and instruments of bone have been found netting-needles of boar's tusk; pins of the same material for fastening the hair or clothes; sundry kinds of awls and piercers, some with a head or handle of asphalt; knives of boar's tusk and bears' teeth; pincer-like instruments; chisels of stag-bone, used apparently in the shaping and ornamentation of earthenware; fish-hooks, sometimes barbed, with other implements of the fisherman; arrow-heads, in several instances, as at Wangen, with the asphalt which fastened them to the shaft still adhering to them; besides daggers, lance-points, and a number of objects not easily brought under any category of modern European civilisation. Boars' teeth, either whole or split in two, and ground sharp, seem to have been frequently used as knives for cutting skin and leather. The large teeth or tusks of bears, "brought to a point at the fang, and perforated near the end," may have been used for making fishing-nets. This cannot have been the use of the wolf's grinders, pierced at the fang, found in the Maurach and Wangen settlements. Some have thought that these perforated teeth were worn as charms or amulets. A bone saw from Wanwyl, figured by Dr. Keller, if it is not unique, has but few companions of its own substance among the relics. At Marin, Colonel Schwab has recently found a bronze needle in a case made of the bone of a stork.

"Next to bone, horns, especially those of the stag and the roe, offered suitable material for making the larger pointed tools, daggers, &c." Portions were cut from the main branch of the horn, and then were ground, sharpened, or pierced, according to the use for which they were designed. The method of hafting the stone celts by means of pieces of stags' horn has already been described. Awls, chisel-handles, hammers, mallets, harpoons—some of them double-barbed—combs, goblets, and other vessels and tools, were manufactured out of stags' and roes' horns. Indeed, the horns of these animals seem to have met the demand both of the most



vulgar necessities of the lake dwellers and of their most refined and delicate tastes. On the one hand, they appear to have employed them, pretty much in a state of nature, as ploughs and harrows, in an agriculture which even an Egyptian or Syrian might have smiled at. On the other, they made beads from them such as might very well fit into the necklaces seen at the present day among the girls of Elephantine and Philœ on the Nile. It is one of the paradoxes of the pile settlements that hitherto, as Dr. Keller informs us, "no implements have been observed made out of the horns of the ox, the goat, or the ram; and yet their bones are found in the dwellings. The tusks of the wild boar seem to have been especially chosen for cutting tools; those of bears or wolves for amulets." The corner teeth of pigs and dogs likewise were used in the manufacture of implements, as at the settlement at Maurach.

The perishable nature of wood will have caused innumerable objects of this material, once buried in the lake dwellings, to disappear for ever. Thanks, however, to the conservative, or only slowly-destructive, qualities of certain elements into contact with which many wooden relics of the settlements chanced to come—the fire which destroyed the bulk of the settlements being not the least of these—such relics, carbonised or half-carbonised, whole or fragmentary, sound or partially decayed, have been found in considerable numbers, and add another interesting chapter to the history of their long-forgotten owners. The charred boards, hacked by stone celts, which have been discovered at Meilen and elsewhere, belonged, in all probability, either to the hut-platforms, or to the huts themselves; but the refuse of the hearths also seems to have been preserved in some instances in the form of charcoal and of half-burnt pieces of oak, beech, fir, and other timber. What appeared to have been a bench, worn smooth by sitting on, was discovered at Wangen, a short while since, by M. Löhle. It was of oak, some seven or eight feet long, by a foot and a half wide. At Robenhausen, hooks of fir or pine, for hanging things up in the huts—some of them nearly a foot and a-half long—were drawn in great numbers out of the relic-beds. Clubs and mallets of oak, ash, yew, and hazel, have been found in the settlements. The wooden handles of the celts and saws have been already referred to. They are made of fir, ash, maple, and other woods. Yew or maple knives and chisels have been lighted on in several places. Ladles of maple-wood, like those still in use in the Swiss milk-châlets, with plates and

dishes of the same material, occur at Robenhausen. Here, too, or elsewhere, various fishing gear, a maple-wood tub, a yoke of hazel-rod, bows of yew, oak spearshafts, a threshing-flail, a shoemaker's last, and yew-wood combs, have been raised from the lake bottoms. One of the combs found at Moosseedorf is two inches and a half broad, and nearly five inches long, and it is decorated with a pair of "buttons or projections" on one of its sides.

Without enumerating other objects in wood scattered among the ruins of the lake dwellings, it will suffice to crown the foregoing list by mentioning the fact, that in several instances boats or canoes, like the modern Swiss *einbäume*, have been discovered, or even raised out of their sepulchres of peat or mud. At Robenhausen, M. Messikomer disinterred "a remarkable canoe made out of a single trunk (*einbaum*), such as may now be seen in the lakes of Zug and Lucerne, twelve feet long, one and a half feet broad, but only five inches in depth." Dr. Keller figures this object in one of his plates. Again, at Nidau, it is stated, "a boat lies embedded in the mud . . . made of one thick long trunk of an oak, merely hollowed out either by fire or by hatchets the whole length of the whole." So a canoe, we are told, may be seen at Morges, half-buried in the mud, of which M. Forel writes, that "it is sharpened to a point in front, and apparently is formed of a single piece of wood hollowed out like the *piroques* of savages; it is hardly more than two feet wide." It may be added, that fir net-floats and other implements made of the bark of trees have been met with in different localities.

Clay, under various conditions, plays an important part among the recovered monuments of the lake settlements. At Wangen, "perforated balls of clay, mixed with charcoal," have been collected by dozens. Robenhausen has furnished a multitude of similar bodies, black, conical, and perforated. In many other settlements coarse clay balls, sub-globular or conical, have been discovered, most of them pierced, so as to admit of being suspended by a cord. The greater number of these objects seem to have been loom-weights. Some of them, perhaps, served as sinking-stones for fishing-nets, or simply as weights useful for many purposes either in the indoor or outdoor life of the people. Almost all the stations have yielded clay-spindle whorls, like those found in ancient graves. At Meilen, Wangen, Nussdorf, Unteruhldigen, everywhere, the spindle-whorls present themselves, sometimes "plenty as blackberries." It is characteristic of the western lakes—those of Bienne, Neuchâtel,

Geneva, &c.—that the settlements upon them agree to preserve a number of clay-rings, sometimes of large dimensions, the use of which appears to have been to support pipkins on the fire, and in general, to serve as legs to various domestic and other vessels, which had not the faculty of standing alone. Little stones and pieces of charcoal are commonly mixed with the clay of which they are formed; and they are often imperfectly burnt, and otherwise bear marks of rude and careless manufacture. “They vary in external diameter from three and a half to nine and a half inches; the hole in the middle is from seven lines to two and a-half inches wide; and the thickness of the ring itself varies from one inch to upwards of two inches. . . . Many of these rings appear to have become friable from the action of violent heat; but it is not always certain whether this happened on the hearth, or when the settlement was burnt down.”

Remains of pottery are a universal feature of the lake relic-beds, though, unfortunately, the vessels are rarely found entire. The manufacture is of two kinds—one rude and clumsy, the other wrought with more nicety and care. The clay used for the former was commonly mixed with coarsely powdered granite, quartz, or gravel of some kind. Grains of such broken stone have been met with in the vessels as large as a bean. Washed loam, mixed in some cases with a little powdered charcoal, was the material of the finer sort. M. Rochat speaks of vessels found at Concise in the neighbourhood of Yverdon as having been made by the potter’s wheel. In the vast majority of cases, it is certain that the wheel was not used. What Dr. Keller says of the earthenware from Meilen will hold with little qualification of the bulk of the settlements. “The potter’s wheel was not used in any case, but all the vessels were made by the hand alone, aided by moulding and scraping tools, and for this reason they exhibit a good many bulges and lumps, and the sides are of unequal thickness; they have also been ill burnt, and in an open fire, so that the mass did not harden properly, and does not ring when struck.” The vessels seem to have been shaped in the huts or on the hut platforms, and then to have been burnt on shore. As to their form—at least in the settlements which seem to be of older date—it may be said, in general, that they are, for the most part, cup-shaped, with a strong affection for a cylindrical contour, that very few flat vessels appear to have been manufactured; and that urn-like forms, “with large bulge and thin sides,” though sometimes met with, are not an ordinary type of lake-dwelling pottery. It is difficult to find

terms to designate all the kinds of clay vessel which the settlements have furnished. Spoons, ladles, platters, cups, pots, jars, basins, bowls, covers, urns, and a number of others not so easily described—among them some with holes in their sides or bottoms, which look as if they were intended for cheese-strainers—have been found less or more equally distributed throughout the lake area. The size of some of the larger vessels is often very considerable. At Meilen fragments of wide-mouthed jars were dug up, the diameter of which in the bulge ran from seven to thirteen inches, with a capacity of from two to seven quarts. So at Nidau vessels were found “of extraordinary size, the mouth being three feet across.” Such vessels were probably used for storing corn and other articles of food. Many of the earthenware vessels obtained from the settlements had evidently been used as pipkins over the fire, for in numerous instances “the lower part of the outside is blackened with soot and injured by the heat, just like the pipkins used in our modern hearths. In several cases,” as at Meilen and elsewhere, “the inside was covered over with thick firm soot;” this soot being pretty plainly the charred remains of food of some kind, probably porridge, “which was actually in those vessels when the settlement was burnt.” Describing vessels of this sort from Allensbach on the Unter See, M. Dehoff reports :—

“One of these vessels which had a thick coating of soot in the inside was filled with a grey mass like ashes mixed with pieces of charcoal, in which there was a very friable great bone of one of the extremities of an animal. A second vessel, also coated inside with soot, contains a brownish mass of earth, the nature of which is now under consideration by M. Leiner, of Constance.”—P. 94.

And Dr. Keller, referring to examples of this class collectively, says :—“The thick crust on the inside of these vessels was caused, as I am perfectly convinced, generally by the burnt remains of a mass of corn-pottage, which adhered to the sides of the vessel when the settlement was destroyed by fire.” As though it was not enough for the nineteenth Christian century to handle the saucepans of the pre-historic lake dwellers, but it must needs peer inside them, and see the boiled bison and dumplings, which the poor souls were cooking for dinner that day when the ruin came !

Most of the pottery taken from the settlements makes some pretence to ornamentation. Often it consists of nothing more than “bosses or impressions made with the finger or a little stick.” In other cases groups or rows of dots, straight

lines running horizontally, vertically, or obliquely, zigzag lines, scallop-work, spirals, &c., either alone or in combination, redeem the vessels from absolute plainness. Instances of anything like elaborate design occur but rarely. A half-moon-like arrangement of the dots is a favourite device. Styles and chisels of bone appear to have been used for ornamenting the pottery, where bronze was not in use. The black or red colour which marks the majority of the vessels, is often due either to the clay of which they were formed, or to the action of fire, or to both of these causes together. Black lead or graphite, and ruddle or red chalk, however, were also employed to paint the pottery; and lumps of these substances have been picked out of the débris of the settlements. If not in the earlier period of the settlements, yet later, it was the common practice of the lake dwellers to beautify the covers of their vessels, or even the vessels themselves, by pressing upon them strips of tin, disposed in an ornamental manner. Cortailod, Estavayer, La Crasaz near Estavayer, Montellier, and other stations, have produced examples of this species of decoration. An earthenware dish, about sixteen inches in diameter, found at Cortailod, and figured by Dr. Keller, is a perfect mosaic of tin-foil ornamentation. Dr. Keller's description of it is worth transcribing:—

“ Perhaps no example of this peculiar and remarkable manufacture has occurred in such beautiful and perfect condition as the specimen under consideration. The ornamentation consists of plates of tin as thin as paper, which form a striking contrast with the black ground of the vessel. These thin plates are also ornamented with impressed lines, which, after the plates was fixed, were engraved or indented with a blunt style. By means of this additional work, the tin, which apparently was simply pressed into the earthenware while yet soft, was made to adhere more closely to the clay. The ornamentation consists of a rosette in the middle, formed of quadrangles, which is surrounded by a band of a pattern similar to that called the meander, so commonly found in the earthenware vessels of the bronze period from the Lakes of Neuchâtel and Bienne, and also from Ebersberg. A pattern somewhat similar is also found on one vessel from Wangen, on the Lake of Constance. This dish was made by the hand alone; the material is a dark grey clay, blackened by graphite.”—P. 149.

Professor de Fellenberg analysed the tin-foil employed in ornamenting a very graceful dish-cover—if dish-cover it be—found at Estavayer. It proved to be pure tin without any mixture of lead. At this same station a small bar of tin was excavated, wrought “into a prismatic form by the hammer. It is seven and a third inches long; its greatest thickness is

one-fifth of an inch, and it weighs half an ounce. The colour of the metal and its ductility show that it consists of pure tin, thus confirming the assay made by M. de Fellenberg, who did not find in it a trace either of lead, zinc, copper, or iron."

The only instance in which the earthenware of the lake dwellings makes any attempt to represent animal life, is the case of a rude image of a lizard found at Nidau. But for the four stunted projections which indicate its legs, the creature might as well be a young goose or duck. For correctness of imitation it is a cousin-german of the animals painted over the doorways of the *hadjis*' houses in Cairo and other parts of Egypt.

A curious and interesting discovery has been recently made among the earthenware relics of the lake dwellings. Certain spoon-like objects, formerly supposed to be water-ladles, have turned out on closer inspection to be crucibles for melting copper. Nearly all the specimens have handles; and "all have at the edge a kind of drossy coating, coloured like a deposit of copper, and in some cases like the variegated copper ore. In three cases there were lumps of melted bronze, and in one instance a lump of pure unmelted copper. . . . The material of the crucibles is clay mixed with horse dung, a combination which is now used for moulds in which brass is cast."

The objects in pottery, which have most attracted the attention and tasked the speculative ingenuity of the Swiss antiquaries, are the so-called moon images. These are forms resembling the crescent moon with uplifted horns, usually flattened on the sides, and of no great thickness towards the upper part, but furnished with a broad circular or oval base to stand on. Hitherto they have not occurred in what are thought to be the oldest settlements; but a considerable number of them has been found in various places, chiefly on the Lake of Bienné. "About two dozen, made of clay with quartz grains, were discovered by Colonel Schwab at Nidau. . . . They do not differ much in size, the space between the points of the horns measuring from eight to ten inches, and from the base to the point about six or eight inches." Usually they are ornamented either with rows of dots, or with diagonal, zigzag, or serpentine lines, after the general style of the lake dwellings' pottery. One found at Cortaillod is decorated with a mat pattern. Not unfrequently, the images are perforated near the tips of the horns, the horns themselves being sometimes pointed, sometimes blunt or cut off sharply so as to end in a level surface. In some examples



the moon figures are made of red sandstone, not of earthenware; and bronzes have been met with which suggest the horned moon as the object they meant to figure. If the thinness of these moon images at top did not create a doubt, we should be disposed to forsake Dr. Keller and his brethren altogether, and to explain them as head-rests or pillows, similar to those which many Polynesian tribes, the Fijians, for example, are accustomed to use in our day. If they were sacred symbols, as the dominant opinion of the antiquaries makes them, the fact is one of great interest for its bearing upon the character and origin of the people who employed them, as well as for the general religious history of mankind.

If it be not too abrupt a descent from the moon to cup-mending, let us add that asphalt and ashes was employed by the pile builders for repairing their broken pottery. "Two fragments of a broken vessel," found at Moosseedorf, Dr. Keller states, "were joined together by means of asphalt and ashes run through holes drilled on each side of the fracture." The use of asphalt for cementing "stone celts and flint arrow-heads into their handles and shafts, and also for the actual handles of pointed tools," has been already named. Small vessels, likewise, were sometimes formed of asphalt. A drinking-cup made of this material was met with at Robenhausen. Lumps of asphalt have been discovered here and there among the lake dwellings.

Very numerous objects in bronze have been found in the settlements; but they are not universal like the pottery, or implements of stone; and where they do occur, they are often quite a minority as compared with objects of the kinds just mentioned. At St. Aubin, for instance, on the Lake of Geneva, while implements of stone, bone, and horn, and fragments of earthenware vessels are abundant, not a vestige of bronze has yet been discovered. Meilen, hitherto, has only yielded a plain, thin armilla and a solitary celt of bronze. So far as we know, not an article of bronze has ever been dug out of the ruins of Moosseedorf, of Robenhausen, with its three relic beds, one over the other, of Wangen, of Niederwyl and Wauwyl, of Nussdorf, or of Zug, though, at the same time, there is evidence that the lake dwellers were early acquainted with both copper and bronze, for "traces of the working of these materials have been met with in the lower beds of the stone age settlements, before the appearance of nephrite." Yet in very many of the settlements bronze takes place on a level with the materials of a simpler and more

primitive civilisation; while again, such a case as that of Morges, on the Lake of Geneva, is almost unique, where bronze is lord paramount, and "stone and bone implements are just as rare as bronze objects are in many of the dwellings of North and East Switzerland." Settlements in which bronze is plentiful lie usually in deeper water, and further from shore, than those in which it is seldom or never met with. The lakes of Geneva and Neuchâtel, in particular, supply examples of this distinction.

The bronzes from the lake dwellings, as to their character, form, and decoration, resemble those commonly found in ancient graves and barrows. Objects of personal use and adornment; tools of various descriptions; household vessels; fishing and farming implements; and weapons of war—all have their representatives; and on all, as Dr. Keller states, "the ornamentation called Celtic was lavishly applied." When we have enumerated pins, needles, buttons, bosses, clasps, buckles, ear-rings, bracelets, armlets, celts, hammers, chisels, awls, knives, screws, basins, fish-hooks, sickles, daggers, swords, arrow-heads, spear-points—to say nothing of dubious surgical instruments, snaffle-bits, drills, and moon-figures—we are by no means at the end of the list of bronze objects described or drawn on the pages of M. Troyon and Dr. Keller. The taste displayed by the lake-dwelling ladies in their hair-pins is only equalled by the skill of the gentlemen who executed them. Some of the pins might in modern England be considered a trifle too large. One nearly nine inches long, and with a hollow, globular head, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, has been found at Estavayer. It weighs two and a half ounces troy, the head alone weighing two ounces. It is handsome, notwithstanding. Indeed, the pins and needles generally commend themselves by the grace, if not by the delicacy, of their shape and ornamentation. The heads of the pins are sometimes hollow, sometimes solid. A modern coat might have supplied the thin-disked button, with its well-soldered shank, dug up at Concise. Besides the ear-rings named above, a great variety of other rings—some solid, some hollow; some made out of thick wire, some formed by casting—have been discovered. The external decorations of some of the armlets are very rich. The fish-hooks found at Nidau are "of various forms and sizes; some with and some without barbs, and with the shanks either bent round or notched. The section of the wire is, in most cases, quadrangular; not a single one has it perfectly round and uniform. These hooks are exactly like those found in the

Celtic settlements of Hallstadt, in Upper Austria." The settlement of Estavayer is remarkable for the number and beauty of its knives. "They indicate, in fact," says Dr. Keller, "such an amount of luxury in this class of implements as can be found nowhere else in Switzerland; thus almost certainly showing that they were industrial products which belonged rather to the end than to the beginning of the bronze age; for knives with a longitudinal cutting-edge, like those of which we are speaking, appear only gradually to have replaced the hatchet-knives or celts, with a transverse edge, which were, in fact, simply the reproduction in bronze of the instruments so commonly in use in the stone age." It is worthy of notice that many of these Estavayer knives bear indubitable marks of having been long and earnestly used. Among the arrow-heads, one found at Estavayer has challenged discussion. There is what appears like a crack or flaw in the side of it; and, as this is "in the shape of a pretty-regular crescent, many persons have thought that, instead of a flaw, it was an intentional groove or gash for the insertion of poison." One of the most remarkable bronze objects met with in the lake dwellings is a wheel from Cortaillod. Dr. Keller describes this object at length, and figures it in his plates. "It probably belonged to a war-chariot (essedum); and, as far as mechanical skill is concerned, is a specimen of very excellent hollow casting. . . . The whole wheel had been cast in one piece; but, unfortunately, when the settlement was burnt, it was partially melted by the heat." Comparing this bronze with "the numerous works of Etruscan art found in Switzerland—e.g., the vase of Grächwyl, the speculum of Avenches, the numerous bronze statuettes," &c.—Dr. Keller inclines to regard this wheel "as the product of an Etruscan workshop." Switzerland, however, was not dependent upon foreign countries during the lake dwellings' era for its bronze founding. At Concise, for instance, "the skulls or refuse of bronze casting and the scoria of copper" have been met with. Fragments of moulds for casting small brass rings have been found at Montellier. Describing an object from Nidau, Dr. Keller says it "was at first considered as a kind of hammer; but it is now thought probable that it may be one of the anvils on which the swords, sickles, and knives were sharpened by beating. It has six sides and a cavity in the centre." The most interesting object connected with the bronze casting of pre-historic Switzerland belongs to the settlement of Morges. It is a mould for bronze celts, the material of which is also bronze.

It weighs four pounds, and is seven and a half inches long. M. Forel writes of this mould: "I found the first half on February 25, 1855, and I despaired of finding the remainder, till, after an interval of four years, my son was fortunate enough to dredge it up, October 18, 1859. The two halves agree, and fit exactly to one another." Dr. Keller gives M. Forel's detailed description of the mould, together with his valuable observations on its archæological characters and relations. A note of Dr. Keller's, referring to this same subject, is worthy of attention:—

"In the year 1822 the owner of the manufactory at Wülflingen, near Winterthur, when digging deep in the ground to make a reservoir, found a space enclosed with sandstone filled with remains of fuel, and which proved to have been a bronze foundry. The walls had been burnt as in a furnace. Within it and near to it was found a quantity of bronze, by one account ten to twelve, and by another thirty cwts. in weight, partly in lumps and partly made into slabs, hatchets, swords, daggers, and pins."—P. 307.

All these facts go to show that pre-historic Switzerland was able to cast, and, in many cases, did cast, its own implements and vessels of bronze.

There is not the smallest reason for supposing that there was ever any iron mining in Switzerland, "either in pre-Roman or in Roman times." All the evidence argues that the lake dwellers obtained their iron from abroad by barter. Pieces of iron, "of the shape of a double pyramid, and weighing about twelve pounds," have been found from time to time within the Swiss area, which seem to have been lumps or pigs, that had come into the country through channels of trade during the pre-historic period. They have not been met with near any Roman site. Of course the metal, when imported, was manufactured by the people of the pile dwellings into the iron objects now discovered in their settlements. In the great majority of the settlements, however, no iron has yet been met with. With the single exception of a poignard, no iron whatever has been traced in the great bronze settlement of Morges; much less does it appear in those places where bronze is wanting. Marin, on the Lake of Neuchâtel, is the iron settlement *par excellence*; and iron has been found at Unteruhldigen, Sipplingen, Nidau, and a few other stations. The objects in iron taken from the settlements "consist of weapons, of agricultural and domestic instruments, and of ornaments; and they exhibit . . . whatever in the older lake dwellings was made either of stone, or bone, or bronze." A

complete catalogue is impossible ; but swords, daggers, spear-points, arrow-heads, shield-handles, knives, sickles, axes, chisels, gouges, forks, shears, pincers, curry-combs, bits, ladles, hooks, clasps, rings, pins, nails, buttons, and other articles, some intelligible, others obscure, have been discovered in the places named above, chiefly at Marin. Among the implements from Marin "is an anchor made from stone and iron. The central portion is an eight-sided prism of stone, about thirty pounds in weight, into the lower part of which iron arms are fastened, bent, and of the shape of willow leaves. Originally it had four of these arms or hooks. The upper hole was used for fastening the cable to it." Fibulæ or clothes clasps were found in large numbers at Marin. It furnished, likewise, several specimens of ferrules or points for the feet of lances. They are eight or ten sided pyramids, and "vary in length from four and three-quarters to seven inches." As yet Marin has yielded no arrow-heads. Spear-heads are numerous, and of great interest from their style of manufacture. The swords are the pride of Marin. Respecting these, Dr. Keller writes :

"About fifty swords have been found at Marin up to the present time, some with and some without sheaths. The latter are all made of iron, with one single exception, which consisted of thin bronze plate. They are, on the whole, master-pieces of the smith's art, and in making them the hammer was chiefly used—not the file—and the polish of the smooth shining portions was obtained by the use of scraping and grinding tools. Not one of these swords, either in length, breadth, or weight, is exactly like the other, and the ornamentation is remarkably different in every specimen. Most of them are in good preservation, but still some of them are bent and full of notches at the edge."

In addition to the objects now described, a large number of miscellaneous articles, belonging to the same great groups of substances and manufactures, might be enumerated, as the yield of the relic beds. Near Bodmann, on the western shore of the Ueberlinger See, a clay jar was found containing about six hundred bugle beads made of the "diceras oolite, a kind of stone which extends from Wangen, near Solothurn, to the Bernese Jura." Elsewhere beads of limestone, serpentine, and other rocks have been found. Fossils have not unfrequently been met with, which have served as ornaments, such as fish vertebræ, ammonites, terebratulæ, belemnites, and plates or joints of encrinites. Many of these are pierced or grooved round in order to receive a string. "Spindle-wheels" or counters, of stag's horn, sandstone, and limestone

occur occasionally, though the vast majority of these objects are clay. Several pieces of fine carbonate of lime were dug out of the relic mud at Meilen. "The anterior part of a copper axe or celt" was found at Maurach, and a perfect axe at Sipplingen. Moosseedorf has furnished an arrow-head of rock crystal. Amber has been discovered in rare instances. At Meilen "a single bead of this material was found, exactly like the beads used for neck ornaments, which are met with . . . in ancient graves." Among the remains at Maurach mention is made of "a perforated flattened bead of amber . . . more than an inch high and nearly an inch and a half broad; the amber is opaque, yellow, cloudy, with whitish veins and spots." A few oval amber beads were met with at Cortaillod. Montellier, too, has supplied a bead of amber. There may have been other cases in which the lake dwellings have yielded amber, but we do not know of them. Jet also is scarce. Beads of this substance have been found at Nidau; and Con- cise has furnished "the fragment of a jet bracelet, small but well executed." Glass is more abundant than either jet or amber. In the very ancient settlement of Wauwyl a glass bead—probably from Phœnicia—was discovered, of which it is said that it is "of a bluish-white colour when the light falls upon it, but of a honey-yellow when held between the light and the eye," the bluish colour being due to the presence of lead. At Unteruhldigen "eleven bottoms of goblets, and a smooth glass slab," with nearly thirty other articles in glass, were found. These must surely belong to a comparatively late age. Five pieces of grey-coloured glass were found at Sipplingen, "all covered with little wart-like projections." Besides these, three other glass articles were met with at this settlement. Glass beads were strung together with the beads of jet just spoken of as coming from Nidau. They were "exactly like those found in such extraordinary numbers in the tumuli of later date and in Roman stations; they consist of the same sort of material as was employed for the better sort of tesserae or mosaic cubes, and for the counters used in games." The amber beads found at Cortaillod also had bluish and white glass beads with them. The iron settlement of Marin has proved more fertile in glass than any other of the lake dwellings. Dr. Keller gives the following list of objects in glass obtained at Marin :—

"Pretty rings belonging to a necklace, white, blue, and yellow in colour, two small blue rings, a portion of an armlet of blue glass, rather a long bead of bluish glass, and a round unperforated ball of glass, of



a blue colour, which Colonel Schwab informs me was the head of an iron hairpin."—Pp. 241, 242.

Gold seems to have seldom met the eye of a lake dweller. Only three instances of it are recorded in Dr. Keller's volume. "A spiral of gold wire," two-thirds of an inch long, "square in the section, first twisted round on itself and afterwards coiled into a spiral form," was discovered at Nidau, as was also a ribbed and corrugated little plate of gold, three-fifths of an inch square. Some objects of gold were found at Cortailod; amongst them were six earrings, all made of wire-twist, from which hangs "a thin plate of a pointed oval form," the plate being "ornamented with a series of raised lines one within the other." Lastly, the fruitful Marin has supplied one of those Gaulish gold coins, the quarter-stater, which have been so often found in Switzerland, and which may be considered as the current money of the Helvetii. The quarter-stater from Marin, like its companions from the land, "is a bad imitation of the Macedonian coins of Philip, and has on the obverse the head of Apollo with the fillet of laurel, and on the reverse a biga, with the emblem of a bird under the vehicle, and some letters which may be read, ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ. Very probably the gold was collected in the Aar and its tributaries, and the money coined in Aventicum." Besides this gold coin, other Gaulish coins have been met with in Marin—viz., first, some silver pieces of Marseilles; and, secondly, "several coins cast from a mixture of copper, lead, and tin (*potin*), which are commonly found in the districts of the Helvetii, Sequani, and the *Ædui*. On one side of these *potin* pieces "there is a head, and on the other the figure of a fanciful animal with a mane, short horns, and long tail. It is difficult to say whether a horse is intended. The workmanship is very rude." Finally, a Roman amphora was found at Corcelletes; pottery of red clay (*terra sigillata*) and roofing tiles of Roman workshop were dug up at Unteruhldigen, Marin, and other settlements; and a Roman key, figured by Dr. Keller, was discovered among the relics at Sippligen.

It might have seemed quixotic to expect that the sub-aqueous ruins of the lake dwellings would throw much light upon the dress, the diet, or the general physical condition and circumstances of their occupants. Chiefly through the good offices of the fire, however, which consumed the settlements, the peat and mud have made revelations on these subjects, which are equally startling and important.

A very considerable number of articles manufactured from *bast* or vegetable fibre, and from flax, has been recovered

from the Swiss relic beds. Among many others Dr. Keller enumerates ropes and cords, formed by twisting together thin twigs, especially of the willow; ropes and lines of rushes, reeds, straw, &c.; lime-tree bast intertwined with reeds and strips of flax; mats platted into a kind of trellis-work from bast-strips; strands of flax "laid in straight lines close to each other, and bound round and fastened together by similar strands," so as to form a matting which might be used either as coat or mattress; fishing and hunting nets of various strength; several kinds of platted cloth, "remarkable for their ingenious structure, and for the accuracy and care of their workmanship;" cloth made not by hand alone, but by some kind of weaving apparatus; lastly, cloth embroidered after various designs by means of needle and thread, and, in the case of one of the specimens, with a four-cornered linen pocket sewed on to it. "Heads," or bundles of rough or unworked flax, clean and ready for use, have likewise been found in the dwellings, as have also beautiful balls or hanks of string. "The bundles found at Robenhausen, both of simple yarn and also of thread, made of two or more strands twisted together, proved the great ability possessed by the settlers in the art of spinning." They do not appear to have been equally clever at tailoring. "After careful examination," Dr. Keller says, "we have never found—with the exception of the pocket and embroidery just mentioned, and one other hem made by a needle—any kind of seam or appearance of the cloth having been cut out," so that the woven fabrics of the lake dwellers will have served rather as wrappers for the body than as clothes in the European sense of the term. As yet no hemp has ever been met with in a lake settlement. Pieces of leather have been discovered here and there, and this, coupled with the wooden bast named some pages back, seems to point to sandals as part of the pile dwellers' personal accoutrements; but here, for the present, we are almost wholly in the dark.

Beside the raw materials and manufactures just enumerated, the relic beds have yielded, mostly in a carbonized state, a surprising variety and quantity of vegetable remains, representing for the most part the food of the lake-dwelling people. Dr. Keller's volume contains extracts from a most interesting memoir on the plants of the lake dwellings, published by Dr. Oswald Heer, of Zürich, which furnish a pretty complete index to what is known on this subject. Among the cereals, the "small-grained, six-rowed barley, and the small lake-dwelling wheat" take the precedence. After these come five

other kinds, either of wheat or barley, and two sorts of millet, with spelt and oats. Rye has never been met with in the pile settlements. "The millets are undoubtedly spring crops; in fact, all the other kinds of cereals seem to have been the same." The quantity of corn brought from some of the lake beds is amazing. At Wangen more than a bushel was found together; and M. Löhle calculates that first and last he has obtained not fewer than a hundred bushels of corn from this lake dwelling alone. Wheat bread has been discovered in several places; also bread made from millet with a mixture of wheat grains and linseed. No barley bread has been found; barley was probably eaten parched or roasted.\* The bread found at Robenhausen, when newly baked, must have weighed something like forty pounds. Corn-field weeds, some indigenous, others introduced with the cultivated, plants have been lighted on, often in considerable numbers; such as darnel, several varieties of goosefoot, burdock, corn cockle, white campion, chickweed, and others. "A fact of great interest is the occurrence of the Cretan catchfly, as it is not found in Switzerland and Germany, but on the contrary, is spread over all the countries of the Mediterranean, and is found in the flax-fields of Greece, Italy, the South of France, and the Pyrenees. The presence of the corn-bluebottle is no less remarkable, for its original home is Sicily." Peas, parsneps, dwarf Celtic field beans, and very small lentils, exhaust the list of kitchen vegetables. The lake people were given to apple-eating. Great numbers of charred apples—the small ones whole, the larger ones cut into two, occasionally into three pieces—have been met with in the relic beds. Three hundred apples were found together in one place at Robenhausen. Sour crabs are plentiful. At Robenhausen what appeared to be a cultivated apple was discovered. Pears occur much less frequently than apples. Stalks, cores, and pips of apples and pears have been found apart from the fruits themselves. Fruits of the service tree, cherry, and bullace have been met with. "Sloes were gathered by the colonists, and also bird cherries in great abundance." Rasp-

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\* This statement of Dr. Keller's seems to need a little qualification. Elsewhere, describing M. Löhle's recent discovery of baked cakes at Wangen, he says: "The form of these cakes is somewhat round, and about an inch or an inch and a half high—one small specimen, nearly perfect, is about four or five inches in diameter. The dough did not consist of meal, but of grains of corn, more or less crushed. In some specimens *the halves of grains of barley are plainly discernible*. The under side of these cakes is sometimes flat, sometimes concave, and there appears no doubt that the mass of dough was baked by being laid on hot stones, and covered over with glowing ashes."—P. 63.

berries and blackberries, likewise, were common among them. Strawberries were less plentiful. "Seeds of the dog-rose, the common elder, and the dwarf elder, are met with in abundance. On the other hand, the seeds of the bilberry are rare, and the red whortleberry or cowberry does not appear to have been eaten, for only its leaves are found." The berries of the wayfaring tree are sometimes met with. It is doubtful whether the grape has been discovered in the Swiss lake dwellings. Hazel nuts, generally cracked, and beech nuts have been discovered in large quantities. "The water chestnut (*trapa natans*), which now only exists in Switzerland in a tarn in the Canton of Lucerne, but which is found both at Robenhausen and Moosseedorf, formed doubtless an article of food, as it does at the present day in Upper Italy." It is probable that the beech nuts were not only eaten, but that oil was expressed from them. Two oil-producing plants, the garden poppy and the dogwood, occur in the settlements. "A whole cake of the seeds of the poppy was found at Robenhausen. Carraway seeds were met with at Robenhausen. They seem to have been used as condiments for food. Mention has already been made of bast as obtained from the lime tree. The weld or woad (*reseda luteola*) found in the dwellings may have served for dyeing. Most of the forest trees of which the lake settlements furnish examples, have been spoken of in describing the piles and hut platforms. Dr. Heer's catalogue enumerates the Scotch fir, and mountain pine, the spruce and silver firs, the juniper, the yew, the oak, the hornbeam, the alder, the birch, more than one species of willow, the ash, holly, spindle tree, berry-bearing alder, and mountain ash. "At Robenhausen there were found portions of twigs, and remains of the leaves of the mistletoe, the sacred plant of the Gauls." In addition to the forest trees and their dependants, the lake dwellings have furnished mosses—used, no doubt, as bedding and for stopping holes in the hut walls; funguses, viz., the common tinder fungus, "which occurs in nearly all the lake dwellings, and was probably used for procuring fire," and the oak agaric; and a long series of water and marsh plants, such as charœ, reeds, sedges, flags, pond weed, water pepper, hog's fennel, white and yellow water-lilies, water-crowfoot, and others.

The world of fact and speculation thrown open by these last-named discoveries is sufficiently marvellous; but it is outdone, if possible, by the resurrection of animal being, which has followed from the dredging of the lake-beds, and by the light which this resurrection and its attendant

phenomena shed upon the manners, life, and circumstances of the lake dwellers. The quantities of animal bones found in some of the lake dwellings is almost incredible. An extract or two from Dr. Keller or his authorities will serve at once to illustrate this remark, and to prepare the way for further statements as to the species of animals whose remains have been found in the settlements, and as to the conditions under which they are met with. Speaking of the Robenhausen settlements, Dr. Keller says:—

“The animal kingdom is more largely represented here than in any other settlement; the bones are often found together in heaps of from fifty to one hundred pounds; from their weight some of them have sunk eight or ten inches into the bottom of the lake. As one hundred weight of bones were gathered in the Aa brook canal alone, the mass of animal remains buried in the whole colony must be immense. Scales of fish are found everywhere in great abundance.”—Pp. 48, 49.

Again, M. Uhlmann describes the animal relics at Greng, on the Lake of Morat, thus:—

“The quantity of bones was so large that M. Gaberel had them carted away in carts. This quantity was made up of undefined fragments, broken and hewn as if in a butcher’s shop. . . . About one-third of the whole weight of bones consists of the remains of horned cattle. . . . The marks of the teeth of mice may often be seen on the stags’ horns. . . . Mixed with the bones, and sometimes in the mud found in the hollows of the marrow-bones, I noticed many freshwater shells. . . . The heaps of bones very frequently show the marks of the celt upon them, and also the incisions made by sharp knives, especially the long bones where the ligaments and tendons had to be separated when the animal was cut in pieces. Many of them also show the marks of the teeth of carnivora.”—Pp. 187—189.

The bones thus described by M. Uhlmann were those of the *urus*, or *bos primigenius*; the ox, male and female; the small marsh cow; the sheep and goat; the deer, roe, and elk; the common hog, the wild boar, and the marsh pig; the great bear (*ursus arctos*); the dog, fox, hedgehog, and beaver. With these were associated the small bones of a frog—a unique specimen—also scales of the perch and other fish, and the vertebræ of what seemed to be a pike.

In like manner M. Lachmann writes respecting the animal remains at Nussdorf:—

“The bones, horns, and teeth belonged to the horse, cow, marsh-cow, stag, roe, sheep, marsh pig, bear, dog, wolf, lynx, hedgehog and beaver; remains of the pike and other fish were also met with. The

bones are seldom found whole; a large number of the long bones had been opened lengthwise [doubtless to get at the marrow]; the broad and short bones had been broken to pieces. On some specimens are still to be seen traces of the use of stone implements in the shape of notches and incisions. Some of the animals' skulls have a hole made in the parietal bone, probably to extract the brain."—P. 112.

Besides the animals named in these extracts, the various settlements have yielded remains of the bison or aurochs, the ibex, wolf, marten, badger, polecat, weasel, hare, and others. Birds are represented by the eagle, falcon, crow, owl, starling, pigeon, crane, stork, heron, swan, goose and duck—some of them, as the falcon, crow, and duck, in several species. The toad has been met with, as well as the frog; and salmon, carp, and a few other fishes, must be joined with the pike as relics of the class to which they belong. Several of these animals occur but seldom. The ibex has only been found at Meilen; the mouse only at Robenhausen; the hare only at Robenhausen and Moosseedorf. Most of the birds and fishes have been discovered at one or two stations alone. Bones of the urus, aurochs, boar, bear, and dog, with those of the deer, ox, goat, sheep, and pig, are found in great abundance. It is remarkable, too, that in several of the settlements masses of the dung of domestic animals have been met with—often in a carbonised state—so situated as to show that the lake dwellers kept their cattle upon the hut-platforms, not upon the shore, and that the stalls for them were distributed between the huts. At Robenhausen, M. Messikomer discovered in the peaty mud "horizontal beds from two to ten inches thick, varying in extent, composed entirely of the excrements of cows, pigs, sheep, and goats, together with the remains of the litter they had used. . . . The litter for the cows consisted chiefly of straws and rushes; that for the smaller animals was of sprigs of fir and twigs of brushwood. In these masses of excrements may be noticed the chrysalis shells of the insects which are so numerous at the present day in the manure found in the cattle-sheds."

We cannot now attempt to paint the picture of the manners and life of the lake dwellers, for which this resuscitated fauna and flora of their times, with all its manifold relations to the human population, furnish so ample materials. Very many of the facts above recited suggest their own interpretation, and of themselves depict in vivid colours the condition and habits of the pre-historic men. It will suffice to say that they were manifestly at once a hunting, fishing, and agricultural people; that they domesticated and sheltered, side by



side with their own dwellings on the waters, a number of animals still holding the first place among the herds and flocks of Switzerland and Europe in general; and that, while the geological features of the lake country were pretty much what they are in our own day, the vegetable and animal world surrounding the pile builders, with some notable exceptions, was the existing world as it is known in the neighbourhood of Zürich, Berne, and Geneva.

Perhaps the supreme puzzle belonging to the case of this mysterious people is the fact, that scarcely any remains of their persons are anywhere to be met with. No burying-place on shore has ever been found attached to any of the settlements; and either no human bones whatever have been dredged out of the relic beds, or such as have been discovered have been too few and fragmentary to throw much light upon the subject. Perhaps the most important discovery of this kind is the one at Greng, of which M. Uhlmann says:—

“Remains of human bones have been dug up at several points in the area of the lake dwelling, and at a considerable depth. M. von Bonstetten possesses a perfect frontal bone of a boy hardly come to puberty. In the collection of the Count de Pourtales there are similar specimens, with (if I mistake not) pieces of the cranium; and I have in my possession a left femur and a right humerus, the first that of a middle-sized slender individual, probably a female, the latter of a somewhat younger person. The epiphyses are wanting in these two bones, both above and below, and the ends exhibit clear and indubitable traces of gnawing by some carnivorous animal, but whether by a small bear, or a great dog, or other beasts, can hardly be decided. As far as can be judged from a superficial examination, none of the portions of the skull mentioned above exhibit any savage types, for the forehead is regularly arched and is considerably high.”  
—Pp. 188, 189.

Fragments of a human skull and ribs were dug up at Meilen. Sippligen furnished a parietal bone, the only trace of the human skeleton yet met with on the Lake of Constance. “Amongst an extraordinary number of bones” of various animals found at Concise, there were “only one fragment of an adult human skull, the frontal bone of a child, and a lower jaw with the second great molar tooth springing up.” Last of all Marin has supplied a basketful of human remains, probably from eight individuals; among them is a skull now in the museum of M. Desor, a drawing of which would have been a valuable addition to Dr. Keller’s large and interesting body of illustrative plates. As to the personal build of the men of the Swiss lake dwellings, however, we

must needs, for the present, put up with ignorance. Whether the bulk of their remains be buried under the glaciers, as has been suggested, or not, we see no reason why future discoveries in the lake beds themselves should not enable us to reconstruct in full the osseous framework of this pre-historic type of our species.

Meanwhile, there comes up with great force of interest the question of the era, origin, and relations of this vanished population of the waters. Who were the lake dwellers? When did they first settle in Switzerland? How long did they continue there? And what has become of them?

In dealing with these and similar inquiries, Dr. Keller has been careful not to tread in the steps of some who have gone before him. While holding the prime articles of the faith of modern European geologists and antiquarians, he is much more discriminating in his use and application of them. He recognises, for example—as we think rightly—the general fact, that there were three successive periods in the pre-historic development of the civilisation of Western Europe; that there was a period, the most ancient of the three, when the population had no use of metals—their implements and weapons of all kinds being manufactured out of stone, bone, horn, and wood; that this era was followed by another, in which bronze became known, and by degrees took the place, to a great extent, of the older and simpler materials; and that bronze, in its turn, was superseded, after a considerable lapse of time, by the knowledge and paramount employment of iron; that, in fact, the Scandinavian doctrine of the ages of stone, bronze, and iron represents a reality, and that, under certain restrictions and modifications, it may be made to subserve the interests of historical and chronological science. But in applying this well-known theory to the case of the lake dwellers, he speaks with much greater reserve than M. Troyon; indeed, his speculations on all the points to which we have just adverted are marked by a caution and good sense which are much to be commended. Our space will not admit of our going at large into Dr. Keller's argument. We must content ourselves with stating briefly what seem to be the main issues to which his facts compel us.

1. It is quite evident, whoever the lake dwellers were, that they continued to occupy their settlements in times which are strictly historical. The Roman remains found at Marin and elsewhere—remains occurring under precisely the same con-

ditions as the mass of the lake dwelling relics—are conclusive evidence that such was the fact.

2. While it is probable that fear of enemies had much to do with the original establishment of the lake dwellings, appearances are strongly against the hypothesis of M. Desor and others, who will have the settlements to be partly magazines and arsenals, partly places of refuge or of occasional meeting for the people of the main land. We entirely agree with Dr. Keller and Mr. Lee, that this theory of temporary abode can never be sustained. The labour expended on the substructures; the erection of separate huts, and the accommodations made in them for the convenience of separate families; the keeping of the cattle on the house-platforms; “the repeated repair and re-erection of the settlements after having been burnt;” the relic beds, lying one above the other, with their enormous quantity of bones and remains of domestic implements; the character of the fruits and seeds, which belong to the whole circle of the seasons; “the non-existence on any of the shores or banks near the lake dwellings of the stone age of any similar remains;” all go to prove that the so-called lake dwellers really made the settlements their homes, and that they were the chief theatre and sphere of their life, year after year, and generation after generation. What became of their dead is a mystery; but it is not greater under Dr. Keller’s exposition of the use of the settlements, than it is under the theory which he confutes.

3. The lake dwellings are not all of the same era. They have a chronology; and, while almost wholly pre-historic, belong some to a remoter, some to a comparatively recent age. It would be utterly unscientific and arbitrary to assume that the settlements in which stone implements are found were first formed; then those in which the implements are of bronze; then, last of all, those in which iron implements are seen to obtain. For, in the first place, no such hard lines of distinction as this doctrine would draw among the settlements exists in fact; and, secondly, it would be quite conceivable that the settlements, having been all established at one and the same epoch, the people inhabiting them passed through successive phases of civilisation, and, having begun as workers in stone, became subsequently workers in bronze and iron, as they made acquaintance with these metals through barter and through direct and indirect communication with foreign tribes and races. The fact, however, adverted to under the last head—namely, that, in certain localities, settlements are found built upon the tombs of former settle-

ments, is clear demonstration that distance in time divided the erection of some of the lake dwellings from the erection of others of them. This is very fully illustrated by M. Messikomer's report on the Robenhausen settlement, from which it appears that this settlement is a triple one, and consists of three distinct settlements, the remains of which are piled one on the top of the other, the lowermost and next above it having been destroyed by fire previous to the driving of the third and topmost series of pile foundations. And when we couple with this the consideration that, where bronze and iron tools were in use, the lake dwellings run into deeper water than where they are distinctively of stone, not only is a chronological period established—as distinguished from a single epoch—but the theory is favoured which looks upon a stone settlement like Wangen as, *cæteris paribus*, older than a bronze one like Morges, and a bronze one like Morges as, *cæteris paribus*, older than an iron one like Marin. How the chronological scale is to be graduated, and where we are to fix in time the original establishment of pile settlements in Switzerland, are quite different questions, and questions which we think Dr. Keller is wise in postponing to a more advanced stage of our knowledge.

4. We find no scientific compulsion, however, which insists upon a very enormous antiquity for the pile dwellings. We do not admit this compulsion in view of the question of the antiquity of the human race as a whole. It may be perfectly true—we suppose it cannot be honestly denied—that man has co-existed in Western Europe with the mammoth, the rhinoceros tichorinus, and other extinct mammals. But there is another explanation of this phenomenon besides the theory which runs man's age in the earth up into a dozen or twenty millenniums beyond the starting points of history. Suppose, instead of man being so much older than we used to think him, it should turn out that our mammals are so much younger, and that the rhinoceros and mammoth period must be brought lower down, and not the human period pushed further back. So far as we know, science has not shown the improbability of this hypothesis; and, until it is proved untenable, we hold it as, in view of everything, a more scientific solution of the question in debate than that furnished by its rival. Here, however, neither Robenhausen nor any other phenomena with which we have to do demand or even need a space of time greater than some one or two thousand years before the Christian era. While we believe, with Dr. Keller, that a high antiquity must be assigned to the

so-called stone settlements, we are not surprised to hear M. Troyon, near the outset of his volume, say: "Let it be well understood, then, that the stone age—the relics of which are discovered in the lakes and in the graves—is recognised, in this work, as subsequent to the Mosaic deluge."

5. Further, we heartily endorse Dr. Keller's conviction, that the lake dwellers, whatever the time of their coming into Switzerland, and how great and numerous soever the changes which passed upon them during their long occupation of the country, were one and the same people. M. Troyon contends that the nationality of the stone people was quite distinct from that of the race which used the metal implements, and that the establishment of bronze and iron settlements upon the territory occupied by those of stone must be attributed to immigration and conquest. Dr. Keller argues, and we think triumphantly, that the facts of the case are strongly opposed to such a theory. Two considerations alone, both urged by Dr. Keller, appear to us to be fatal to the idea of successive and diverse populations. In the first place, it is incredible that two or three distinct races should all take to the unnatural and laborious way of living adopted by the pile dwellers. If bronze men or iron men had invaded the country of the stone men, and had made themselves masters of their settlements, it is morally certain they would most carefully abstain from the practice of living in huts built on the tops of timbers thrust into lake bottoms. . And, again, if this were supposable, it is not supposable that such heterogeneous populations should drive their piles, and lay their platforms, and build and furnish their houses, and fashion their chief implements, as was the fact with the lake dwellers, all on the same model. Nothing is more certain than that the pile dwellings in every age are constructed in precisely the same manner; and how this circumstance can be made to tally with M. Troyon's theory, or with any other theory than that of the race-unity of the lake-dwelling people, we are at a loss to understand.

6. What, then, was the nationality of the Swiss lake dwellers? M. Troyon says that the men of bronze were Celts, and that the men of stone were a pre-Celtic population. Dr. Keller maintains that all were Celts together. His words in summing up are:—

"Believing as we do that the different settlements in what are called the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages, do not indicate a succession of races or the destruction of one people by another, but merely different grades of civilisation amongst one and the same

people, and a continued progress in handicraft ability ; believing also that the lake dwellers did not form a peculiar caste, but, as is shown at Ebersberg and other places, belonged to the very people who at the same time lived on the main land ; and knowing that according to the universal opinion of many French and English antiquaries, the bronze objects of a peculiar form and quite as peculiar ornamentation, such as those found in the settlements, both on the land and in the lakes, have always been attributed to the Celts ; knowing also that history makes no mention of any other people but the Celts, who in the very earliest ages possessed the middle of Europe, and in later times received their civilisation from the Romans, we believe that it would be contrary to all the facts adduced to arrive at any other conclusion but this, that the builders of the lake dwellings were a branch of the Celtic population of Switzerland, but that the earlier settlements belong to the pre-historic period, and had already fallen into decay before the Celts took their place in the history of Europe.”—P. 313.

To this finding—a finding which sorts exactly with all we know of the Helvetii and Celtic populations of Central Europe in general, whether from Cæsar or other ancient authorities—we give our cordial adhesion. Subject to the correction of future discovery, we hold with Dr. Keller, that our lake dwellers were a portion of that great Celtic migration which started, when the world was young, from the steppes and waters of High Asia ; that they came, we know not when, but many hundreds of years before Christ, into Switzerland, bringing with them the dog, cow, sheep, goat, and horse, understanding agriculture likewise, and cultivating wheat, barley, and flax ; that moved by some mysterious idiosyncrasy of race, and urged by pressure of external circumstances, they addicted themselves to the strange fashion of living which we have described in the foregoing pages ; and that the habit of such a manner of life being formed, and corroborated by their lot, they continued age after age to follow their primeval customs, till the power and civilisation of the Romans came and abolished them for ever.

We are reluctantly compelled to omit all detailed notice of the lake dwellings which have been discovered and examined of late, south of the Alps and beyond the Swiss area, as well as of those half-cousins of the pile buildings, the so-called *crannoges* and *crannogs*—a kind of insular stockades found in different parts of North Britain and Ireland. For these we must refer our readers partly to chapters devoted to these two subjects in Dr. Keller’s volume, partly to the valuable memoirs on the one and the other contained in the masterly works of Sir John Lubbock and Sir Charles Lyell. It will be



enough to say here, that both the stockade structures on the one hand, and the actual pile buildings of Savoy, of Lombardy, of Bavaria, of Mecklenburg, &c. on the other, all point in one direction, and serve to add certainty to the conclusions at which Dr. Keller has arrived with respect to the Celtic origin and relationships of the Swiss lake builders.

Our best thanks are due to Mr. Lee for the judgment and care with which he has edited Dr. Keller's very valuable series of reports. He has opened to the view of Englishmen a new chapter in the hitherto unwritten history of human kind, and has furnished the devout and wise with fresh material for reflection on the marvellous character and government of Him whose judgments are unsearchable, and His ways past finding out.



ART. VI.—*Lives of Boulton and Watt. Principally from the original Soho MS.: comprising also a History of the Invention and Introduction of the Steam-engine.* By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of *Industrial Biography*, &c. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1865.

IN this able and interesting volume we have a valuable addition to other works of a kindred description, upon which Mr. Smiles has bestowed so much patient industry of research, and in the execution of which he has given us admirable examples of an important department of English literature. They record the achievements of men mostly self-taught, who will always be reckoned among the first benefactors, not only of their country, but also of their race. "Who are the great men of the present age?" asked a leading member of Parliament some time ago in the House of Commons. "Not your warriors, not your statesmen," was the reply, "they are your engineers."

In Mr. Smiles' former volumes we have an account of those immense works of drainage by which thousands of acres of land have been reclaimed from sea, and fen, and bog; a history of the growth of our inland communication by means of roads, canals, bridges, and railways; and a description of the construction of our lighthouses, breakwaters, docks, and harbours, forming altogether memorials equally interesting and enduring of such names as Vermuyden, Myddleton, Perry, Brindley, Smeaton, Telford, and the Stephensons. And now, in the "*Lives of Boulton and Watt*," we are made familiar with men whose inventive skill, unwearied industry, and brave struggles through years of almost overwhelming difficulties, succeeded in producing mechanical contrivances in the application of steam-power, to which England at the present moment chiefly owes her material greatness, and which have been among the principal agents in the progress of general civilisation.

Like electricity, the power of steam was observed by ancient philosophers long before the Christian era, but how to "harness" and utilise it was a problem not solved until within the last hundred years; and in consequence of the imperfect state of dynamical science in the middle of the last century, some of the most important industrial occupations of this country were fast coming to a standstill.

enough to say here, that on one hand, and the actuary, of Bavaria, of point in one direction, and conclusions at which Dr. Celtic origin and relative

Our best thanks are due to the care with which he has written a series of reports. He has written a new chapter in the kind, and has furnished material for reflection to the government of Him. His ways past find

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often very obscure, failing to explain the processes by which particular results were produced. This is especially the case with his water-commanding engine. Mr. Watt was of opinion that "the expansive power of steam was the principle on which the engine worked;" but he considered the account of it so unintelligible, that "any inventor desirous of constructing a steam-engine will have to begin again at the beginning."

Among the patents which the ever-busy marquis took out were "an engine to give security to a coach, and a boat to sail against wind and tide."

After his death the engine on which he had bestowed so much labour and expense passed out of notice; but the idea of the steam or fire engine, as it was then called, was revived by Sir Samuel Morland, Master of Mechanics to Charles II. He was the inventor of the capstan for raising ships' anchors, and was expert in the construction of pumps and hydraulic engines.

"He also devoted himself to the improvement of the fire-engine, in which he employed a cylinder and piston, as well as a stuffing-box. Towards the later years of his life, he applied himself more particularly to the study of the powers and uses of steam. It is not, however, known that he ever erected a steam-engine. If he did, no account of its performances has been preserved."—Pp. 29, 30.

Morland died in 1695; and the next name famous in the history of the steam-engine, to which Mr. Smiles refers, is that of Dr. Dionysius Papin. Papin was a French refugee, and a man eminently skilled in natural science. His distinguished attainments soon brought him into notice. The celebrated Boyle and other scientific men received him into their circle, and obtained a situation for him in connexion with the Royal Society. A few years afterwards he accepted an invitation to fill the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Marburg in Germany. While occupying this office he maintained a correspondence with England,—

"And communicated to the Royal Society the results of the experiments in physics, which he continued to pursue. It had occurred to him, as it had done before to Hautefeuille, that the explosion of gunpowder presented a ready means of producing a power to elevate a piston in a tube or cylinder, and that when so raised a vacuum could be formed under the piston by condensing the vapour, and so ensuring its return by the pressure of the atmosphere. He thought that he might thus be enabled to secure an efficient moving force. But it was found in practice that the proposed power was too violent as well as uncertain, and it was shortly given up as impracticable."—P. 33.

One of Papin's chief projects was the construction of a boat to be propelled by steam-power. He expended great energy in the attempt to work out the idea; but the difficulties in the way of fully accomplishing it, overmastered him. Disappointment followed disappointment, until, "worn out by work and anxiety, the illustrious exile died; and it was left for other labourers to realise the great ideas he had formed as to locomotion by steam-power."

While Papin was experimenting on steam in Germany, Thomas Savery was similarly engaged in this country, and to him "is usually accorded the merit of having constructed the first actual working steam-engine." He was educated for the profession of a military engineer, and employed much of his spare time in mechanical experiments. A man like Savery could scarcely have been altogether unacquainted with what had already been attempted in the way of experiments in steam; but it is not probable that he had obtained information of much practical service. It has been thought that he may have gathered some suggestions from the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*. But a trustworthy authority tells us that the—

"First hint from which he took the engine was from a tobacco-pipe, which he immersed in water to wash or cool it; when he discovered by the rarefaction of the air in the tube by the heat or steam, and the gravitation or pressure of the exterior air on the condensation of the latter, that the water was made to spring through the tube of the pipe in a most surprising manner; and this phenomenon induced him to search for the rationale, and to prosecute a series of experiments which issued in the invention of his fire-engine."—P. 49.

Savery's engine was employed for various purposes; but the most important was that of drawing water from mines and coal-pits. Several were erected in Cornwall, and their practical value was soon evident, for they enabled the miners to descend to the deeper ores, which hitherto had been simply so much buried treasure.

We now come to a name which is the connecting link between the earliest experiments on the steam-engine and James Watt. This was Thomas Newcomen, an ironmonger and blacksmith of Dartmouth. According to one story formerly current in Dartmouth, and generally believed,—

"Newcomen conceived the idea of the motive power to be obtained from steam by watching the tea-kettle, the lid of which would frequently rise and fall when boiling; and, reasoning upon this fact, he

contrived, by filling a cylinder with steam, to raise the piston, and by immediately injecting some cold water, to create a vacuum, which allowed the weight of the atmosphere to press the piston down, and so give motion to a pump by means of beams and rods."—P. 61.

According to another account, Newcomen obtained drawings of Savery's engine, and then introduced various improvements suggested by his own mechanical sagacity. Whichever version of the affair may be accepted, whether that which makes Newcomen an entirely original inventor or a skilful improver, it is certain that he was a man of great ingenuity, and that his engine pushed on the invention another important stage. It was known as the Newcomen engine, and for some years was extensively employed as a pumping machine in the principal mining districts of the country.

One great drawback to the discoveries and inventions hitherto made was the lack of proper mechanism through which the new power might safely and advantageously work; and even when, to a certain extent, suitable contrivances had been devised, the want of skilled mechanics and proper tools often made the whole thing a failure. Not only must there be a correct knowledge of the laws of motion and heat, and a scientific and mechanical genius ready in the invention of appliances through which these two laws may act; the hands of the expert artizan are equally necessary. It is seldom that all these qualifications meet in the same individual. They were combined to a considerable degree in Newcomen; but we have now to speak of a man in whom they were so remarkably found that his name stands out more conspicuously in connection with the progress of the steam-engine than any other.

This man was James Watt, the honour of whose birth-place belongs to Greenock. During his earlier years his education, owing to the extreme feebleness of his constitution, was entirely conducted at home. To amuse hours which would otherwise have passed away wearisomely, debarred as he was from out-door play with more robust children, his father supplied him with a few carpenters' tools, which he learned to handle with great dexterity. He would take his toys to pieces, and then, with an ingenuity prophetic of his future career, construct others out of the separate parts. Another favourite occupation was drawing on paper with a pencil, or on the floor with a piece of chalk; and it is related of him that one day, when only six years old, he was discovered tracing lines on the hearth in an attempt to solve a problem in geometry.



When at length he was sent to school he did not at first make much progress, partly, perhaps, in consequence of his "almost continual ailments," and partly because he was not engaged with studies in which he took any particular interest. No sooner, however, was he placed in the mathematical class than his pre-eminent abilities appeared, and from that time he made rapid advance. His time out of school was pretty much occupied in drawing or in cutting or carving with his pen-knife, and making various articles with the carpenters' tools in his father's shop; so struck were the workmen with his skill that they often said, "little Jamie has got a fortune at his fingers' ends." Referring to his occupation and tastes at this early period of his life, Mr. Smiles observes,—

"He was, in fact, educating himself in the most effectual manner, in his own way, learning to use his hands dexterously, familiarising himself with the art of handling tools, and acquiring a degree of expertness in working with them in wood and metal which eventually proved of the greatest value to him. At the same time he was training himself in habits of application, industry, and invention. Most of his spare time was thus devoted to mechanical adaptations of his own contrivance. A small forge was erected for him, and a bench fitted up for his special use; and there he constructed many ingenious little objects, such as miniature cranes, pulleys, pumps, and capstans." —P. 91.

Nothing escaped his notice; whatever he saw in the shape of a scientific or mechanical instrument he would examine and re-examine until he understood as much as possible of its structure and purpose. He also paid much attention to natural philosophy, and became familiar with some of the leading principles and facts of chemistry and electricity. "His father had originally intended him to follow his own business; but having sustained some heavy losses, and observing the strong bias of his son towards manipulation, science, and the exact mathematics, he at length decided to send him to Glasgow, in the year 1754, when he was eighteen years old, to learn the trade of a mathematical instrument maker." On his arrival in Glasgow no master in the proposed line of business could be found, and after spending a few months with a "sort of Jack-of-all-trades," who was ingenious enough after a fashion, but from whom a youth like James Watt could not gain much instruction, it was resolved to send him to London, where at least the Glasgow disappointment of not finding a mathematical instrument maker was not likely to be repeated. The journey

was performed on horseback in company with a relation, and occupied about a fortnight, the young traveller's chest being sent by sea. Mr. Smiles gives the following entry found in an old memorandum book of the elder Watt:—

“To send James Watt's chist to the care of Mr. William Oman, ventener in Leith, to be shypt for London to ye care of Captain William Watson, at the Hermitage, London.

“Paid 3s. 6d. for wagon carriage to Edinbrough of chist.

Paid to son James 2l. 2s.

Paid Plaster and Pomet 1s. 4d.

Paid 4 dozen pencils 1s. 6d.”

After encountering many unexpected obstacles, a situation was obtained for young Watt in the shop of Mr. John Morgan, a respectable mathematical instrument maker in Cornhill; and so great was his proficiency that before a year had elapsed he wrote to inform his father that he had made “a brass sector with a French joint, which is reckoned as nice a piece of framing work as is in the trade.” In order to draw as little as possible upon his father, whose means had become somewhat straitened, he lived in the most frugal manner, and overtaxed his strength by sitting up at night doing extra work that he might obtain something towards his maintenance. This severe application to business soon began to tell upon his fragile constitution. “When he hurried to his lodgings at night his body was wearied and his nerves exhausted, so that his hands shook like those of an old man.” Severe rheumatic pains and great depression of spirits continually distressed him, so that he was compelled to return to Greenock. A few weeks of recreation in his native air recruited his health, and his fifteen months in London had been so diligently improved that he proceeded to Glasgow to commence business for himself, being now in his twentieth year.

A very interesting account is given, in pages 105—108, of the difficulties which arose in his attempts to establish himself in Glasgow. As he was not the son of burgess, nor had served an apprenticeship within the borough, the corporation prohibited him from opening a business in the place. In this emergency, Dr. Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, for whom young Watt had repaired some mathematical instruments, took him under his patronage. An apartment in the inner quadrangle of the University was granted to him for a workshop, and the college not being within the jurisdiction of the guilds, the Greenock mechanic

was left to ply his craft without let or hindrance. A room fronting the High Street was also appropriated to him as a shop for the sale of his instruments. The trade of Glasgow, however, was then very limited, and Watt found that his own business would not afford him the means of subsistence. Ever ready with expedients, he took to map and chart selling; and "although he had no ear for music, and scarcely knew one note from another, he followed the example of the old spectacle-maker, his first master, in making fiddles, flutes, and guitars." He advanced from one step to another, until he built an organ, into which he introduced various improvements, which gave the instrument so superior a tone and finish, that its qualities are said "to have elicited the admiration and surprise of musicians."

Watt industriously employed his spare time in close reading on various branches of natural and mechanical science, and cultivated a pretty extensive acquaintance with more general literature. His singular abilities and ardent inquiry won for him the friendship of the professors and students of the University, among whom was John Robinson, who afterwards became the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh, and who enjoys the distinction of having first directed the attention of Watt to the subject of the steam-engine. It was not long before he had made himself familiar with what had already been accomplished in this direction, and while "reading up" on the subject, he began a course of self-suggested experiments. His first apparatus was of a very humble kind, and consisted of "apothecaries' phials for his steam reservoirs, and canes hollowed out for his steam pipes."

There was at this time in the University of Glasgow the model of a Newcomen engine, to which Watt obtained access. Speaking of this period, Mr. Smiles says:—

"In 1763, the little engine, which was destined to become so famous, was put into the hands of Watt. The boiler was somewhat smaller than an ordinary tea-kettle. The cylinder of the engine was only of two inches diameter and six inches stroke. Watt at first regarded it as merely a 'fine plaything.' It was, however, enough to set him upon a track of thinking which led to the most important results. When he had repaired the model, and set it to work, he found that the boiler, though apparently large enough, could not supply steam in sufficient quantity. The fire was urged by blowing, and more steam was produced, but still it would not work. Watt referred to his books, and endeavoured to ascertain from them by what means he might remedy the defects which he found in the model, but they could tell him nothing. He then proceeded with an

independent course of experiments, resolved to work out the problem for himself. In the course of his inquiries he came upon a fact which, more than any other, led his mind into the train of thought which at last conducted him to the invention of which the results were destined to prove so stupendous. This fact was the existence of latent heat."—Pp. 122, 123.

We have not space to describe the investigation which Watt at this point pursued; and, without entering into detail we cannot well explain the difficulty he had to overcome. The track which he followed led to the discovery that the chief expenditure of steam in the Newcomen engine was caused by the reheating of the cylinder after the steam had been condensed, the cylinder being thus cooled by the admission of the cold water.

"Watt, therefore, came to the conclusion that to make a perfect steam-engine it was necessary that *the cylinder should be always as hot as the steam that entered it*; but it was equally necessary that the steam should be condensed when the piston descended,—nay, that it should be cooled down below  $100^{\circ}$ , or a considerable amount of vapour would be given off, which would resist the descent of the piston, and diminish the power of the engine. Thus the cylinder was never to be at a less temperature than  $212^{\circ}$ , and yet at each descent of the piston it was to be less than  $100^{\circ}$ , conditions which, on the very face of them, seemed incompatible."—P. 124.

Watt plainly saw that until the necessity expressed in these "conditions" could be met, there was a rigid limit to further progress. Month after month he gave all the attention he could spare to the subject, and at length it occurred to him that a *separate condenser* would supply all that was required. The process of inquiry and invention which he pursued is given in a pleasant and instructive form in Mr. Smiles' volume, pages 127—135.

The difficulty that now arose in carrying out his invention was twofold. He had neither sufficient time nor sufficient money. His own business, never very remunerative, had suffered from the attention which had been diverted to the steam-engine. "What he wanted was capital, or the help of a capitalist willing to advance him the necessary funds to perfect his invention. To give a fair trial to the new apparatus would involve an expenditure of several thousand pounds; and who on the spot could be expected to invest so large a sum in trying a machine so entirely new, depending for its success on physical principles very imperfectly understood?"

At this juncture, Watt was introduced to Dr. John Roebuck.

the founder of the Carron Iron Works, who was also engaged in extensive mining adventures. Roebuck was not slow to appreciate the improvements which Watt proposed in the Newcomen engine ; and, persuaded that ultimate success was certain,

“ He undertook to pay debts to the amount of £1,000, which Watt had incurred in prosecuting his projects up to the present time, and also to provide the means of continuing experiments, as well as to secure a patent for the engine.”—P. 141.

Although now possessing many advantages for pursuing his enterprise, Watt found himself hampered by various difficulties, for a description of which we must refer the reader to the eighth chapter of the work before us. One of his chief embarrassments arose from the want of skilled mechanics to execute his plans. Bad workmanship so baffled him that we are told he “ had serious thoughts of giving up the thing altogether.” Still, never quite in despair, he persevered, and in the early part of 1769, the specifications for the patent were lodged at the proper office. It is worthy of remark that it was in that year Arkwright took out the patent for his spinning-jenny.

A few months after this, mainly owing to the failure of his mining operations, Dr. Roebuck became so involved in pecuniary difficulties that he could render Watt no further help ; for the present, the steam-engine business had to be laid aside, and Watt turned to engineering and surveying to obtain a livelihood. Before, however, entering upon the next important event in his career of invention we must turn our attention to a name which, although distinguished in itself, has acquired a wider renown from its association with that of Watt.

We refer to Matthew Boulton, the head of the great establishment at Soho. He was born at Birmingham, in the year 1728, and, in his earlier years, is spoken of as a “ bright, clever boy.” Those qualities of ingenuity, tact, and dauntless perseverance for which he was so famous soon began to show themselves. His father was engaged in various branches of Birmingham industry, which the son greatly improved, and in subsequent years largely extended.

“ By the time he was seventeen he had introduced several improvements in the manufacture of buttons, watch-chains, and other trinkets ; and he had invented the inlaid steel buckles, which shortly after became the fashion. These buckles were exported in large quantities to France, from whence they were brought back to England

and sold as the most recent productions of French ingenuity."—P. 164.

At the time of his father's death Matthew Boulton was thirty-one years of age, and the property he then inherited, with the fortune he came into possession of on his marriage with the daughter of a wealthy country gentleman a year afterwards, was sufficient to raise him above all business employments. But leisure was not his ambition: he was happy only when actively engaged in manufacturing and mercantile pursuits, and, instead of retiring on his ample income, he preferred to employ it in enlarging his already extensive business operations.

He resolved to erect a manufactory which should be far above of all existing establishments of a similar kind, both in the variety and superiority of articles produced, and in the higher facilities for producing them. This led to the purchase of a large piece of land, and the building of commodious and expensive premises at Soho, just outside the parish of Birmingham. Here a large mill was erected, the working power of which was obtained from a water-wheel, turned by a small stream, which there formed the boundary-line between the counties of Warwick and Stafford. Connected with this mill were numerous workshops, capable of accommodating upwards of a thousand workmen, and involving an outlay altogether of upwards of £20,000.

Steps were immediately taken to open up new connexions and agencies, both at home and abroad, and a large business was shortly established with many of the principal towns and cities in Europe in filagree and inlaid work, livery and other buttons, buckles, clasps, watch-chains, and various kinds of ornamental wares. Regardless of trouble and expense, Boulton endeavoured to obtain the best examples of Continental workmanship in "vases, cameos, intaglios, and statuary," together with the finest "specimens of medal-work," as models to form and educate the taste of the Soho artisans. A writer in one of the publications of the day indulges in a little smart satire on Boulton and his imitation of antique works of art, observing, "I should not wonder if some surprising genius at Birmingham should be tempted to make *Roman medals* and *tenpenny nails*, or *Corinthian knives* and *daggers*, and style himself Roman medal and Etruscan tenpenny nail-maker to the Empress of Abyssinia." Boulton, however, could afford to smile at these sallies. In both quality and finish, many of these imitations were of very beautiful execution, and accompanied, as they were, by



various productions of original ingenuity and skill, the fame of Soho rapidly spread, and the place maintained a world-wide celebrity, as the first of its kind, for more than half a century. Foreigners of distinction, when visiting this country, were accustomed to include Soho among the "lions," and many a warm tribute of admiration was paid to the genius and enterprise of Boulton by men of the highest culture and refinement. In one letter he says:—

"Last week we had Prince Poniatowski, nephew of the King of Poland, and the French, Danish, Sardinian, and Dutch ambassadors; this week we have had Count Orloff, one of the five celebrated brothers who are such favourites with the Empress of Russia; and only yesterday I had the Viceroy of Ireland, who dined with us. Scarcely a day without a visit from some distinguished personage."—Pp. 181, 182.

Boulton was honoured with the special patronage of the royal family, and was accustomed to attend at the palace with specimens of his manufacture. On one of his visits to London, he wrote to his wife: "The king hath bought a pair of capolets, a Titus, a Venus clock, and some other things, and inquired this morning how yesterday's sale went. I shall see him again, I believe. I was with them—the queen and all the children—between two and three hours. Never was man so complimented as I have been;" he drily adds, "but I find that compliments do not make fat, nor fill the pocket." Describing a subsequent visit, he speaks of the queen as "extremely sensible, very affable, and a great patroness of English manufactures." "Of this," he observes, "she gave me a particular instance; for, after the king and she had talked to me for nearly three hours, they withdrew, and then the queen sent for me into her boudoir, showed me her chimney-piece, and asked me how many vases it would take to furnish it; 'for,' said she, 'all that china shall be taken away.' She also desired that I would fetch her the two finest steel chains I could make. All this she did of her own accord, without the presence of the king, which I could not help putting a kind construction upon."

A great difficulty at Soho was want of sufficient mill-power. Two water-mills were employed in rolling, polishing, grinding, and turning various sorts of lathes; but often during summer droughts the stream on which they were dependent was insufficient to drive the water-wheels, and much inconvenience and delay were occasioned. A horse-mill was afterwards erected as an auxiliary force; but this was found to be a very

expensive process, employing six to ten horses at a cost of six or seven guineas a week. Boulton was thus led to turn his attention to steam, and thought of putting up a Newcomen engine.

In the year 1766, at the time Watt was busy with the engine which he patented, Boulton entered into correspondence with the celebrated Benjamin Franklin on the subject of steam-power, and he obtained a model of an engine for the purpose of trying experiments. He also corresponded with Dr. Roebuck, who gave him a description of the improvement in the "fire-engine" upon which Watt was then engaged. In the following year Watt called at Soho on his return to Scotland from London, and he and Boulton were much pleased with each other. Quick to read character and discern real ability, Boulton formed a high opinion of the inventive genius and practical sagacity of his Scottish visitor, who, on his part, was equally struck with the marvellous mechanical arrangements which he saw at Soho, especially admiring the finish of the tools and the delicacy of skill with which they were handled. He could plainly perceive that, with such instruments of labour, in the place of the "villanous bad workmanship" which so tired his patience and delayed his progress, he might calculate on reaching a speedy and complete success. A correspondence shortly took place between Boulton and Roebuck, by which arrangements were made for Watt to send drawings of his engine to Soho, in order "to have one constructed for the purpose of exhibiting its powers." Patterns were accordingly made and sent to Coalbrookdale, a celebrated ironfoundry in Shropshire, to be cast; but the castings were so badly executed that they could not be used. An ironfounder at Bilston was then employed, but with no better success. The experiment at Soho was for the present abandoned, and Watt and Roebuck renewed the trial in Scotland. Roebuck's insolvency soon interposed an insuperable obstacle to any further prosecution of the affair on his part, and brought Watt to a stand-still. After an interval of about three years, Boulton was induced to take up the matter in good earnest. In May, 1774, Watt came to Birmingham, and a connection was established between these eminent men which extended over a period of thirty-five years.

Referring to their respective qualities, Mr. Smiles remarks:—

"Had Watt searched Europe through, probably he could not have found a man better fitted than Matthew Boulton for bringing his

invention fairly before the world. Many would have thought it rash on the part of the latter, burdened as he was with heavy liabilities, to engage in a new undertaking of so speculative a nature. Feasible though the scheme might be, it was an admitted fact that nearly all the experiments with the models heretofore made had proved failures. It is true Watt firmly believed that he had hit upon the right principle, and he was as sanguine as ever of the ultimate success of his engine. But though inventors are usually sanguine, men of capital do not take up their schemes on that account. Boulton, however, among his many other gifts, possessed an admirable knowledge of character. In Watt he had recognised on his first visit to Soho, not only a man of original inventive genius, but a plodding, earnest, intent, and withal an exceedingly modest, man; not given to puff, but on the contrary rather disposed to underrate the merit of his inventions. Different though their characters were in most respects, Boulton at once conceived a hearty liking for him. The one displayed in perfection precisely those qualities which the other wanted. Boulton was a man of ardent and generous temperament, bold and enterprising, undaunted by difficulty, and of almost boundless capacity for work. He was a man of great tact, clear perception, and sound judgment. Moreover, he possessed that indispensable quality of perseverance, without which the best talents are of comparatively little value in the conduct of important affairs. While Watt hated business, Boulton loved it. He had, indeed, a genius for business,—a gift almost as rare as that for poetry, for art, or for war. He possessed a marvellous power of organisation. With a keen eye for details he combined a comprehensive grasp of intellect. While his senses were so acute, that when sitting in his office at Soho, he could detect the slightest stoppage or derangement in the machinery of that vast establishment, and send his message direct to the spot where it had occurred, his power of imagination was such as enabled him to look clearly along extensive lines of possible action in Europe, America, and the East. But Boulton was more than a man of business; he was a man of culture, and the friend of cultivated men. His hospitable mansion at Soho was the resort of persons eminent in art, in literature, and in science; and the love and admiration with which he inspired such men affords one of the best proofs of his own elevation of character."—Pp. 199—201.

In the higher-class mechanics and ample resources of Soho, Watt enjoyed advantages which hitherto had not been within his reach, and in less than seven months he wrote to his father, at Greenock, "The fire-engine I have invented is now going, and answers much better than any other that has yet been made."

It now became necessary to seek an extension of the patent; nearly half the period for which it had been originally granted had passed away; no remuneration had yet been obtained for

several years of anxious and wearisome toil on the part of Watt; a large outlay of capital, in providing tools, machinery, and buildings, would yet be required, and Boulton, with good reason, hesitated to incur so much expense unless the costly experiment could be properly protected. It was, however, by no means certain that a renewal of the patent-right would be obtained, but it was certain that an application for this privilege would have to encounter a determined opposition. While things were in this precarious and unsatisfactory state, Watt received the offer of a situation under the Russian Government, at a salary of £1,000 a-year. The spirit of kindness, and the disinterested friendship displayed by Boulton when this proposal was under consideration, decided Watt to remain at Soho.

In order to secure an extension of the patent it was, at that time, necessary to apply for an Act of Parliament; the requisite measures were accordingly taken, and the bill was brought in on the 28th of February, 1775. As had been anticipated, a powerful resistance was offered to what various "interests" stigmatised as a hurtful "monopoly;" sympathy with these views was enlisted within Parliament, and the opposition was supported by the great Burke.

To combat these objections Watt drew up a "case" for distribution among the members of the House of Commons, in which the arguments sustaining his claim were put with so much straightforward, manly sense, that the bill was passed, and the patent-right was extended over an additional term of twenty-four years.

About this time John Wilkinson, an eminent iron-founder, and the builder of the first successful iron vessel, discovered a method of boring the cylinder of the steam-engine, and thereby improving the action of the piston; other improvements were also introduced, still further raising the hope of success, and now, legally secured by the renewal of the patent, "arrangements were at once set on foot for carrying on the manufacture of engines upon an extensive scale."

Some of the first orders which came to Soho were sent from Cornwall, where mining operations were still greatly impeded for want of machinery of sufficient power to keep the water in check. The two first engines erected in that county were "for Wheal Busy, near Chacewater, and for Tingtang, near Redruth." Aware of the jealousy with which many would regard this rival of the Newcomen engine, and how important it was that first impressions should be as favourable as possible, it was resolved that the Soho engines

should be put up under Watt's immediate superintendence. That at Chacewater was ready first, and people came from all parts to see it start. Not a few were incredulous of its power; but it proved a complete success, astonishing everybody by its steady action, and the amount of work it could accomplish. Watt reported, "All the world are agape to see what it can do." And again, "The velocity, violence, magnitude, and horrible noise of the engine give universal satisfaction to all beholders, believers or not. I have, once or twice, trimmed the engine to end its stroke gently, and to make less noise; but Mr. Wilson cannot sleep without it seems quite furious, so I have left it to the engine-men; and, by-the-bye, the noise seems to convey great ideas of its power to the ignorant, who seem to be no more taken with modest merit in an engine than in a man."

The engine had now fairly established its reputation in Cornwall, and promised to be of immense advantage in the working of the mines. Referring some time afterwards to the service which it had rendered, Watt said, "If we had not furnished the miners with more effectual means of draining the water, almost all the deep mines would have been abandoned before now."

The pecuniary demands made from so many quarters upon Boulton brought him into serious embarrassment. Large as was his capital, it was scarcely equal to carry on the vast concern to which Soho had grown, even before the engine-manufacturing business was undertaken. Since then a considerable sum had been sunk in the new department. Indeed, in this line, it was all "out-go" down to the year 1785, which, reckoning from the erection of the first engine, included a period of nine years; and we are told that "it was estimated that upwards of £40,000 were invested in the engine-business before it began to yield profits."

The liabilities of the firm were so heavy, that but for Boulton's courageous, unflinching disposition, the establishment at Soho must have collapsed. Watt, constitutionally timid, and plagued with chronic dyspepsia, could see nothing before them but bankruptcy and ruin, and Fothergill, another partner, was equally disheartened and alarmed. To avert the crisis which seemed impending, Boulton "sold the estate which came to him by his wife for £15,000;" further sums were raised by mortgages; money was borrowed largely from wealthy personal friends; and repeated advances were made by his bankers, until his account was overdrawn to the amount of £17,000. Boulton's partners urged that they

should at once suspend payment and "wind-up." But the head of the firm would not listen for a moment to such a proposal, assuring them that better days would come. Nor was he mistaken; those better days did come, but there was a long interval of sharp struggling, which needed all those qualities of buoyancy, resolution, perseverance, and readiness of expedient, for which Boulton was so remarkable.

In the midst of these anxieties, and while giving himself to business with the energy expected only from a man in vigorous health, Watt was suffering from grievous attacks of sickness. In writing to Boulton he complains of being "stupid and ill, and scarcely able to think." Referring to some work with which he was then occupied, he says, "I tremble at the thought of making a complete set of drawings. I wish you could find me out a draughtsman of abilities; I cannot stand it much longer." Elsewhere he says, "The care and attention which our business requires make me, at present, dread a fresh order with as much horror as other people with joy receive one." And yet he kept almost ceaselessly plodding on, not only in altering and improving the construction of the steam-engine, but giving his attention to other branches of mechanical art. Among other contrivances which his fertile genius produced was a "letter-copying machine," which "gradually and steadily made its way, until at length there was scarcely a house of any extensive business transactions in which it was not to be found."

We are, of course, unable to do more than indicate a few of the principal inventions of a man of whom Mr. Smiles happily observes that he had an "irrepressible instinct to invent." One of these, however, we must not omit to notice; it belongs to the steam-engine, and is called the "governor," a beautiful piece of mechanism, combining ornament in appearance with great practical utility; its object being to regulate the amount of steam which enters the cylinder from the boiler. When the pressure of steam would become so great as to endanger the safety of the engine, this apparatus partially closes a valve which diminishes the supply of steam; and when the amount of steam admitted into the cylinder is insufficient to drive the engine, the governor opens the valve, and thus increases the supply. This contrivance for regulating the speed of the engine has always been greatly admired, and so perfect was it in its original conception and execution, that since then it has undergone no improvement.

Boulton and Watt were often put to great annoyance and



perplexity by foreign agents, who unscrupulously attempted to bribe and decoy away their most skilled workmen. Nor were those lacking among their countrymen who were ever ready to resort to any means for "worming out the secrets of the manufactory." Mr. Smiles gives the following instance:—

"While the model of the crank engine was under construction at Soho, in the summer of 1780, a number of workmen met one Saturday evening, according to custom, to drink together at the 'Waggon and Horses,' a little old-fashioned, low-roofed, roadside public-house, still standing in the village of Handsworth. The men were seated round the little kitchen-parlour, talking about their work, and boasting, as men will do over their beer, of the new and wonderful things which they were carrying forth in their shops. Dick Cartwright, the pattern-maker, was one of the loudest of the party. He was occupied upon a model for the purpose of producing rotary motion, which he declared would prove one of the best things Mr. Watt had ever brought out. The other men were curious to know all about it; and to illustrate the action of the machine, Cartwright proceeded to make a rude sketch of the crank upon the wooden table with a bit of chalk. A person who sat in the kitchen corner in the assumed garb of a workman, drank in greedily all that the men had been saying, for there were many eavesdroppers constantly hanging about Soho. Watt himself had never thought of taking out a patent for the crank; not believing it to be patentable; but the stranger aforesaid had no such hesitation, and it is said he posted straight to London and anticipated Watt by procuring a protection for the contrivance."—Pp. 288, 289.

The rotary motion above referred to, was a method to secure circular motion without using the crank. The plan ultimately adopted was the invention of William Murdock, "commonly known as the sun and planet motion."

Here and there one of these original rotative engines with the "sun and planet motion" may still be seen at work. Numerous orders were received for them at Soho for home purposes, and some were purchased for driving saw-mills in America, and sugar-mills in the West Indies. Pumping-engines were also supplied to France, Spain, and Italy.

We have now to notice the application of the steam-engine to a branch of manufacture of great national value, and one which for several years greatly added to the renown of Soho; we refer to the process of coining. The idea seems first to have occurred to Boulton, in consequence of the ease with which base money was produced, and the enormous extent to

which the traffic was carried on. "In 1753, it was estimated that not less than half the copper coin in circulation was counterfeit." Birmingham was notorious for its numerous illicit mints, and although the most active measures were taken for their suppression—several convicted coiners having been hung in chains on the outskirts of the town, and others sentenced to various terms of imprisonment—the practice was too lucrative to be readily surrendered. Boulton proposed entirely to do away with the "so-called copper coinage in circulation," and "issue new coins, the intrinsic value and superior workmanship of which should be so palpable as effectually to suppress counterfeiting and its numerous evils." At an interview held on the subject with the king's ministers, the recommendation which he made was so favourably received, that—

"They authorised him to prepare and submit to them a model penny, halfpenny, and farthing. This he at once proceeded to do, and forwarded them to the Privy Council, accompanied by an elaborate report, setting forth the superiority of the new coins over those then issued from the Mint, demonstrating that their adoption would effectually prevent counterfeiting of base copper money, and offering to guarantee the execution of a contract for a new coinage, at 'not exceeding half the expense which the common copper coin hath always cost at his Majesty's Mint.'"—P. 392.

The Government appear to have been quite satisfied with the specimens supplied by the Soho manufacturer; but the authorities at the Mint interposed a determined and prolonged resistance to the proposed change, and Boulton feared that the heavy expenditure of time, skill, and money, which his coining presses had cost him, would be pretty nearly thrown away. For ten years from this time the "lumbering machinery" at the Mint dragged on, executing a coinage inferior both in quality and in artistic style to the samples exhibited by Boulton, when at last common sense triumphed. In the year 1797 the order for a copper coinage arrived at Soho; and from that year until 1806, about four thousand two hundred tons of copper had been coined into twopenny, penny, halfpenny, and farthing pieces. The prejudices and jealousies of the officials at the Royal Mint passed away, and Boulton was actually employed to erect a new mint on Tower Hill, according to the arrangements which he himself had adopted; the machinery being constructed at his own manufactory.

During the long delay offered by "obstructive officialism"

the Soho presses were not altogether unemployed. A contract for upwards of a hundred tons of copper coin was executed for the East India Company, together with a copper coinage for the American Colonies, and a silver coinage for the Sierra Leone Company. Boulton at the same time turned his attention to the art of medalling; sparing, in accordance with his invariable custom, neither labour nor expense in obtaining correct models, and securing the most accurate and delicate finish in the engraving of the dies. Some of his specimens of medallic art were greatly admired; and though this branch of business does not seem to have been remunerative pecuniarily, "it increased the reputation of Soho, and reflected new credit upon the art manufacture of England."

In the year 1794, the eldest sons of Boulton and Watt became partners in the concern. Both were young men of high culture, every care having been bestowed upon their education; and the tastes which they indicated, as well as the training which they had received, well qualified them for the prominent part they were now to take in their fathers' business. Soon after their admission into the firm, we find them pretty actively employed in taking measures to protect the engine patent right, "the infringement of which had become general all over the country." This was the case especially in Cornwall. Legal proceedings were instituted, which, after extending over several years of sharply-contested trials, were decided in favour of the patentees, who recovered from various mining companies the sum of £30,000.

Watt was now in his fifty-eighth year, and Boulton eight years his senior. The active part which their two sons took in the business, and the capacity which they showed for carrying it on in a manner worthy of their fathers' fame, relieved the senior partners from many labours and anxieties which had been pressing heavily for many years. The days of monetary difficulty, too, had passed away; financial prosperity was setting in, and the remainder of life with both Boulton and Watt was a period of tranquil prosperity. Even on the expiration of the patent right in the year 1800, the business of the firm returned increasing profits; for the advantages which they possessed in superior machinery, skilled workmen and great experience, enabled them to turn out from Soho steam-engines of a better class than for a long time could be produced elsewhere.

Still, while relieved from many responsibilities and toils, and glad to avail themselves of intervals of recreation, to

which hitherto they had been strangers, it was not in the nature of either Boulton or Watt to find pleasure in prolonged seasons of relaxation and repose. Either pursuing some details of improvement, or engaged in some fresh scheme of invention, they must be at work. The department of business which chiefly engaged Boulton's attention during his later years was the coinage. In one of his letters he remarks, "Of all the mechanical subjects I ever entered upon, there is none in which I engaged with so much ardour as that of bringing to perfection the art of coining."

"His chief pleasure," observes Mr. Smiles, "consisted in seeing his new and beautiful pieces following each other in quick succession from the Soho Mint. Nor did he cease occupying himself with new inventions; for we find him as late as 1797, four years before his death, taking out a patent for raising water by impulse, somewhat after the manner of Montgolfier's hydraulic ram, to which he added many ingenious improvements."—P. 457.

In the year 1790, Watt removed from his residence in Birmingham to Heathfield, a pleasant suburb of the town; and here in a house built by himself, and surrounded with tastefully laid-out grounds, he spent the remainder of his life. His inventive faculty was as keen and as insatiable as ever; and he had a room in his own house fitted up with a turning-lathe, and all the tools necessary for mechanical exercises, and with blowpipes, retorts, and various instruments and articles used in chemical experiments.

One of his last inventions is thus described:—

"When in his seventy-fifth year, he was consulted by the Glasgow Waterworks Company as to the best mode of conveying water from a peninsula across the Clyde to the Company's engines at Dalmar-nock, a difficulty which appeared to them almost insurmountable; for it was necessary to fit the pipes through which the water passed, to the uneven and shifting bed of the river. Watt, on turning over the subject in his mind, shortly hit upon a plan which showed that his inventive powers were unimpaired by age. Taking the tail of the lobster for his model, he devised a tube of iron similarly articulated, of which he forwarded a drawing to the Waterworks Company; and, acting upon his recommendation, they had the tube forthwith executed and laid down with complete success. Watt declined to be paid for the essential service he had thus rendered to the Company; but the directors made handsome acknowledgment of it by presenting him with a piece of plate of the value of a hundred guineas, accompanied by the cordial expression of their thanks and esteem."—Pp. 497, 498.

The room which Watt occupied at Heathfield as a study and laboratory, was placed under lock and key at the time of his death, and everything within the apartment remains nearly the same as when the cunning artificer left it for the last time. "The piece of iron he was last employed in turning lies on the lathe; the ashes of the last fire are in the grate, and the last bit of coal is in the scuttle." A week or two ago we made inquiries about this room, if perchance we might obtain a sight of the interesting relics which it contains; but we found that no one was permitted to have access to it. Mr. Smiles, it seems, was favoured with admission and he closes his work with a description of what he saw. We were informed that the room was also opened at the time of the last meeting in Birmingham of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; but it is very seldom that its quiet has been invaded.

Besides the discoveries and inventions which we have referred to in our notice of this volume, there are various others which we have not space to mention. It contains also sketches of eminent men with whom Boulton and Watt were on terms of intimacy. We lay down with gratitude a work which bears every mark of painstaking investigation and accuracy, and supplies exceedingly comprehensive and clear information upon one of the most important branches of mechanical science.

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ART. VII.—*Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D. late Archbishop of Dublin.* By E. JANE WHATELY. In Two Vols. Longmans. 1866.

THERE is very little of these two goodly volumes which we could spare. There are a good many things which might, with advantage, have been added; some things, we think, bulky as the memoir would have been, which ought to have been added. As they now appear, these volumes give us very little more than a large, judicious, and eminently valuable selection from the correspondence of Archbishop Whately. The thread of his life is not shown, and can only be imperfectly traced through his letters. Nor is any such outline of the political and ecclesiastical history of the times, especially of Ireland, afforded, as is necessary to understand the opinions and conduct of one of the most distinguished and active public men of our time, who held in Ireland for thirty years perhaps a more influential and a more exposed position than any other Protestant. We could better have spared a few of the reminiscences contained in these volumes than such elucidation as would have been afforded by an outline, partly biographical and partly historical, of the sort we have indicated. What we miss is just what Dr. Arnold's biographer has done for the memory and history of his illustrious friend. Dr. Stanley has shown that such an elucidatory outline may be very brief and yet quite sufficient. We think it a pity that Miss Whately has not done for her father the like of what, in so classical and popular a biography, has been done for her father's early friend. Sections of terse biographical and historical elucidation, and sections of letters of a correspondent date and period, arranged in alternate chapters, would have furnished what the reader needs, and would have produced a much clearer, more instructive, and more complete representation of the character and life of the strong and impressive Archbishop. As it is, the reader almost needs to have Mr. Fitzgerald's biography of Whately in his hand, in order really to understand Miss Whately's, and certainly must have some sketch of the parliamentary and ecclesiastical history of the last five-and-thirty years by his side, or he will miss much of the instruction of these volumes. Miss Whately has, in fact, done very little more than lay her father's correspondence in order before



her readers. Nothing can be in better taste than what she does say. Our complaint is only that she has written so little. Mr. Hermann Merivale has, indeed, endeavoured, here and there, to supply her deficiencies by the insertion of illustrative summaries and passages, but his contributions are few, and, on the whole, not of great importance. It is as if he had not accomplished all that he intended, as if he had but touched, and made a beginning here and there, where complete and systematic work, in the way of editing and supplementing, was needed.

Our purpose in the present article is not by any means to attempt a critical estimate of the late Archbishop as a theologian, or in any respect specifically as an author. We know no one whose writings it would be a more onerous task to review, precisely because, almost throughout, there would be so much in them to signalise with admiration, and yet so much also to be assented to only with important qualifications, or from which it would be necessary to record—perhaps, also, argumentatively to sustain—our emphatic dissent. Adequately to review Whately's theories and opinions, would be to write a sort of encyclopædia, to discuss most of the leading questions of practical theology, of moral science, and of political and social economy. No one article could do justice to the theme; for England has perhaps never known a more independent, vigorous, fertile writer than Dr. Whately, or one in whom wisdom (for, on many points, he was eminently wise) stood so strikingly apart from reverence for antiquity, or in whom great originality of thought on many and very various subjects was less tempered by conversance with the learning of the schools. No man cared less for mere lore, as such. No man of learning ever studied less the history of opinions. The consensus of the learned, the weight of authority, were of small account with him. The only human master for whom he seems to have had any real reverence was Aristotle. One only absolute authority he recognised—that of Scripture; and, as to the interpretation of this, he paid little regard to the decrees of councils, or to the traditions of exegesis. Here, indeed, was his great and characteristic defect. Possibly, if he had given due heed to the thoughts of others, and applied himself with sufficient modesty and earnestness to understand the reasons for the judgments of the wise, or for the instinctive consents of the commonalty of thinkers, he might have been saved from some errors; he might possibly never have incurred the suspicion of *Manichæism*; might never have adopted, or, having

adopted in early manhood, might—like Robert Hall—in later life have abandoned, and, early or late, might have been prevented from publishing his uncomfortable and unscriptural—let us say, also, his unphilosophical—views respecting the intermediate state; and, as regards the Sabbath and the obligation of the law, might have been kept from committing himself to superficial and dangerous opinions. But, in truth, whilst he loved to think for himself, and found in the quick soil of his fresh and vigorous mind interesting and far-reaching ideas continually springing up, on the least hint presented in reading or observation, he, for this very reason, read the less, and listened the less patiently to the thoughts of others. His was a generative rather than a receptive mind. He could not endure common-places; he had not patience to wash and sift gravel-pits for gold-dust; his induction was not sufficiently searching, minute, or continuous. To unfold his own ideas was his great delight; about these he talked to others; and he was ever intent on inculcating them upon his friends. When a boy, mathematics and day-dreams divided between them the monopoly of his time and thoughts. So, afterwards, hard facts, of nature or of social life, short and keen logic, and the elaboration of his own thoughts, theories, and plans, occupied his time and powers. For subtle speculations, or for learned research, he had no taste; he found too much to do in his own peculiar way, and too much delight in doing it, to care much about accumulating the knowledge of other men's thoughts. "Of all persons in modern times entitled to the name of philosophers," says Mr. Mill, "the two probably whose reading on their own subjects was the scantiest, in proportion to their intellectual capacity, were Dr. Thomas Brown and Archbishop Whately. . . . It cannot be denied that both would have thought and written better than they did if they had been better read in the writings of previous thinkers." At the same time, Mr. Mill assigns to both Whately and Brown a very high position as thinkers, because of the effect of their writings "in the origination and diffusion of important thought;" and gives as the reason that, "though indolent readers, they were both of them active and fertile thinkers."

Mr. Rogers, indeed, in his *Essay on Leibnitz*, justly remarks that the cases are very rare in which great "activity in the accumulation of knowledge" and great "powers of original speculation" are united. Leibnitz was one of these rare instances; but Whately was not, any more than Locke. Both were eminently English, eminently original and sagacious;

neither of them was a man of much reading. "Books" were to Whately "merely aids to thought; tools to work with, and nothing more." His "excogitative faculties" were so continually in play, "as to leave comparatively little time or inclination for the accumulation of miscellaneous knowledge."\*

When a thinker of this sort addicts himself to practical subjects; when he deals almost entirely with applied science, whether theological, moral, economical, or natural; when he occupies a central and conspicuous position, laying open to him a very wide field of observation as to subjects of leading importance, political, moral, and ecclesiastical; when he has a passion for teaching, is by nature a propagandist; when he is master of a lucid, engaging, and vigorous style, moulded by academic discipline and culture, and by long study and elaboration, into an admirable instrument of illustration and demonstration; when his eminent official dignity is such as to compel him often to publish his thoughts, and not seldom to expound and defend his special views; and when he enjoys during nearly forty years of full maturity and of conspicuous eminence, an almost unbroken course of physical health and vigour, it could hardly be otherwise than that he should be a very various and voluminous writer. Such a writer Dr. Whately was. The list of his publications given at the end of these volumes is exceedingly numerous; and yet it is confessedly incomplete. Indeed, we are surprised to observe that it does not contain his series of *Easy Lessons on the Evidences of Christianity*, on *Political Economy*, *The British Constitution*, *Moral Science*, &c., although these were among the most laboured and most valuable of his writings, some of them having been translated into many languages; and although Miss Whately in the life, as well as the Archbishop in his letters, is very frequently referring to them, to their success, and to the pains bestowed on their composition. Of course we cannot, as we have

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\* "From the beginning," says Mr. Herman Merivale, "and emphatically, Whately was a thinker. His favourite authors were few—Aristotle, Thucydides, Bacon, Bishop Butler, Warburton, Adam Smith; these were perhaps his principal intimates among great writers, and it will be easily seen that they are among the most 'suggestive;' among those who could furnish the most ready texts on which his ruminating power might be expended. But one unavoidable result of this comparative want of reading, in one who thought and wrote so much, was, that he continually stumbled upon the thoughts of others, and reproduced them in perfect honesty as his own. This was one of his characteristics through life. It is singular to read one of his early critics commenting on his tendency 'to reproduce the commonplaces of other writers, not unfrequently, without any apparent consciousness of their ever having seen the light before.'"\*—Vol. i. p. 10.

\* *British Critic*, 1828, on his "Difficulties of St. Paul."

already said, criticise in detail such a writer in this article, which has for its text his life and correspondence. The man, and not his writings, is to be our subject ; Dr. Whately himself, as he was among men, at college, in society, before the public, as a friend, as a church-ruler, as a politician, and finally, as, with whatever defects, a humble Christian man.

His portrait has never been more strikingly or perfectly hit off than by Guizot, in his *Memoirs of His Own Time*. Miss Whately quotes the original passage, which we shall try to translate, although it is impossible adequately to render so vivid a piece of French description.

“ Among the Anglican prelates with whom I made acquaintance, the Archbishop of Dublin, Monsieur Whately, a correspondent of our Institute, interested and surprised me; original, fresh, and fertile, startling, well-informed and ingenious rather than profound in philosophical and social science; the best of men, perfectly disinterested, tolerant, liberal, popular; amidst his indefatigable activity and inexhaustible conversation, strangely absent, familiar, abrupt, uncouth; amiable and engaging, whatever rudeness he may commit and whatever propriety he may forget. He was to speak on the 13th of April, in the House of Lords, against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Exeter, on the question of the Clergy Reserves in Canada; ‘I am not sure,’ said Lord Holland to me, ‘that in his indiscreet sincerity he may not say that he knows no good reason why there should be a bench of Bishops in the House of Lords.’ He did not speak, for the debate did not take place; but on this occasion, as on every other, he certainly would not have sacrificed to the interests of the corporation the least morsel of what he regarded “as the truth or the public good.”—Vol. i. p. 454.

His remarkable absence of mind, about which so many extraordinary stories are current, was, of course, the result of his absolute concentration of attention on the subject which at the moment was occupying his thoughts, to the exclusion of all other matters whatsoever. The most general statement of this peculiarity would be, that he was utterly dead to all common-places. He has himself, in his *Common-Place Book*, described and lamented his own deficiency on this point.

“I have no relish,” he says, “for ordinary chat; nor consequently for the company of a great part of the world, who have little to say that has anything but novelty to recommend it. It gives me no sort of pleasure to be told who is dead and who is married, and what wages my neighbour gives to his servants. I am ignorant of the streets and shops and neighbouring villages of the town where I live. I very often know a man without being able to tell any more about his

country, family, &c., than if he had dropt from the skies. Nor do I even know, unless I inquire and examine diligently, and with design, how far it is from such a place to another, what hour the coach starts, or what places it passes through. I am frequently forced to evade questions in a most awkward manner from not daring to own, nor indeed being able to convince any one of, my own incredible ignorance. If I had had no uncle nor aunt, I should probably have been ignorant of my mother's maiden name."—*Common-Place Book*, pp. 24, 25.

All which shows that Whately's mind was always deeply pre-occupied. The habit of absolute abstraction, doubtless, was formed in his boyhood. The two most absorbing mental occupations, in the case of the young, are mathematical calculation and castle-building. When a lad's mind is divided between the two, it is inevitable that a habit of mental abstraction and absence should be formed. Early introduction to general society, and continued intercourse with it, may serve to break the despotism of such a habit; a life of scholastic seclusion, only varied by the uncere- monious and polemically intellectual society of such a fellow-ship as that of Oriel College, where the trivial but beneficial amenities and humanities of common-place family and social intercourse were unknown, would be likely strongly to con- firm it.

We cannot be surprised to read, on the authority of his intimate friend, the Rev. Hercules Dickinson, who was also the son of perhaps the most intimate and valued friend and coadjutor Whately ever had—Bishop Dickinson—that a man of such character and manners often gave unintentional offence, by failing to notice his acquaintance; by entering a house or room abruptly, without salutation, breaking out into emphatic words on some subject which occupied him, and then leaving as abruptly and uncere- moniously; by "a start- ling brusquerie," which hurt the shy and affronted the proud. We should expect to find, as we do find, that "he was natural to a fault; and, in the careless familiarity of the college common-room, had acquired a habit of forgetfulness as to the smaller conventionalities of life."\* Nor, if we duly reflect, shall we be surprised to be informed that such a man, so wrapped, not indeed, not at all, in himself, or his own interests, but in his own ideas, in the profound truths, real or supposed, or the benevolent schemes, which had taken absolute possession of him, should have no such amount of

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\* Vol. ii. pp. 425, 426.

time, thought, or feeling, to spare for the tastes, the feelings, the partialities or weaknesses, the special wants or special ideas of others, as to be easily able to enter sympathetically into communion with them. His sympathy with others was small, save with the few who were partners in his own ideas and his plans, or with whom he had been brought into affectionate relations of mutual knowledge and love. A man of energetic and practical mind, full of benevolent purposes, and confident in the soundness of his own principles and schemes of improvement or reformation, he exacted, at least he expected, for his work and aim's sake, all sympathy from others for his own ideas, and was only intimate with those who could thus sympathise, whilst he was unready to flow out in sympathy to others. He expected most around him to be his tributaries; he was unable to be theirs. But then his own ideas were always for the public good; his life and powers were wholly dedicated to unselfish objects; he had no leisure for the pleasant and softening fellowship and interplay of minor thoughts, and fancies, and feelings.

This want on the part of Whately was, no doubt, the secret of the lack of personal influence over others, of which he himself speaks as characteristic of himself; just as his ample endowment with the social sympathies which Whately lacked has been, in a great measure, the secret of the power wielded by that great master of influence, Newman, whose character, tastes, and opinions present, at so many points, so striking a contrast to those of Whately. Whately, in society, was destitute of those subtle and prehensile sensibilities, the *tentacula* of the spirit, by means of which the interest and affections of others are engaged and held fast. "I myself," he says, in his *Common-Place Book* (p. 363), "never had, in the strict sense of the word, any influence at all with any one. Whenever I have induced anyone to think or act in any way, it has always been by some *intelligible* process. . . . I may, perhaps, have convinced some persons who have been themselves influential; but I have never had any *direct* influence; that is, I have never produced any effect that could not be *clearly accounted for*."

Nevertheless, he could unbend with children. Their weakness and smallness, their touching simplicity and frankness, their utter dependence, moved and melted him:—

"My earliest recollections," says Mr. Dickinson, "of Archbishop Whately, go back to the year 1833" (Whately was then forty-six years old), "and the very first thing I remember of him left such an



impression of his kindness of heart as thirty years more of his acquaintance and friendship served only to deepen. He was standing on the steps of my father's house, in Baggot-street, just as I, with my brothers and sisters, came home from our afternoon walk. I can distinctly recall his voice, and his benevolent smile, as he cried out three or four times, 'I see little lambs,' 'I see little lambs,' and coming to the edge of the steps, gathered five or six of the younger ones into his arms, and then walked into the house with one of us upon his shoulder. All children naturally took to him, and seemed, with the quick and correct intuition of childhood, to understand and trust his love for them."—Vol. ii. p. 423.

When walking on St. Stephen's Green, he would send his dog to fetch and carry for the amusement of the children who congregated there, and some of whom learnt to salute him as "Artsbissop!" "In the Female Orphan House, and in the National Model Schools, which he used often to visit, he particularly endeared himself to the children."\*

In truth, the rough and uncouth dignitary was tender to helplessness, and both tender and most generous to real distress. He had no sympathy to spare for trivial feelings or interests. No kindly and gentle grace tempered his robust energy in the common intercourse of life; he knew nothing of child's-play, except with children; but, if once the fountain of his charity was struck by a case of real distress, it flowed forth, not in drops or rills, but in a great, deep river. Kept, as it was in his secret heart, sacred from all trivial occasions, its strength and freshness never wasted on merely conventional or sentimental appeals, Archbishop Whately's sympathy was a rich effusion of overflowing benevolence when an adequate cause had called it forth. When he lay a-dying, a clergyman from a remote part of Ireland came to see him. "The archbishop," he said, "educated my sons, and I would give anything to look at his face once more." To see him was all he wanted. The archbishop did not open his eyes, and was too ill to be spoken to. After standing a few minutes at the bedside, with tears running down his cheeks, the visitor left the house. It was then found that the archbishop's family had been ignorant of his generosity towards this poor clergyman. Nothing, in fact, can have been nobler than the archbishop's charities, nor anything more absolutely pure and disinterested than his conduct in money matters throughout his life. "The whole of the income derived from his see (with the exception of the ex-

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\* Vol. ii. p. 423.

penses absolutely necessary to maintain his position) was entirely devoted to charitable objects, and the promotion of the welfare of the Church in his diocese. No man was ever freer from nepotism: his only son was never raised above the dignity of rector of a modest living in Dublin; and the provision he left for his family is little more than his private means would have admitted of his making."\* From his see, his books, and his private property, he must have had a large revenue; but, having insured his life, he spent his income entirely, or almost entirely, and spent it in a noble, Christian way—worthy of a bishop among bishops.

Having had occasion to say so much as to the archbishop's unconsciousness, on many occasions, of all that appertained to the polished courtesies of life, it would be wrong if we did not add that, "he could, on occasion, comport himself with a dignity, and even courtly politeness, which sat gracefully enough upon him, though it was not his characteristic and ordinary bearing. At his own dinner-table he was always courteous, and particularly attentive as a host. No matter how earnestly engaged in conversation, he stood ready to receive his clergy, one by one, as they came in on his monthly dinner-days; and at the table never failed to take especial and friendly notice of the greatest stranger among his guests."†

No one who has been accustomed to notice character will be surprised to learn that Whately, being in his mature life such as we have now seen, was in his youth consciously awkward and painfully shy, in an extraordinary degree; and all the more because he was sensitive and proud. He was, even after he had become a Fellow of Oriel—Miss Whately informs us—"most painfully shy; and the well-meant efforts of his friends to correct this defect, by constantly reminding him of the impression he was likely to make on others, served to increase the evil they were intended to combat. In the pages of his *Common-Place Book* he records how at last he determined to make a bold effort, and care nothing for what others might be thinking of him, and, to use his own words, "if he must be a bear, to be at least as unconscious as a bear." And the effort succeeded. The shyness passed away, and, though his manners might have still a certain abruptness and peculiarity about them, the distressing consciousness, which made life a misery, was gone. That this was no trifling hindrance removed from his path, was attested by

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\* Vol. ii. pp. 440, 445.

† Vol. ii. p. 426.

his frequent emphatic remark in later years: "If there were no life but the present, the kindest thing that one could do for an intensely shy youth would be to shoot him through the head."\*

"The effort succeeded." Yes; but the uncouthness of after years was itself the result conjointly of the original shyness and of the determination by which the shyness was cured—"if he must be a bear, to be as unconscious as a bear." He overcame his painful self-consciousness by a violent and resolute effort; but he never acquired true self-possession. At Oxford, indeed, Whately was known by the *sobriquet* of "the White Bear." He wore a rough white overcoat, and a white hat, and was always attended by a huge white dog, whose climbing performances, under his command, refreshed its master, and afforded vast amusement to the crowd. In those days of solemn and formal propriety, this was a somewhat broad and emphatic protest against the dominant conventionalism. It is plain that, taking his manners and appearance into account, this extraordinary college-don (for at this time he was Principal of St. Alban's Hall) deserved his nick-name. "He could be most touchingly gentle in his manner," says an old friend, "to those whom he liked; but I recollect a lady saying she would not for the world be his wife, from the way in which she had seen him put Mrs. Whately (the object all his life of his strongest affection) into a carriage."†

We are told, and can easily imagine, that, in childhood, he was not only shy and retiring, but timid; that he knew little of the high spirits and playfulness of early childhood; and that he shrank from the society of children of his own age. In all this the child was father of the man. Natural and nervous timidity, however, was in his case—as, indeed, it often is—united with a high degree of moral courage and resolution; while the extraordinary physical health and energy which, as he grew up, succeeded to the feebleness of his earlier childhood, afforded him a basis of vigour from which to obtain the mastery, for all great matters and occasions, of his original nervous tremors. In this case, however, as in the instance we have just before noted, we may trace in his after life the combined result of his original infirmity and of the resolution by which he mastered it. His public appearances showed the result in this instance, as his social habits did in the other. It is well known that nothing could

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\* Vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

† Vol. i. p. 12.

be more extraordinary or more uncouth than his gestures, attitudes, gyrations, and gymnastic feats, of which he was himself entirely unconscious, when speaking or preaching under strong pre-occupation or excitement. The explanation of this is implied in a passage of the Memoir. "It might be supposed," says Miss Whately, "from the natural shyness of his disposition, that, on first appearing in the pulpit, he would have been painfully conscious; but the deep and solemn sense of the message he had to deliver was an effectual safeguard against this tendency. On a friend asking him, if he did not feel very nervous on first reading and preaching in public, he replied that he *dared* not; to think of himself at such a time was, in his eyes, not only a *weakness*, but a *sin*."\* In this case, as in the former, he could, happily for himself, banish all thought of himself; could suppress articulate self-consciousness; but he could not attain to self-possession. The gauge of the force which he put upon himself to overcome his natural timidity and embarrassing self-consciousness is to be found in the uncouthness and violence of the gestures and movements which resulted from his suppressed nervous susceptibility.

"To myself," says the Archbishop, in a letter to one of his most valued correspondents, Mrs. Hill, dated September 29, 1853, "the 'scandalon' most to be guarded against—the right hand and right eye, that offended, and was to be cut off—was one, which few people who have not known me as a child, would, I believe, conjecture. It was not avarice or ambition. If I could have had an Archbishopric for asking it of a minister, I would not have asked, though the alternative had been to break stones on the road; nor would such a sacrifice have cost me much of a struggle. But my danger was from the dread of censure. Few would conjecture this, from seeing how I have braved it all my life, and how I have perpetually been in hot water. But so it was. . . .

"So I set myself resolutely to *act* as if I cared nothing for either the sweet or the bitter, and in time I got hardened. And this will always be the case, through God's help, if we will but persevere, and persevere from a right motive. One gets hardened, as the Canadians do to walking in snow-shoes [raquets]: at first a man is almost crippled with the 'mal raquet,' the pain and swelling of the feet, but the prescription is, to go on walking with them, as if you felt nothing at all, and in a few days you will feel nothing."—Vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

Although a man of most acute and able, and a pre-eminently analytic, mind, Whately was not, as we have intimated, and as Guizot soon discovered, a thorough

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\* Vol. i. p. 20.

scholar or a man of exact science in any one department. He was, doubtless, a good classic, with a keen appreciation of the niceties of the classical languages, so far as he was at the pains to study them. His discipline at Oxford secured so much for him. But he was not a first-class man, and we have Miss Whately's word for it that he was never regarded by the classical authorities of Oxford as "an accomplished" scholar.\* In a word, he read the classical authors for their ideas, not for the sake of philosophical criticism or science. And, having no taste for verbal dialectics, or metaphysical subtleties, he would not be at the pains to hunt even for their ideas, not even for those of Plato, through long wastes of perplexing word-play. Nevertheless, he made good use of what he did read and know, and seems to have been right in his opinion that he had learned more, that he knew more, and more truly, about some of the ancients than many who had read much more than himself. In a letter to Lady Osborne, he says—

"I have never read, nor do I know of, any work written by an Epicurean, except Lucretius. And as for all that has been written about them, and about the other philosophical sects, you may easily find people who have read three or four times as much as I have. But as most of the ancient philosophers were 'Tractites' (the allusion is to the Oxford *Tracts for the Times*), 'having a 'double doctrine,' it would be rash to decide what they really thought. Perhaps I might say with Hobbes, 'If I had read as much as some men, I should be as ignorant as they.' Certain it is that I have met with persons who know by heart much more of Plato and Cicero than I do, who have not found out, first, that they really believed nothing at all of future rewards and punishments; secondly, that the immortality of the soul which they held was practically equivalent to annihilation."—Vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.

For mental science, strictly speaking, Whately seems to have had no taste whatever, and, of course, he knew nothing whatever about it. His early devotion was to arithmetical calculation; and, if moral and economical studies, of human interest and of immediate practical importance, had not intercepted and absorbed his attention, it is likely that he would have excelled in all studies connected with exact science and natural philosophy. He was, in fact, for an amateur student, no mean adept in botany, and several branches of natural history. But from all speculative philosophy, and especially from metaphysics, he held absolutely

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\* Vol. i. p. 16.

aloof. Our own surmise is that Whately very early came to the conclusion that mental science, except in its most rudimentary distinctions and definitions, was a field of thought in which the conclusions of common sense were the only ones worth holding to, or as to which any satisfaction could be felt; that metaphysical speculators were doomed, in their weary gropings, to "find no end in wandering mazes lost;" and that he himself, especially, if he had entered into metaphysical inquiries, would have been set hopelessly adrift, from his inability to accept any conclusions as probable for which slender and scanty evidence only could be adduced. In a word, we apprehend that certain misgivings as to his own tendency to scepticism led him to abstain from a region of cloudy and doubtful thought, which, so far as he could see, could afford him no practical conclusions or results. He resolutely avoided all inquiries which he judged to be beyond his reach. To Mrs. Hill, he says, in April, 1854, "Certainly we may reckon among the obstacles to the attainment of truth presumptuous speculations on what is beyond our reach. Instead of ploughing a fertile soil, a man breaks his tools in attempting to dig in a granite rock."\*

In one place, indeed, he speaks of himself as a Nominalist, and his quasi-Sabellian doctrine, as to the Trinity, is thoroughly Nominalist in character. But that he had ever mastered, or even studied, the Realist and Nominalist controversy, is hardly to be supposed. Not a trace of any familiarity with such subjects do we note in these volumes. It is probable that he would never have gone so far as to class himself with the Nominalists, would hardly have been at the trouble of forming any sort of a judgment in regard to the respective merits of Realism and Nominalism, had not the study of logic brought him of necessity within view of it. Though a most acute and dexterous logician, however, logic with him was never more than an art, or, if in any sense a science, it was an empirical science. He never made an attempt, so far as can be perceived, to fathom or even to apprehend the philosophy which, as Professor Mansel has shown in his *Prolegomena Logica*, lies at the foundation of logic. He seems never to have appreciated the truth, a truth as well understood by Sir John Herschel and by Mr. Grove, as by Sir William Hamilton or Professor Mansel, that, without a searching metaphysical discipline, no branch of philosophy can be mastered; that metaphysical science is

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\* Vol. ii. p. 314.



the high central plateau, from which all the valleys of scientific observation and culture diverge, and in which all the growing streams of human thought have their source. Hence, with all his ability—and there have been few abler men—with all his sagacity and enlightenment, Whately was scarcely more than the wisest among empirics, the most well-informed and sagacious among sciolists. We are not disposed, as some might be, to reckon his addiction to animal magnetism as one of the evidences of this. We are not convinced that he went any farther, as to this matter, either in faith or practice, than an unprejudiced inquirer and experimenter was bound to go, on the strict principles of inductive science. Nor shall we press the instance of his thorough devotion to homœopathy, although, for our part, we do not understand how any scientific man, although he may often approve, more or less, of homœopathic treatment, and admit the benefit in many ways of homœopathic experiments and practice, can accept the homœopathic principles or theory. But we cannot refrain from saying that we have been greatly astonished and, in a sense, offended to find that the only “mental science” (*sit venia verbo*) with which the Archbishop seems to have been at all acquainted is that wretched materialistic hodge-podge “Phrenology.” If he has occasion to refer to special faculties, or tendencies, he can find no better language than that of the incoherent, illogical, contradictory, cerebral organology, which all men of true philosophical training, all the masters of science, all with any insight whatever into the symmetry and unity of the mind and its faculties, have, from the beginning, been agreed in rejecting; an hypothesis which is sufficiently refuted by its inherent absurdity and contradictions; which is, also, as Lord Jeffrey, in the *Edinburgh Review*, and Dr. Roget, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to mention no other names, long ago showed, a thousand times contradicted and refuted by fact; which, moreover, if it were ever so true, has this special characteristic, that, except by anatomical demonstrations after death, combined with an exact analysis of conduct, motives, and character, during life, it could not even be made to appear probable, on any true principles of inductive science, and even then could never be proved in such a way as to establish the hypothesis as a branch of science.\* To us, we say, it has been a matter of surprise

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\* The inequalities, the convexities and concavities, in the bony surface of the skull, do not correspond with the moulding of the brain on its upper surface. Indeed the inside and outside of the skull or “brain-pan” by no means correspond with each other. The skull, in fact, is of very unequal thickness in different parts.

and of vexation to see Archbishop Whately lower himself beneath the level of all enlightened philosophy, by using, as his own familiar phraseology, on subjects connected with human faculties and motives, the jargon of phrenological charlatanry.

“ I don’t know,” he says, for instance, in a letter to Mrs. Hill (Jan. 2, 1855), “ whether you ever heard my remark that the *organ of conscientiousness* is the only one that *never* in its exercise *affords any direct gratification*. The *organ of love of approbation* gives much *pleasure* when we are praised, *as well as pain* when we are blamed or unnoticed ; the *organ of secretiveness* makes those in whom it is strong *feel a delight in mystifying*. That of *number*, as I well recollect when I had it strong, about sixty years ago, *affords great pleasure* in the mere act of calculating ; and so of the rest. But conscientiousness which gives great pain to one in whom it is strong, if he at all goes against it, affords no direct pleasure when complied with. . . .

“ But a *benevolent man is gratified in doing good* ; and because well-directed benevolence is a virtue, he is apt to fancy this is a delight in virtue as such. But it is *the organ of benevolence* that is *gratified*. And if he stands firm against solicitations and threats in a good cause, it is *the organ of firmness* that *affords the pleasure* ; and so of the rest. Especially to a *pious Christian* there is always an indirect *gratification* in doing his duty, *through the organ of veneration* ; for this, where it is strong, affords directly a *high degree of gratification*.”—Vol. ii. pp. 327-8.

Here is mental and moral philosophy, with a witness ! The Oxford doctor and magnate talks like an itinerant phrenological lecturer, who feels heads for a living. Here is divinity dealt out by an archbishop to a female admirer and disciple ! Here are the Nominalist logician’s “ doctrines of grace.” No wonder that such a divine was neither Arminian nor Calvinist. It is pitiful and grievous indeed to see the human soul and its faculties hashed and set out in such a style ; to see the most noble and beautiful things, the most tender and holy things, things human and divine, thus degraded by such a man as Archbishop Whately. Verily, after this, we cannot wonder that Sir William Hamilton, the profound scholar and investigator, the devotee of high mental science, the champion, with whatever inconsistencies and imperfections, of a noble realistic faith in mind and morals, in things human and divine,

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Hence it is utterly impossible, from the outward configuration of the skull, to infer anything as to the development, at any given point, of the brain within. Let us add here that the distribution of the brain into any such specific organs as phrenology assumes is absolutely belied by the appearance and anatomy of the brain itself.

should have found himself unable to appraise at a high value the logician of Oxford or the prelate of Dublin.

If we had to sum up in the fewest words all that was positive in the tastes and attainments of the Archbishop, we should say that he was interested in whatever seemed to bear on human advancement and in all that belonged to nature. Life, in a word, was what he cared for and lived for, life especially in the present and in the future. The Archbishop, with all his rugged individuality—and, with the exception of Carlyle, he was perhaps the most individual man of his age—was pre-eminently a philanthropist. Scarcely another could so truly have adopted as his own motto the well-worn line of Terence, "*Homo sum ; nihil humani a me alienum puto.*" He had no æsthetic taste whatever ; Ruskin was nothing to him. He cared nothing whatever for mere antiquarian lore.\* He loved Shakspeare and wrote about him ; Shakspeare is the poet of humanity. He loved Crabbe. And the fire and life of Scott's poems, which delighted him in his youth, retained their charm for him through life. "But," we are told by his daughter, "he had little toleration for the modern school of poetry. He was impatient of Wordsworth, and Byron he admired without taking pleasure in him."†

It might have been expected that he would at least have been versed in history, if in any branch of scholarly and statesmanlike culture. Yet, as to history, his daughter leaves us to infer that his knowledge was inexact, and that his study of it had been quite unsystematic.

"His knowledge of history was more varied and extensive than critically accurate. His memory for facts (of history) was retentive, whenever those facts could be brought to illustrate principles ; otherwise, as mere facts, he cared little for them.

"Of chronology and geography, he would say, 'As they are called the *two eyes* of history, my history is stone blind.' This must be

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\* "For the treasures of art, antiquity, curious old cities, and fine buildings, he had little or no taste. Pictures gave him the liveliest pleasure, if the subject interested him, and the designs seemed well carried out ; but not otherwise. He never forgot a picture which really illustrated a subject he thought interesting and suitable ; sketches of costumes of different countries, illustrations of savage life, of hunting, or of striking scenes in history or fiction, delighted him. When on the Continent, many years later, he turned with indifference and almost distaste from the masterpieces of Raphael, Correggio, and other old masters. Madonnas and Holy Families seemed to him only misrepresentations of Scripture, whose beauty of execution could not atone for the false ideas conveyed ; but he was enchained by a picture he saw at Frankfort, in 1846, of John Huss before the Council of Trent, and recurred to it repeatedly in after years. Architecture was a 'dead letter' to him ; and for antiquities, as such, he had little or no taste."—Vol. i., p. 29.

† Vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

taken with some reservation. It is true he was not generally ready in remembering names and dates; but anything which threw light on the history of mankind generally, or on any important principle, moral, political, or social, was eagerly seized and carefully retained in his memory. He took great interest in military affairs; and entered even into the minute details of such changes in the art of war as might react on national history: even the description of war-like weapons and arms had a charm for him; and some of the female members of his family long remembered the disappointment they felt, when at a breakfast at his friend Mr. Senior's, at which he and Lord Macaulay and Sir James Stephen were to meet, instead of the 'feast of reason and flow of soul' they had looked forward to, in the meeting of four such remarkable persons, the conversation ran during the whole time on the history of improvements in the implements of war, which, to the ladies of the party, could have little interest.

"The curious inventions of savages had a peculiar interest for him, and the pleasure he took in trying experiments with the Australian boomerang, the throwing stick, &c., is remembered by all his friends.

"All that concerned the history of civilisation interested and occupied him; and especially all that could throw light on his favourite axiom that man could never have civilised himself."—Vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

Although he edited Archbishop King's treatise on Predestination, he had paid very little attention to systematic theology, and seems to have known scarcely anything of the great divines even of his own Church; and, although his acuteness enabled him to make good use of such exegetical knowledge as he possessed, his attainments in biblical criticism appear to have been quite elementary.

And yet, owing to his excellent practical sense, his knowledge of life and human nature, and his keen and practised logical acumen, this man of superficial attainments has left behind him works of great value. His *Kingdom of Christ Delineated*, his *Essays on the Errors of Romanism*, and *On Some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*, are able and very suggestive works. His *Easy Lessons on the Evidences of Christianity*, plain and perspicuous and unpretending as they are, are invaluable, and have been translated into thirteen languages. His *Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte* was of itself enough to make a reputation for any man. Of his theological works in general, so competent a judge as Mr. Rogers has pronounced that, "to great powers of argument and illustration, and delightful transparency of diction and style, he adds a higher quality still—and a very rare quality it is—an evident and intense honesty of purpose,

an absorbing desire to arrive at the *exact truth*, and to state it with perfect fairness and with the just limitations."

To us it appears that, if Archbishop Whately had really devoted himself to Ecclesiastical History, he could not have failed to enrich our literature with a work of rare value. But "*non omnia possumus omnes*." Whately was a practical man, a Church ruler, a law reformer, an ecclesiastical reformer. Had he been a much more learned man, he must have been a less active and practical man. Possibly the world might have been the loser by the exchange.

We must not close our estimate of Whately as a student and thinker without referring to the one subject of which he may be said to have been something like a master. He thoroughly understood the principles of Political Economy, having found in the subject a most congenial study, and in Adam Smith a most congenial master. His *Introductory Lectures* on this subject, delivered at Oxford during his Professorship, were translated into French. He founded the Professorship of Political Economy at Dublin; and published an elementary book entitled, *Lessons on Money Matters*.

His *Elements of Logic* is a masterly book. In it, however, as we have intimated, logic is dealt with as a method or art. The processes of argumentative analysis and inference are unfolded. But no depths of thought are sounded. It is not a book belonging to the same category with either the famous work of Mill, or the lectures of Sir William Hamilton.

Our sketch of the Archbishop would be very defective, if we did not lay emphatic stress on his honesty. His integrity was supreme. With resolute loftiness of purpose he held aloof, all his life through, from all parties political or ecclesiastical. He never courted the favour either of a clique, or of a mob, of an order, or of a man. No considerations of personal advancement or profit seem ever to have swayed him for a moment. To the names of Cincinnatus and Aristides that of Whately may be added as a proverb of uprightness and pure integrity.

Having endeavoured, in the foregoing pages, to set forth to view the massive and commanding character of the Archbishop—to which we may note in passing, his great and stalwart bodily frame aptly corresponded,—without either concealing his obvious defects and blemishes, or underrating his great powers and rare excellencies, we may now with advantage proceed to give, from the volumes before us, some outline of Dr. Whately's life and history.

Among the ancestors of Archbishop Whately, on the father's side, was an eminent Puritan minister, Whately of Banbury, well reputed as a "painful preacher," and author of a still extant treatise on the *New Birth*. The Archbishop's paternal grandfather married a lady of the name of Thompson, belonging to the family of which Sir John Thompson, created Baron Haversham in 1696, was the head. One of his father's brothers (Thomas) was private secretary to George Grenville, the statesman, and published an *Essay on Market Gardening* (1770), and also *Remarks on Some of the Characters in Shakespeare*, which his nephew, the Archbishop, thought worthy of being re-edited and republished by himself. The Archbishop's father, Dr. Joseph Whately, of Nonsuch Park, was Prebendary of Bristol, Vicar of Widford, and Lecturer at Gresham College. He married Miss Jane Plumer, daughter of W. Plumer, Esq., of Gilston, and also of Blakesware Park, Herts, an ancient dower-house, where Mrs. Plumer resided in her widowhood, with her three daughters, and of which there is some notice in Charles Lamb's *Essays*. Dr. Joseph and Mrs. Whately had nine children; four of them sons. All nine lived to maturity, and most of them to old age.

Richard, the youngest child by six years, was born on the 1st of February, 1787, in Cavendish-square, at the house of his uncle, Mr. Plumer, then M.P. for Hertfordshire. He was a feeble and ailing infant, although he grew up to be a tall, powerful, well-proportioned man. "The earliest event of his life was his being weighed against a turkey, to the advantage of the bird." In childhood he hardly knew what appetite meant; "the sensation of hunger was to him something new and strange, when he first felt it as a boy of eleven or twelve."

His feeble childhood, no doubt, contributed to render him shy, timid, and quiet in his early years. The fact, also, that his brothers were too much older than himself for him to have any fellowship with them; that he was brought up, till he went to a boarding-school, almost entirely in the company of his mother and sisters; and that, being so feeble and sensitive, and the youngest of all, he was continually receiving, and therefore expecting, from all the family-world around him, sympathy and attention, will go far to account for those peculiarities of his disposition, in regard to the exaction of sympathy from others, such as he did not easily or ordinarily yield to others himself, which we have already had occasion to note.

As was to be expected in the case of such a child, he learnt to read and write very early, and read with avidity. It was



natural, too, that one of such a constitution and temper, and so brought up in a quiet rural home, should be thoughtful, dreamy, and fond of the garden and country. "His great delight was in the observation of nature. He would spend hours in the garden, watching the habits of spiders, taming young ducklings, and carrying them in his hand to pick snails from the cabbages, learning to distinguish the notes, of birds, &c. ; and to the results of these early observations he would often allude in after years." In all this, it is plain to see that "the child" was "father of the man."

"But his most remarkable early passion was for arithmetic. In this he displayed a singular precocity. At six years old he astonished his family by telling the celebrated Parkhurst, his father's near neighbour and intimate friend, and a man of past sixty, how many *minutes* he was old. His calculations were tested, and found to be perfectly correct." At this time, as he states in his *Common-Place Book*, he knew nothing of figures beyond numeration. He had no names for the processes he employed, and did his sums always in his head much quicker than any one could do them on paper, and always correctly. The sums were in the four elementary rules, and in the Rule of Three. "In this last point," he says, "I believed I surpassed the famous America nboy, though I did not, like him, understand the extraction of roots. I was engaged either in calculation or in castle-building, morning, noon, and night; and was so absorbed as to run against people in the streets, with all the other accidents of absent people."

His powers could not, strange to say, be transferred to written figures. The passion for arithmetic wore off after a few years, and the faculty faded away. At school he was dull at figures, and never became a mathematician at college. "I was saved," he says, "from being a Jedediah Buxton, by the amputation, as it were, of the overgrown faculty. For, valuable as it is in itself, it would have been a heavy loss to have it swallow all the rest." The only remains of the lost faculty which his family were able to trace were, the remarkable readiness with which, in after life, he solved curious problems and arithmetical puzzles, and the singular clearness of his explanations of the *processes* of arithmetic.

His passion for "castle building," however, remained after his arithmetical faculty had vanished, and became more fully developed. "His were not the usual childish flights of fancy, but rather visionary speculations on abstract subjects; fancied schemes for ameliorating the world, ideal republics, &c."

The absent boy was pitied by some, and flouted by others. He was thought odd and scarcely right. It was said that "he would never make his way in the world." Meantime, the child-philosopher, buried in his own thoughts, was busy with "conjectures and speculations, which have often found place in the writings of philosophers of maturer age. With regard to many theories of government, civilisation, &c., he was accustomed" in after life "to remark, 'I went through that when I was twelve; such a system I thought out when I was thirteen or fourteen,' and so on."

At the age of nine he was sent to Mr. Phillips' school, near Bristol, of which many old Kingswood scholars still living will have some remembrance. There he formed some friendships which lasted through life, especially with Mr. Rowe and Dr. Hinds. There, also, many of the boarders being West Indians, he obtained a familiarity with West Indian customs and habits, which he kept up and improved through life, and acquired an interest in the slavery question which grew with his increasing years and knowledge.

It is not surprising to learn that the school-life of such a boy, and one so nurtured as Richard Whately, was not, on the whole, a happy one. Shy, solitary, abstracted, his cravings for sympathy expiring in almost agony amid the rude shocks of school-boy tumult and violence; the butt of some, scarcely understood by any; Whately at school must have had much tribulation and little enjoyment. He spent his leisure most congenially, when he could have the privilege of solitary wanderings and observations, in natural history; or else, as we cannot but imagine, in pouring forth, in the spirit and strain of a philosophical chief to his admiring and docile disciples, his elaborate speculations in the ears of one or two half-awe-stricken juniors—such as Rowe and Hinds—who had gained some sense of his knowledge and powers.

At ten years, he lost his father—the one of his family best able to appreciate his character and powers. Mrs. Whately now removed to Bath, with her five daughters and Richard.

At eleven years of age, young Whately's physical powers began to develope. From this time he became robust. He grew up fond of fishing, shooting, walking, and, in general, of active open-air life, ruminating as he walked and wandered. He saw little, however, in his walks and excursions except that which he was bent on seeing. When he looked, he saw keenly; but, absorbed in thought, he often noticed nothing.

In his nineteenth year, that is, in 1805, he was entered at Oriel College, Oxford, then, and for many years afterward—

the most distinguished of all the colleges. Dr. Copleston, afterwards Provost of Oriel—later still, Bishop of Llandaff—was at that time tutor at Oriel, and was the instrument of awakening the dormant energies, and of stimulating into high development the latent faculties, of Whately.

“To Richard Whately, whose intellectual life had hitherto been so entirely solitary, the lectures and converse of Dr. Copleston were like a new spring of life. For the first time he found himself brought into immediate communication with one who could enter into his aspirations, and draw out the latent powers of his mind. And under that new and genial influence the young student’s powers expanded like a plant in sunshine. Often has he described in after-life those lectures which were to form the turning-point in his intellectual career. As Copleston’s penetrating eye glanced round the lecture-room in search of an answering and understanding look, it rested with satisfaction on the one pupil who was always sure to be eagerly drinking in his every word. The Archbishop often dwelt on the thrill of pleasure with which he heard the first words of calm discriminating commendation of his theme from his tutor’s lips: ‘That is well, Mr. Whately; I see you understand it.’

“The influence which these two men reciprocally exercised on each other was very great, and to a certain extent coloured the subsequent lives of both. Bishop Copleston was more the man of the world of the two. But in him, under a polished and somewhat artificial scholarlike exterior, and an appearance of even overstrained caution, there lurked not only much energy of mind and precision of judgment, but a strong tendency to liberalism in Church and State, and superiority to ordinary fears and prejudices. It was in this direction that he especially trained Whately’s character; while he learnt to admire, if too staid to imitate, the uncompromising boldness and thorough freedom from partisanship of the younger man. But the ideas of both were too uncongenial with those which prevailed among the large majority of Oxford residents at the time to be in favour; and ‘Oriel’ in general, with its pretensions to dissect, by searching logic, the preconceived notions of the little world around it, was not popular. The great dispenser of patronage in those days, Lord Liverpool, was thought to have been prejudiced against Copleston by Oxford advisers. And Whately, whose disposition was always a little too ready to lend itself to impressions of injustice done to a friend, seems early in life to have regarded his tutor as something of a martyr.”—Vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

Between Whately and Copleston a full and affectionate correspondence was kept up through life, many interesting and valuable letters from the Archbishop to his episcopal friend being printed in these volumes; and, after the death of Copleston, Whately published a volume of his remains.

What was Whately's own estimate of his obligations to his college tutor and life-long friend will be best shown by the following letter, written forty years after his first introduction to him :—

“ Dublin, July 7, 1845.

“ My dear Lord,—I am bound to send, and you to receive, as a kind of lord of the soil, every production of my pen, as a token of acknowledgment that from you I have derived the main principles on which I have acted and speculated through life.

“ Not that I have adopted anything from you, implicitly and on authority, but from conviction produced by the reasons you adduced. This, however, rather increases the obligation; since you furnished me not only with the theorems but the demonstrations; not only the fruits but the trees that bore them.

“ It cannot, indeed, be proved that I should not have embraced the very same principles if I had never known you; and, in like manner, no one can prove that the battle of Waterloo would not have been fought and won, if the Duke of Wellington had been killed the day before; but still, the fact remains that the duke did actually gain that battle. And it is no less a fact that my principles actually were learnt from you.

“ When it happens that we completely concur as to the application of any principle, it is so much the more agreeable; but in all cases the law remains in force, that ‘ whatsoever a man soweth, that also shall he reap:’ and the credit or the discredit of having myself to reckon among your works, must in justice appertain to you.

“ Believe me to be, at the end of forty years,

“ Your grateful and affectionate friend and pupil,

“ R. D. DUBLIN.”

“ It was in their long walks together,” says Miss Whately, “ in the woods and meadows near Oxford,” that Whately and Copleston “ discussed and worked out such subjects as form much of the groundwork of the ‘ Logic.’ ”\* It must not be forgotten, however, that Copleston always maintained that he owed more to Whately than Whately to him. Whately was so absolutely intent upon abstract truth, and had so little thought or care, in comparison, about personal property in truths discovered or freshly applied, or about the fashion and peculiar minting of any statement of truth or principle, that, after once currency had been given to his own fresh thoughts, he often lost count or cognisance of them as his own. Sometimes, moreover, having once brought them strongly and clearly out himself, and secured for them a lodgment in other minds, he lost sight and memory of them altogether; and,

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\* Vol. i. p. 14.

when one of his friends, who had learned them originally from himself, long afterwards, perhaps, uttered or published them—with the advantage of finished statement and choice illustration—Whately would hail them with high admiration, as the fresh and original thoughts of his friend. Copleston was accustomed to say that many of his best ideas had thus been learnt from Whately, who himself, however, had entirely forgotten that they had ever passed through his mind, and gave Copleston full and exclusive credit for them. We suppose that all fertile and original thinkers thus unconsciously cast around them fruitful germs of thought; and thus find, and lose, and re-discover themselves, or by the ministry of their friends, not a few ideas worth registering and remembering. The same persons, however, will also, there can be no doubt, often unconsciously reproduce as their own, ideas which they have really derived from others. Such men have seldom accurate verbal memories, and very often have lost all trace of the track by which their own derived thoughts came to them. What seems to spring up spontaneously has often been unconsciously assimilated from foreign sources. Whately was scarcely less remarkable for giving out as his own special thoughts what had long been part of the common stock of ideas among cultivated thinkers, than for the prodigality with which he sowed broadcast in the minds of others ideas of his own, of which afterwards he quite forgot the paternity.\*

He seems to have had a strong natural aversion, which remained with him through life, to exact and systematic study. In a letter, from which we shall presently have occasion to quote, he insists on and illustrates his own "natural laziness";† and his daughter speaks of his "constitutional indolence."‡ At college, however, he was stimulated to close and continuous work by the most honourable of motives; his anxious wish to achieve pecuniary independence, so that he might no longer be a burden to his widowed mother. His victory over his "constitutional indolence" was complete.

"Though naturally one who shook off sleep with difficulty, it was

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\* "No one can have failed," says his intimate friend, Bishop Hinds, "to remark in his writings, traces of that curious self-delusion which sometimes affects men of strong minds and strong affections, and who are by nature teachers rather than readers and listeners. Judgments and sentiments which he had himself instilled into his sectaries, when reproduced by them, struck him as novelties; and he may frequently be caught quoting, with much approbation, expressions of this or that follower, which in truth are mere 'Whateliana,' consciously or unconsciously borrowed from him."—Vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

† Vol. i. p. 66.

‡ Vol. i. p. 13.

his college habit to arouse himself by the help of an alarm in his room, at five o'clock, summer and winter, light his own fire, and study for two hours or more; then sally forth for an early walk, from which he returned in time to meet the band of late risers hurrying from their beds to the eight o'clock chapel. He has described, in his '*Annotations on Bacon*,' the results of the observations of natural phenomena which he made in these early morning walks; and also his experience as a student with respect to hours. He found it best to pursue the early-rising plan when engaged only in the acquirement of knowledge; but whenever he had to compose a theme or essay, he found his ideas did not flow as freely in the morning as at night; he therefore changed his habits, and sat up at night while occupied in any original work."—Vol. i. p. 14.

Few men, indeed, have equalled Whately in closeness of application when he had a special object in view.

"When Whately was reading for the Oriel fellowship," says Bishop Hinds, "he spent a long vacation at Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight. It was before I became acquainted with him; but he has often told me that whilst there he made two days out of one. His method was to rise about three o'clock in the morning, and conclude his first day at noon. He then undressed, drew his bedroom curtains, went to bed, and slept for two or three hours. Then began his second day, which ended at ten at night. For all working purposes he found time doubled; the noon siesta doing for him what night usually does, in breaking the current of active life and preparing us for fresh exertion."—Vol. i. p. 23.

In 1809 Whately began to note his thoughts down in what he called a "*Common-Place Book*." It was characteristic of him that the title which most have given to a book of extracts from the writings of others, he gave to a repository of seed-thoughts of his own. At this time he was twenty-two years old. The hand, however, in which he began his entries is still youthful and unformed, while the style in which he expresses his virtuous and Christian aspirations is as stiff and laddish as the hand-writing.

"When I consider," he says, "the progress I have made in the improvement of my mind since I have been at college, I cannot help thinking that by perseverance almost any one may do more than at first sight appears possible; and I regret more than ever the time I formerly lost. But the past cannot be recalled; the future is in my power, and I resolve, through God's help, to make the best use of it; and though I am very likely to fail of my main object, I shall at least satisfy my conscience by doing my best. When I call to mind the independent spirit and thirst for improvement which I admired in my beloved tutor Cople-



ston, I am stimulated to double exertions, that I may be enabled, as in other things, so in this, to imitate his virtues; and as the improvement of my mind is one of my objects, though not the principal one, I have begun the plan recommended by Miss E. Smith, of keeping a register of my thoughts."—Vol. i. p. 15.

In the fly-leaf, also, of his first note-book is written out the last verse of Psalm xix. "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my Redeemer."

Before this time, in 1808, he had taken his degree, a double second-class. Apparently it was about the year 1810 (the date ought to have been given) that he "gained the prize for the English Essay," the subject being the Comparative Excellence of the Ancients and Moderns. In 1811 he obtained the reward for which he had toiled so long and so honestly, a Fellowship at Oriel. He was now independent of all pecuniary help from his mother. In 1812 he "proceeded" M.A.

He had now for some time been engaged as private tutor at Oxford. It was in this capacity that he was introduced to one of his most valued and intimate friends, the late eminent and accomplished Mr. Senior.

"An old and valued friend of his, the late Mr. Hardcastle, requested him to undertake the tuition of a young man of great promise, who had come up to the University with every expectation of honours, but had failed to answer a question in his divinity examination in the very words of the Catechism. The examiner remarked, 'Why, sir, a child of ten years old could answer that!' 'So could I, sir,' replied the young student, 'when I was ten years old!' But the sharp repartee did not save him from being plucked. Both he and his family were naturally much mortified; but being of a nature not easily crushed, the disappointment, which might have been hurtful to many, acted rather as a stimulus on him; he resolved he would retrieve his injured reputation, and for this it was important to secure a first-rate private tutor. Through their common friend, Mr. Hardcastle, he was introduced to Mr. Whately, and shortly after wrote home to his father—'I have got Whately for my private tutor, and I will have the first-class next term.' He succeeded, and this was the commencement of a friendship between Richard Whately and Nassau William Senior which lasted through their lives. The younger friend survived his former tutor but a few months."—Vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

It was also as a private tutor that he renewed his acquaintance with his school-fellow Hinds, afterwards one of his chaplains, and through life his familiar friend and

correspondent. Bishop Hinds, though compelled years ago to retire from his see, still survives, has furnished to these volumes many valuable letters, and also some interesting reminiscences relating to this period, of which, however, we can but quote a little.

Bishop Hinds writes :—

“ I went from school to Oxford in November, 1811 ; it having been previously arranged that Whately was to be my private tutor. He was, at that time, still a B.A. and in lodgings. There I received my first lecture. His apartment was a small one, and the little room in it much reduced by an enormous sofa, on which I found him stretched at length, with a pipe in his mouth, the atmosphere becoming denser and denser as he puffed. Not being accustomed to smoking, my eyes burned and my head was affected. All, however, was soon forgotten in the interest of the interview. There was no ostentatious display of talent and acquirement. Never did tutor in his teaching seem to think so little of himself, and to be so thoroughly engrossed with making his pupil comprehend what he taught. As was his custom, he often digressed from the lecture proper into some other topic, but was always instructive and entertaining. We immediately took to one another ; I parted from him dazzled and fascinated.

“ I was soon invited to join him in his early morning walks. His custom was to start soon after five o'clock, returning, generally, in time for eight-o'clock chapel. In these rambles he was glorious. Every object was a text. It may be literally recorded of him that ‘ he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall ; also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes ; all taking their turn with classical or modern literature, religion, philosophy, and what not besides ? *Nihil non tetigit, nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.*

“ One peculiarity I used to note ; he ever quitted the beaten tracks ; and we were sure, sooner or later, to have a hedge or ditch to scramble through, or swampy ground to tread delicately over, without any apparent reason except his perverse propensity for *avia loca, nullius ante trita solo.*

“ On one of these occasions we were joined by another of his pupils, a schoolfellow of mine, long since dead—an out-and-out specimen of Milsom-street and the Pump Room, Bath, as Bath was in those days ; exquisitely neat in his person, and scrupulous about soiling the very soles of his boots—*shoes* I ought to say, for at that time they were generally worn in Oxford. We got on without any serious discomfort to him, until we came upon a stream of water. Whately turning to him said, ‘ What shall we do now ? ’ He, no more dreaming of his tutor really fording the stream than of his miraculously drying it up, replied jocularly, ‘ If you will go through, I will follow.’ In plunged Whately ; but looking back, and seeing H. R. gaping at him, without the remotest intention of fol-

him, he returned, and exclaiming, 'You said you would follow me, and follow me you shall,' dragged him bodily through the water. He was a good-natured fellow, and joined in the hearty laugh at his expense, but never in another cross-country walk."—Vol. i. pp. 20—22.

In his vacation-rambles Whately, at this time, always carried a gun, and occasionally brought down a bird.

The clerical career of the future Archbishop began in 1814, when he was ordained deacon. He preached his first sermon at Knowle, in Warwickshire. He had, however, forgotten to write down his text, and, after he had entered the pulpit, had to communicate with the clerk to procure it.

Meantime, in the Oriel Common Room, his intellectual faculties found full and congenial exercise. In 1815 Arnold was added to a company of Fellows which previously included such men as Copleston, Denison, Whately, Keble, and Hawkins.

"That Common Room," says Bishop Hinds, "was to him not a mere place of resort for relaxation and recreation, but a school for sharpening his argumentative powers, and for training him to make that use of them in his social intercourse, in Parliament, and other public assemblies, which was so striking and effective."—P. 27.

"At Oxford," however, Bishop Hinds informs us, "Whately was never a popular man. His opinions clashed too decidedly with those which prevailed in the Oxford society of his day to render him so in general life; and, in private, many were deterred from attempting any close intimacy with him by his roughness of manner, and the disdain which he was commonly supposed to entertain for the common herd of thinkers. All the while, his attachment to his own particular set—to those few who were his real intimates—was almost feminine in its tenderness, and most constant in its durability. Any friend of Whately's was (in his view) something sacred—some one whose views, and writings, and character, were to be defended against all comers, and at all hazards."—P. 27.

In 1815 he accompanied two of his sisters to Oporto, the journey being rendered necessary by the state of health of one of them. He remained at Oporto only a few days, returning by the next packet to his college duties. During five or six years after this time he remained at Oxford, teaching with eminent success, his great power being, as his ancient college-friend, Newman, has expressed it, that of training his pupils "to see with their own eyes and to walk with their own feet." To the shy and timid, especially—no doubt, in part, from a strong fellow-feeling—he "acted

the part," again to quote from the *Apologia*, "of a gentle and encouraging instructor."

In 1821 he married. "Happiness," he had written in his *Common-Place Book*, the year before, "must, I conclude from conjecture, be a calm and serious feeling." The following year he adds a note in Latin, "I proved it, thank God! July 18, 1821."\* This was the date of his marriage to Miss Pope, a lady who, throughout his life thereafter, was to him as a good angel at his side, "adorned with good works," and with the "meekness of wisdom." Dr. Whately, after his marriage, continued to take pupils at Oxford.

In 1822 Whately was appointed Bampton Lecturer. The subject which he chose was "The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Religion." A fourth edition of these Lectures was published in 1859.

As a preacher in the University, Whately's powers, at this time and until his removal to Dublin, some ten years later, were fully appreciated, although as might be anticipated, "his manner was far from attractive." "Early attendance at the doors of the church, on the days he preached, was necessary to secure even a standing-place."†

In August, 1822, he was presented by his uncle, Mr. Plumer, to the living of Halesworth, in Suffolk. Here he applied himself with characteristic honesty and earnestness of purpose to his parochial duties. The task was all the harder, because for many years the parish had been under the nominal charge of an altogether infirm and incompetent incumbent, so that "the people," to use Mrs. Whately's words, "were in a state of heathenish ignorance from long neglect." The new rector established an adult school, and a weekly lecture, which he gave at first in a private room, and then, when his hearers increased, in the church. He took great pains—being one of the leaders in reviving the practice—duly to prepare the young people of his parish for confirmation. Here it must unhappily be added, he preached, in his weekly lectures, the substance of the volume which he afterwards published under the title, *View of the Scripture Revelations concerning the Future State*.

He did not remain long, however, at Halesworth. Having taken his degree as D.D., in 1825, he was in the same year appointed, by Lord Grenville, Principal of Alban Hall. On this he removed with his family to Oxford, intending to spend the vacations at Halesworth. The damp climate, however, of

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\* P. 43.

† P. 39.

the Suffolk village had never agreed with the health of Mrs. Whately. Several times her life had been in danger, and her constitution had been seriously undermined. And, after two or three years' trial, it became evident that she could not, without the most serious risk, spend even the vacations at Halesworth. Dr. Whately, therefore, "gave up residence, and, placing a valued and trusted curate in the rectory, contented himself with solitary visits to the parish three or four times a year, passing the long vacations with his family either at the sea, or at Tunbridge Wells, in the neighbourhood of his wife's relations, to whom he was strongly attached."

Alban Hall had come to be a kind of "Botany Bay" to the University, a place to which students were sent who were considered by their friends too idle and dissipated to be received elsewhere, or who had been obliged to leave other colleges. Dr. Whately's strict and vigorous government, however, presently established the discipline and reputation of the Hall, which, after a while, he found himself obliged to enlarge. He was Principal from 1825 to 1831; for his first Vice-Principal he chose Mr. Newman, and for his second Dr. Hinds.

It does not appear at what time Whately began to write for the press. But it would seem to have been several years after he gained (in 1811) his Fellowship. His famous little pamphlet, entitled *Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, which, as an acute and ingenious piece of argumentative irony, directed against sceptical critics of Scripture, has richly deserved its celebrity, was published in 1819. There can be little doubt, however, that, before this period, Whately had begun to contribute to various periodicals. About this time, or soon afterwards, he wrote much for the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, in which work, indeed, his "Logic" and "Rhetoric" first appeared. In 1821 he edited Archbishop Wake's *Treatises on Predestination*; in 1825 he published his *Essays On some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*; in 1828 those *On some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*; in 1830 those *On the Errors of Romanism Traced to their Origin in Human Nature*; a series of essays which, while they established his reputation as an acute, practical, and Protestant theologian, "brought down on him," as Mr. Merivale says, "no small share of his unpopularity with some classes in the Church." The sacerdotalists could not now but recognise in Whately their most formidable antagonist. His works on logic and rhetoric first appeared as separate volumes in 1827 and 1826 respectively.

The period of Whately's second residence at the University, from 1825 to 1831, was perhaps that of its highest intellectual splendour. "Besides Copleston and Whately," Mr. Merivale reminds us, "the names of Newman, Pusey, Keble, Arnold, Hawkins, Hinds, Froude, Wilberforce, Blanco White, and others, appear in that brilliant assembly of gifted and eminent men. Most of these were on intimate terms with the principal of Alban Hall; several were among his closest friends." Of all these, perhaps, though it is much to say, the one most highly prized as a friend, and most beloved by Whately, was Arnold, between whose family and that of Whately, as well as between the heads of the families, there was kept up to the end the most full and affectionate intimacy. From Arnold's letters to Whately, a selection is published in *Arnold's Life*. Unfortunately, of Whately's many letters to Arnold, only one has been preserved.

During the period of which we are speaking, intellectual affinity as yet held in friendly combination those whom, after a while, ecclesiastical discordance was to divide into two antagonistic parties. The Hampden controversy was to be the test, by the introduction of which into the mingled elements of university life and fellowship, the two groups of eminent men who were to give character to those parties were to be finally separated from each other. On the one side was to be ranged Copleston and Whately, Arnold and Hinds—all of whom, however, had, at the time of the Hampden controversy, ceased to be University residents; on the other, Newman, Pusey, Keble, Froude, and Wilberforce. Hawkins alone was to be so fortunate, or unfortunate, as to hold throughout a sort of intermediate position.

It is curious to note not only that "much pleasant intercourse with Keble was" at this time "enjoyed at Oxford" by Dr. Whately; but that it was during a visit paid by Keble to Whately at Halesworth, that the MS. of the *Christian Year* was read by Keble to his host and hostess, and that they "were among the earliest friends who suggested its publication."\* Certainly, it could never have been imagined beforehand that Whately, who could not endure Wordsworth, and had no liking for symbolism, could have much enjoyed the meditative beauty and ecclesiastical symbolism of the *Christian Year*, or that, save on the common ground of the garden and the country, there could have been much affinity of taste or tendency between the author of *Lyra Innocentium* and the author of the *Essays on Romanism*.

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\* Vol. i. p. 54.



And, in fact, the differences between Whately and such men as Keble, Froude, and Newman, were too real, too radical, and too momentous, to admit of profound sympathy or long-continued intimacy between them. It was in 1826 that the remarkable *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian* were published. These were at once ascribed to Whately, were never disclaimed by him, and are allowed, without any suggestion of doubt or demur from his daughter, to be still attributed to him. In truth, from the manner in which Miss Whately refers to this question, it is evident that she intends her silence, as to the point of authorship, to be construed into assent, although she makes no affirmation on the subject.\* Of this work, which advocated the entire mutual independency of Church and State, the Church, however, retaining its endowments, although not its parliamentary peerage, Froude said to Newman that "it would make his blood boil." It did not, indeed, excite in Newman the same feeling as in Froude; it did, on the other hand, contribute materially to the formation of Newman's own opinions on certain points of ecclesiastical principle; but at least it marked out the position held by its author in 1826, as to ecclesiastical questions, as very different indeed from that occupied by the party of Keble, Froude, and Newman.

Miss Whately quotes what, with evident kindly feeling, Newman has written in his *Apologia* about his own relations with Whately during their common residence at Oxford. It will be remembered that Newman owed very much indeed to Whately; who had taken him most kindly by the hand, had drawn him out, and, with characteristic energy, befriended and sustained him, and had made him his Vice-principal at Alban Hall. It will also be understood that, as Newman grew into a High Church and high Tory zealot, Whately and he could not but part company, until intimacy cooled into distant friendliness, not unqualified by mutual suspicion. There is evidence in these volumes that, until Newman, by the special course which he pursued as the chief censor and accuser of Hampden in 1836, had, in the view of Whately, set an impassable gulf between them, Whately retained towards his former *protégé* some warmth of friendly feeling. When Whately, then Archbishop of Dublin, was visiting Oxford in 1834, it was reported that Newman absented himself from chapel that he might not receive the Sacrament with the Archbishop. On hearing this report some months

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\* Vol. i. p. 52.

afterwards, the Archbishop wrote to Newman to ask if it were true. The result was a denial of the report; coupled, however, with some criticism of the Archbishop's principles, and of his ecclesiastical policy in Ireland. To this letter of Newman's the Archbishop replied at some length. We shall quote somewhat more than the half—the latter half—of this letter, the last, it would appear, ever addressed to his old friend. The date is "October, 1834."

"Far be it from any follower of our Master to feel surprise or anger at any treatment of this kind; it is only an admonition to me to avoid treating others in a similar manner, and not to judge another's servant, at least without a fair hearing.

"You do me no more than justice in feeling confident that I shall give you credit both for 'honesty' and for a 'deeper feeling,' in freely laying your opinions before me; and besides this, you might also have been confident from your own long experience, that long since—whenever it was that you changed your judgment respecting me—if you had freely and calmly remonstrated with me on any point where you thought me going wrong, I should have listened to you with that readiness and candour and respect which, as you well know, I always showed in the times when 'we took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends;' when we consulted together about so many practical measures, and about almost all the principal points in my publications.

"I happen to have before me a letter from you just eight years ago, in which, after saying that 'there are few things you wish more sincerely than to be known as a friend of mine,' and adding a much more flattering account of benefits derived from me than I can pretend to merit, you bear a testimony, which I certainly can most heartily agree in, as far at least as relates to the *freedom* of our intercourse and the readiness and respect with which you were listened to. Your words are: "Much as I owe to Oriel in the way of mental improvement, to none, as I think, do I owe so much as to yourself. I know who it was first gave me heart to look about me after my election, and taught me to think correctly, and—strange office for an instructor!—to rely upon myself. Nor can I forget that it has been at your kind suggestion that I have since been led to employ myself in the consideration of several subjects which I cannot doubt have been very beneficial to my mind.'

"If in all this I was erroneous, if I have misled you or any one else into the 'pride of reason,' or any other kind of pride, or if I have entertained, or led others to entertain, any erroneous opinions, I can only say I am sincerely sorry for it. And I rejoice if I have been the means of contributing to form in any one that 'high religious temper and unclouded faith' of which I not only believe, with you, that they are able to withstand tendencies towards infidelity, but also that, *without them*, no correctness of abstract opinions is of much

value. But what I now mean to point out is, that there was plainly nothing to preclude you from offering friendly admonition when your views of my principles changed, with a full confidence of being at least patiently and kindly listened to.

"I, for my part, could not bring myself to find relief in avoiding the society of an old friend, with whom I had been accustomed to frank discussion, on account of my differing from him as to certain principles—whether through a change in *his* views or (much more) in *my own*—till, at least, I had made full trial of private remonstrance and free discussion. Even a man that is a heretic, we are told, even the ruler of a church is not to reject till after repeated admonitions.

"But though your regard for me falls so short of what mine would have been under similar circumstances, I will not, therefore, reject what remains of it. Let us pray for each other, that it may please God to enlighten whichever of us is in any point in error, and recall him to the truth; and that, at any rate, we may hold fast that charity without which all faith that can subsist apart from it (though enough to remove mountains), and all knowledge, will profit us nothing,"—Vol. i. pp. 238—40.

Many years after this, Newman became a co-resident with Whately in Dublin, during the time of his connection with the (so-called) Catholic University; but it does not seem that the old friends ever met. Whately's alienation from Newman had long been complete. The part he took against Hampden, and then his share in the *Tracts for the Times*, were far too much for Whately. His notions of honour and uprightness were outraged by Newman's conduct. He possessed no casuistry himself, by which he could construct an apology for them. Hence there can be no doubt that, as Newman tells us he has heard, Whately "has inserted some sharp things in his later works" about Newman. In these more highly-educated days, however, Newman's Tractarianism may fairly be regarded as rather a mild form of Anglican High Churchism. We wonder what Whately would have said if he had lived to see what we now see.

Whately's friendship with Pusey seems never to have quite died out. We have in these volumes a friendly correspondence of the date 1832, which originated in a published criticism of Dr. Pusey's upon some remarks contained in a charge of Archbishop Whately's, relating to the cholera and national judgments. Nine years later, the Archbishop and the pious heresiarch (for such emphatically was Dr. Pusey held to be by all orthodox Protestants in 1841) met at Brighton; and as this interview has been grossly misrepresented, both as to its time and circumstances, we may here give Miss Whately's correct version of it:—

"They met as old college associates, on the most friendly terms. Dr. Pusey, in the course of the interview, asked the Archbishop's permission to preach in his diocese. The Archbishop told him, candidly, he dreaded his introducing novelties. 'Not novelties,' replied the other. 'Well, if you will, antiquities,' said the Archbishop. Dr. Pusey requested him to name some examples of these 'antiquated novelties,' and he instanced the practice lately introduced of mixing water with wine at the communion. Dr. Pusey excused the practice by observing that at the early communion complaints had been made that the wine affected the heads of the communicants! The Archbishop exclaimed, 'Oh! Pusey, you cannot be serious;' and at last he added, in his own account of the conversation, 'I fairly made him laugh.'—Vol. i. p. 486.

Although, however, Dr. Whately at Oxford kept up friendly relations with the High-Church leaders of the rising Oxford party, the schism which began to grow up from the time of the agitation respecting the Catholic claims, rendered his position in the University less agreeable than it had formerly been.

"Strong political excitement widened the breach of feeling which had always existed between him and the old 'high-and-dry' majority of the residents. And those younger and more far-reaching spirits, with whom his sympathies had chiefly lain—of whom Newman, in his then state of mind, may be taken as an instance—were now detached from him, not because they had joined the old school, but because they were forming to themselves a new school; which began in fierce disapprobation of the 'liberal' mode of dealing with the Church, and, after many vicissitudes of thought—from which Whately's unchangeable consistency was altogether alien—ended for the most part by abandoning that Church. Whately's adherents, beyond the limited circle of his attached friends, were now few, and shared his unpopularity."—Vol. i. p. 65.

It was during his residence at the University as Principal of Alban Hall, that Whately's reputation as a man of intellect and wit rose to its height. A few worthy specimens of his wit are given by Miss Whately. "It is no wonder," said he one day to a friend, "that some English people have a taste for persecution, since it is the first lesson that most are taught in their nurseries." His friend denied that he, at least, had so been taught. "Are you sure?" replied Whately. "What think you of this:—

"Old Daddy Longlegs won't say his prayers,  
Take him by the left leg, and throw him down stairs."

Some admirable remarks on the subject of controversial writings, especially such as relate to the controversy with the

Church of Rome, are assigned by Miss Whately to the period between 1828 and 1830.

“ If in any publication designed to be popular, and most especially in any question with the Church of Rome, I found that the author was provided with an ample store of the most decisive testimonies from the greatest Biblical critics, and other writers of great weight, sufficient to convince any reader of intelligence, candour, learning, and diligence, I should be inclined to advise him, if he consulted me, to strike it all out: if not, however decisive his victory in the eyes of competent judges, I should expect that—orally or in writing—he would be met by opponents who would join issue on that portion of his argument (keeping all the rest out of sight) which turned most on matters of deep research and multifarious reading; boldly maintaining that he had misrepresented this or that author’s opinions, that he had omitted the most weighty authorities, and that, in such-and-such points, the voice of the learned world was against him, &c. Who of the unlearned could tell which was in the right?

“ He might reply, and triumphantly disprove everything that had been urged against him; he would be met by fresh and fresh assertions and contradictions, and fresh appeals to authorities, real or imaginary; and so the contest might be kept up for ever. Meantime, the mass of the readers would be like a blind man who should be a bystander, though not a spectator, of a battle—incapable of judging which party was prevailing, except from the report of those who stand next him. Each man would judge of the matter in dispute on the authority of the teacher whom he had been accustomed to reverence, or who was the most plausible in manners, or the most vehement in asseveration. And, moreover, all the readers (of the class I am speaking of) would have it impressed on their minds continually more and more, as the controversy went on, that the unlearned have nothing for it but to rest in implicit acquiescence on the authority of the qualified to guide them; being as incapable of gaining access to, and reading and understanding, the voluminous works referred to, as of mastering the sciences of anatomy, pharmacy, &c.; so that they must proceed as they do in the case of their health—i.e. resort either to the family physician, or to anyone that they fancy, put themselves into his hands, and swallow what he prescribes, without any knowledge of the what or the why; only with this difference, that the errors of a doctor may be detected in *this* world, by his patient being cured, or the reverse; whereas the D.D., unlike the M.D., cannot be tried by experience till the day of judgment.

“ This supposed necessity of relying *implicitly* on the *authority* of a spiritual guide, is not stated and proved, once for all, as a distinct proposition, but is made to sink, gradually, more and more into the mind, in the course of such a controversy, from the obvious impossibility, to the unlearned, of verifying for themselves the statements on which each argument is made to turn.

“ And those who do not thence give themselves up to the authority of their respective leaders, are apt to infer that there are no means for the mass of mankind to ascertain religious truth, and that, consequently, there is no such thing; that as the religions of Brahma, Mahomet, and Christ, &c., all rest, as far as regards the people, on the same grounds—the assertions of the learned—and, as they cannot be all true, a man of sense will *conform* to that which suits his taste or convenience, and *believe* none.

“ The issue of such a controversy, so conducted, in a popular work (supposing the intrinsic force of the argument to be completely on the Protestant side), I should expect to be—and, as far as my observation has gone, this expectation is confirmed—that the generality of the Romanists should be confirmed in their implicit reliance on an infallible church, and that for one convert they lost, they would gain two, besides several converts to infidelity.

“ For these reasons, I should, as I have said, rather avoid appeals to rare or voluminous works, to elaborate disquisitions, and to disputed passages of Scripture.”—Vol. i. pp. 57—60.

In 1829 Whately was elected Professor of Political Economy, in succession to his pupil Senior. We quote the following extract from a letter to a friend on his acceptance of this appointment, because of the light which, in more respects than one, it throws on the character of the writer. Let us note particularly, that the sentence which is printed in italics affords a sample of the statesmanlike sagacity for which he was so remarkable:—

“ With respect to the Professorship of Political Economy, I have made up my mind to accept it if there is no rival candidate, which the Provost will undertake to ascertain. It is not, however, exactly from ‘having a fancy for it’ that I am induced to do so; for, though it is entertaining to me to read Senior’s lectures, &c., and to converse on the subject with an intelligent companion, such is my natural laziness (which I believe you greatly underrate) that no taste for any subject ever yet did, or I believe ever will, bring me to set to *work* and systematically master it. In chemistry, in natural history, and several other pursuits, I am not without an interest; but it is only strong enough to pick up, in a lounging and desultory way, a little superficial smattering. Never did I *study* any subject—never did I, properly speaking, do any manner of *work*, except either from necessity or a sense of duty. In the present case there is, indeed, no precisely *definite* duty incumbent on *me*; but, if it is right that a thing should be done, it must be right that *somebody* should do it: and some of my friends have persuaded me that this is a sort of crisis for the science in this place, such, that the occupying of the office by one of my profession and station may rescue it permanently from disrepute. Religious truth—which is, as you observe, the only



description that calls for great sacrifices—appears to me intimately connected, at this time especially, with the subject in question. *For it seems to me that before long, political economists, of some sort or other, must govern the world*; I mean that it will be with legislators as it is with physicians, lawyers, &c.—no one will be trusted who is not supposed, at least, to have systematically studied the sciences connected with his profession. Now the anti-Christians are striving hard to have this science to themselves, and to interweave with it their own notions; and, if these efforts are not met, the rising generation will be at the mercy of these men in one way or another—as their disciples, or as their inferiors. I am thinking, in the event of my appointment, of making a sort of continuation of Paley's *Natural Theology*, extending to the body-politic some such views as his respecting the natural."—Vol. i. pp. 66, 67.

Having now found our way almost into the mid-stream of Whately's busy and influential life, the wealth of his correspondence becomes so abounding and so tempting, that, with the few pages left at our disposal, we know not how to make a selection for quotation. We could hardly escape censure, however—at least from our clerical friends—if we failed to print the following passages of a letter to his curate at Halesworth, dated in August in 1829:—

"I am sorry you should take me for such an arrogant coxcomb as to 'enter the desk and deliver a lecture without any previous preparation.' I never was guilty of that, though the preparation was not always (as it was in general) made just before the lecture was given. I could think over what I had to say—sometimes two or three days before—and that often, while I was digging or out shooting; different people have different ways of studying, but no one can do his best without study. And pray do not suppose that I was induced to give those lectures from a persuasion that I possessed some uncommon gift denied to others. If I had been in that mind, I should have thought most of displaying eloquence, and perhaps I might have succeeded in gaining more admiration; but I should have done little or no good. A Christian minister has something better to think of than his own powers and his own credit. If another man is at hand, and the question is whether he or I shall deliver a discourse on some particular occasion, it is then time enough to consider which of us will do it the better; but, when I am left to myself, I have only to consider whether or not my instruction will be better (not than somebody's else might have been, but) than none. It is the ruin of our Church that her ministers are too careful of their own credit, and too much afraid of affording 'triumph to the Dissenters,' by making an attempt and failing, while we forget that it is a standing matter of triumph—and, in some degree, of just triumph—to them, that we are dumb teachers, while we boast superior learning,

taste, and sense, and that their weakness puts down our strength. That there may be a man who cannot give intelligible oral instruction to poor rustics on the principles of Christianity, I will not deny ; but such a one ought not to be in orders, for he will never either read or preach in an edifying manner. And I will own that to do this in such away as to display superior talents must be the lot of but a few because superior talents implies what few possess. But that it requires superior talent to do this, in such a manner as to profit the people. is notoriously the reverse of fact. Every man is not eloquent, but every one can speak so as to be understood and attended to in his own particular business when he is quite in earnest—*e.g.*, a farmer can give his labourers a tolerable lecture on the work they are to do, a housekeeper always finds tongue enough to teach the servants to cook and sweep, &c., and so of others. All but the regular ministers of the Gospel ! We alone have not a word to say on our own professional subject to the people placed under us for instruction ! Why, if a mechanic were thinking (as we are too apt to do) of the opinion his apprentices would form of him as a speaker, he also would, I dare say, begin to feel nervous and modest, and would be content to read them a written discourse on shoemaking—and the shoes would never be made. As it is, it is for his interest that they should learn to make shoes, and therefore he finds words to teach them how.”—*Vol. i. 70—72.*

To which we cannot refrain from annexing the following letter to his friend Copleston, who had become Bishop of Llandaff :—

“ Alban Hall, October 17, 1865.

“ I was surprised and gratified to hear so favourable an account of the state of your diocese, labouring as it does under the disadvantage of the Welsh language. The difference, however, is perhaps greater in appearance than in reality ; at least, I am certain that in a vast many instances the clergy address their flocks in a language quite as unintelligible to the lower orders as English to a Welshman. And if they do not go about to the cottages, and instead of talking to the people, get *them* to talk and state their own impressions, the failure remains undetected. Now, at Eastbourne, Dr. B——, who was there when we visited it, and who used a very plain simple style, and did a vast deal of good, has been succeeded by a man who preaches, in a very audible voice, very orthodox sermons, in well-turned sentences, not one of which I am confident any one of the lower classes can make head or tail of ; and, consequently, those who had acquired a desire for religious instruction have gone in flocks to the meeting-house. It is often contended that this is a proof that the preceding pastor must have been methodistical, which seems to me very rash ; it only proves that he had imparted a hunger and thirst after *some* kind of religious instruction. Now, suppose the other some years hence succeeded by such a man as Dr. B—— ; would all who have

then become Dissenters come back to the Church? No such thing. If an active and judicious minister could in the course of several years reclaim a few, one at a time, it would be no small credit to him. The one change is like the upsetting of a ship, so that most of her cargo is canted at one shock into the sea; the other, the fishing-up piece by piece, at low water, scattered portions of that cargo. So that in consequence of these alternations (which must be of frequent occurrence), the result is, that the Church establishment is ultimately weakened even by the pious diligence of some of her own ministers. A continual drain is kept up of the most thoughtful and careful among her children; the stupid and apathetic continue to go to church because their fathers did so before them.

“And thus we are in the condition of Laban when Jacob kept his flocks: all the vigorous and thriving turn out ringstraked and speckled, and the feeble ones alone remain white, and continue in our flock. Then some people, observing the extravagances which many Dissenters fall into, say, ‘Oh, we don’t want anything of this kind introduced into the Church—these fanatics had better be out of the pale than in;’ as if they would of course have been just as wild had they remained among us. This is like the mistake many ignorant people are apt to make when they see a patient whose whole strength is drained away by an abscess—‘Oh! this must be carrying off bad humours; such a discharge as that would be poison if returned in the body;’ not knowing it *was* sound blood, flesh, and bone, though now corrupted.”—Vol. i. pp. 72—74.

Long before this time, Dr. Whately had matured his opinions on most of the pressing practical questions of the age, whether ecclesiastical or political. One of these upon which he seems most early and most earnestly to have pressed his views, was University Reform, a subject which he continued to urge and argue wherever he had influence, until he had the satisfaction of finding his own principles in the ascendant, and the work of reform in the Universities steadily advancing. He may be regarded as, more than any other man, the father of University Reform. His friend or disciple, Dr. Hinds, had a great part in carrying out the work. A very long and interesting letter, to a friend whose name is not given, relating to this subject, is assigned by Miss Whately to about the year 1830. Many able letters and passages of letters on the same subject are printed in the two volumes.

A kindred subject, in which Dr. Whately was deeply interested, was that of general Church reform. Complete schemes of Church reform may be found in these volumes, containing suggestions which may yet some day be turned to good account. All the arguments and proposals agree well with the principles of the *Letters on the Church* to which we have

already referred. What Whately desired, was the absolute autonomy of the Church of England; that is, of the clergy and laity of that Church conjointly. He would have had the Church so reformed, so reconstituted, as to provide for its internal self-completeness—its independence of all political influence or state control, and its power of self-development—on the basis of a full recognition of the Church-rights of the laity. The revival of Convocation he could not regard as a direct step towards this consummation, however it might indirectly or collaterally tend to create the sense of its necessity. On this general subject he was the earliest, the most earnest, and the most influential, as he was doubtless also one of the most enlightened, of ecclesiastical reformers.

“Did I show you, or communicate to you,” he says in a letter to (Bishop Copleston), dated Dublin, July 30, 1832, “the substance of my correspondence, last winter, with the Archbishop of Canterbury? It relates to a matter which more and more occupies my thoughts as my appearance in Parliament approaches. The Church has been for one hundred years without any government, and in such a stormy season it will not go on much longer without a rudder. I earnestly wish, on every account, that he, or else some other bishop, could be induced to save me from coming forward in a manner most distressing to my feelings, as I must do if others will not do.”—Vol. i. p. 167.

At the date of this writing he had left Oxford for Dublin about a year. His general views had, as we have seen, been matured long before.

Besides university reform and ecclesiastical reform, political reform had, of necessity, engaged the earnest thoughts of Dr. Whately; especially in two branches—parliamentary and criminal. It is somewhat remarkable, that so enlightened and thorough a political economist appears to have had so little to say respecting free-trade, and fiscal reform as bearing upon that subject. Possibly the reason may have been, that the aspect of free-trade in its grand application to the trade in grain, appeared, at least in its first incidence, to be unfavourable to Ireland; and, accordingly, from considerations of prudence, he abstained from pressing or publishing his own views on a subject as to which his personal interposition did not seem to be necessary. A free-trader he was, of course, as a disciple of Adam Smith and an ex-professor of political economy could not fail to be; but this was not one of the subjects on which he exerted any special influence. On the subject of parliamentary re-

however, we have before us an elaborate letter, addressed to his friend Senior, a few weeks before his elevation to the See of Dublin. The date appears to have been August 8th, 1831; but, in absence of mind, Whately dated it, "8th October." It shows, as Mr. Merivale remarks, that, "like a true Aristotelian," Whately "was in favour of the timocracy of that philosopher, or system of cumulative votes according to property." With this qualification, he would have given the primary suffrage universally. But this primary franchise would have given votes not for the direct election of members of Parliament, but for the election of "deputies," who themselves should be the direct electors. His plan would thus have resembled in more than one particular that now established in France, while it would have very closely approximated in character to the Prussian system of representation. He would have relieved the House of Lords from the presence of the episcopal bench, but, at the same time, would have removed the prohibition which precludes a clergyman from being elected to the House of Commons. He objected to the £10 suffrage, as not only very low, but arbitrary and unequal, and one which must lead to mere universal suffrage. He would have allowed no candidate either for the office of deputy or of member, personally to ask a vote. The primary electors he would have had to vote by ballot, the deputies *viva voce*.

Nine months later, after he had been installed in Dublin, he writes as follows:—

"Here, as well as elsewhere, we are of course in a state of much anxiety about the Bill and the Ministers. I myself should be very glad to have a reform considerably different from the proposed one, but I feel a little doubt that the time for it is irrecoverably past. The people have no confidence (nor can I blame them) in those who opposed all reform as long as they could, and now are preparing their vaccination when the smallpox has broken out. If the Bill had been thrown out in the Commons, there would have been a hope; but when it has passed an *unreformed* House of Commons, and one, it may be said, elected expressly for the purpose of trying the question, the people will never, I think, endure the vote of the Lords. If a Tory ministry should come in, and dissolve the House, I shall anticipate the late scenes in Paris. And the worst of it is, whatever turn things take, I can see nothing that bodes well to the Church Establishment; I fear its days are numbered."—Vol. i. p. 159.

Perhaps there was no subject on which Dr. Whately argued and agitated with so much or such beneficial effect as that of criminal reform. To him, much more than to any other

man, the nation, and especially what were formerly the penal colonies of Great Britain, owe those results in regard to penal reform, especially in the matter of secondary punishments, which have been embodied in the criminal legislation of the last twenty years, and all that deserves to be regarded as political science upon this subject. These volumes afford most abundant evidence of the tenacity with which Whately held to his enlightened and philanthropic views and purposes. When he began his beneficent and unostentatious, although most effective, agitation of this subject, he had scarcely a supporter. Most were apathetic; many were bitterly opposed to his views—especially indolent or merely routine politicians, and short-sighted selfish men, who were connected by trade or property with the Colonies; nay, the Colonies themselves were at first his fiercest antagonists. But Whately lived to see all this changed; and, although few comparatively understood the share he had had in bringing about the reforms, which have saved our most magnificent colonies from ruin, to him it was ample reward to see how his ideas had taken root and brought forth fruit.

On the subject of criminal reform, indeed, much yet remains to be done. The substitutes for death and transportation are often, and in most serious respects, very unsatisfactory, and indeed very injurious, in their effects both on the criminals and society at large. All this Whately was well aware of. He held that the English system of dealing with criminals was very faulty. The Irish system, of the superior efficiency of which there can be no question, represents to a considerable extent the Archbishop's own views. But still England has entered on the field of improvement; the public is alive to the evils which need to be rectified; and sooner or later the right path of administrative reform will be struck.

On this subject a valuable memorandum is published in these volumes, from the pen of Mr. Senior, giving the substance of a conversation between the Archbishop and himself so lately as November 16, 1862. Among other things said by the Archbishop was this:—"It is difficult to conceive the state of mind in which a man, familiar with penal jurisprudence, could come to so monstrous a conclusion as that convicts ought to be let loose on the public, without reference to their individual fitness for pardon." What we desire to quote, however, as most memorable, is Mr. Senior's own summing up on the whole matter. Let it be remembered that these are the "words of the wise." Mr. Senior was unquestionably a sage, as well as an accomplished and expe-



rienced, man; we should think that, to considerate public men, his words will be "as goads."

"‘I perfectly agree with you,’ I said, ‘as to the propriety of making long sentences irremissible, except by Act of Parliament. Nor would I allow to justices and magistrates their present discretion. Every crime should have its fixed punishment. The caprice of a magistrate or of a judge should not decide whether a murderous assault should be punished by a six months’ imprisonment or by six weeks, or by six years. The lenity shown by our judicial authorities to acts of violence, is one of the strangest phenomena in our present penal administration. I would go further still. I would return, and return largely, to the only irremissible punishment, death. I would punish with death, three days after conviction, every person convicted a second time of robbery, accompanied by violence. Experience shows that such malefactors are never reformed. They go on from crime to crime until death. I would cut their course short, in pity to the public and in pity to themselves. The common answer, that robbery ought not to be punished by death, lest murder should be added, for the sake of concealment, does not apply. The garotter, who strikes his victim down, secures his watch and runs off, has not time to do more. He attacks him from behind, does not fear recognition, and would increase instead of diminish the chance of detection, if he murdered him.

“‘Pity for such men is the weakest of follies. They are wild beasts, and ought to be treated as wild beasts.’”—Vol. ii. p. 397.

A man who has devoted himself to the question of Criminal Reform is not likely to have overlooked that of Pauperism. Here, however, Whately never seems to have solved the problem before him in a positive sense. He had got so far as to understand that such a system as that of our English Poor-Laws tends, however reformed or guarded, and however administered, rather to perpetuate than to cure pauperism. Hence, although in England, such a system having been established, he felt obliged to regard it as a necessary evil, a nuisance, to be abated as far as possible. He was utterly opposed to the introduction of the system into Ireland at all. On no subject, did he write more largely, or exert all his powers and influence more energetically, than to prevent the passing of the Irish Poor-Laws. But Whately failed to see, at least he failed to show, how, in default of Poor-Laws, and especially after the Irish famine, the poverty and mendicancy of Ireland were to be dealt with. Hence he failed in his opposition. The problem of our national pauperism still remains to be grappled with. Hitherto most people have been content, even those who

are called statesmen, to regard as the only practical question, How best the pauperism may be provided for in reservoirs and prevented from overflowing the land? Instead of regarding our Poor-Law system, in its present extent and character, as a temporary expedient, they look upon it, and even contrive to fatten a little English pride upon it, as a national institution. Whereas, the real question, the only question for a statesman, or philanthropist, or philosopher, to recognise, is, How shall the fountain of our national pauperism be healed and stayed, and its streams thus be dried up, while the existing mass of regular pauperism is by degrees absorbed into the general community of provident industry? It appears that even Whately did not venture fully to face the problem of English pauperism. He probably looked to free-trade, emigration, and colonisation on an extensive and growing scale, after the Colonies had been freed from the pollution of a nation's consigned criminality, as the most obvious, and the sufficient, remedies for the pauperism of England. It is likely that when, more than thirty years ago, he was, with singular comprehensiveness and sagacity, clearing and maturing his views on public and national questions, he little thought that, in spite of Poor-Law Reform, Free-Trade, and Criminal Reform, the Pauperism of England would, in the year 1866, be so huge, so costly, and so corrosive an evil in the body politic as it is, "eating" still, "as doth a canker."

It is evident from these volumes that the Archbishop's cure-all for Ireland would have been the payment of the priests. He would not have passed the Irish Poor-Law; he would have salaried the Romish priesthood. "The two great evils of Ireland," he wrote to Dr. Hinds in 1848, are "the non-payment of the priests, and the Poor-Laws."\* By the payment of the priests, he imagined, Ireland would be permanently tranquillised, and brought into a condition of social amenability and progress. This would lead to capital being introduced; capital to employment and better wages; and so forth. Doubtless in this he was, even as an economist, mistaken. The malady of Ireland lies deeper in the soil of the country than any question of ecclesiastical economics. But, in this opinion, he did but share the views, not only of the leading statesmen of his own generation and the preceding, including Tories of the school of Pitt, but of such men among his own friends as Copleston, Hinds, and

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\* Vol. ii. p. 133.

Senior. And any one who desires to know how much can be plausibly and persuasively said in favour of this view, so as to recommend it to the acceptance of Protestant divines and statesmen of the highest integrity, and of eminent sagacity, as a measure not only necessary, but most just, and not only calculated to settle Ireland, but to conduce to the progress and prevalence of Protestantism, cannot do better than read the correspondence and the conversations, relating to this question, which are published in these volumes. Earl Russell, we observe, still clings to this standard Whig prescription for Ireland. We observe, also, that the *Times*, which as to many points seems, from time to time, to reflect the obsolescent Whiggery of five-and-twenty years ago, every now and then shows a leaning in the same direction, in which, moreover, it is followed by the *Post*, which is substantially of the same political school. Of course, if their view is right, Mahometanism and Hindooism, within the British Empire, ought to be directly paid out of imperial revenue, if not otherwise provided for, on condition that they disallow all practices opposed to our common and statute law; and, much more, all Protestant Denominations which might be willing, ought to receive State-pay.

Such a man as Whately was not likely either to be indifferent as to the subject of Slavery, or to be on the wrong side. He knew the West Indies familiarly, through his early and intimate friends, and by reading and inquiry, almost from his youth up. The earliest letter printed in these volumes relates to a book on the subject of Jamaica, and of negro and planter's life there, written by his friend Senior's brother.\* And there are many passages in his letters which refer to the subject of slavery. Bishops Copleston and Hinds, Mr. Senior and himself, were fully agreed here, and were as staunch and earnest as they were enlightened in their antagonism to slavery.

We also learn that Archbishop Whately contributed to the *North British Review* an article on Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom*, as Mr. Senior did to the *Edinburgh*. Moreover we note, in passing, for the special benefit of curtailed contributors to Reviews, that the Archbishop had to submit to the reduction of his article by one-third or one-fourth; "some valuable parts," as he simply and quietly says, "being excluded for want of room."

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\* *Charles Vernon*, by Colonel Senior.

Such was the man, such his training, and such his strain of opinion and tendency, who, in September, 1831, to his own utter surprise and astonishment, and scarcely less to the astonishment of the ecclesiastical and political world in general, was by Earl Grey requested to accept the high position of Archbishop of Dublin, a preferment which he was destined to fill with eminent fidelity and ability, for more than thirty years.

Whately was visiting his friend Arnold, at Rugby, when the following letter was put into his hand at the breakfast-table:—

*“ Private.*

*“ Downing-street, Sept. 14, 1831.*

*“ Rev. Sir,—Having been ordered by the King to recommend for his Majesty’s consideration the name of a person well qualified by his eminence in the Church to fill the vacant Archbishopric of Dublin, I have, after most diligent inquiry, satisfied myself that I shall best accomplish the object which his Majesty has in view by proposing that you should be nominated to this high situation.*

*“ I need not point out to you the important duties annexed to it, more especially at this moment, when the most unremitting care, under the direction of a firm, enlightened, and conciliating spirit, will be required to preserve the Church of Ireland from the dangers with which it is surrounded.*

*“ An anxious wish to engage in this arduous task the qualities best fitted for its successful execution, and the persuasion, derived from your high reputation, that they will be found in you, have alone induced me to make this offer, your acceptance of which will afford me the sincerest pleasure. May I request an early answer to this communication?*

*“ I remain, with great respect, sir,*

*“ Your very obedient, humble servant,*

*“ GREY.”*

Whately “glanced over” the letter, “and, quietly putting it by, talked at breakfast of indifferent subjects; no one suspected that it contained matter of so much interest to all present.”

“That Whately’s lofty character, and high reputation as a scholar and a divine,” says Mr. Merivale, “fully justified his elevation, was admitted by all. But there was much speculation, at the time, as to what especial reason could have occasioned an appointment so much out of the common run, open to cavil from so many quarters, and so little ‘safe’ in the ordinary ministerial sense of the word. Whately had neither family nor personal interest, nor connection with Ireland; he was entirely detached from all parties, religious or political; he stood alone, in the insulation of a singularly proud as well as inde-

pendent mind. We have Lord Grey's testimony (given in his lordship's evidence before the Committee appointed to inquire into National Education in Ireland, 1837), that when he offered him the archbishopric, he had never spoken to, written to, or to his knowledge seen him."—Vol. i. p. 99.

It is probable that it was on the suggestion of his friend Senior, who had great influence with such men as the Marquis of Lansdowne and Earl Grey, that Dr. Whately was nominated to this preferment. Whencesoever the suggestion may have come, it is certain that we have here an exemplary instance of high preferment bestowed on a perfectly independent man, from pure considerations of character and qualifications, such as appeared eminently to fit him for the position he was to occupy. There can be no doubt, moreover, that as a political appointment, considering the crisis of public affairs, in England, at which it was made, and especially the restless and inflamed condition of Ireland, and the perils surrounding the Irish Church, together with all the difficulties belonging to the question of Irish national education, the nomination was as sagacious as it was bold. Let us suppose that such a man as Bishop Philpotts, on the one hand, or as Archbishop Sumner, on the other, had been appointed to the See of Dublin; and we may be able to conceive, in some measure, how special were the advantages, for the sake of Ireland, and even looking at the whole future of the Irish Episcopal Church, in having as the Archbishop of Dublin one who, whilst thoroughly Protestant, had no sympathy with the spirit of Orange animosity and proscription; who, whilst thoroughly liberal, had an honest and wholesome dislike of O'Connell, and disapproved of all mere truckling to him and his "Irish Brigade;" who, whilst certainly no Tory, was quite as little of a Radical, and, though appointed to office by the Whigs, could never be regarded as a Whig partisan; one who, in fine, though not without his serious errors of judgment and policy, was, on the whole, the most independent and disinterested, as he was one of the most enlightened and large-minded, not merely of the prelates, but, which is much more to say, of the public men of his day. If we were to look at only one matter, the part which, with a noble disregard to prejudice, obloquy, and opposition, to all except the national well-being, and his own duty, the Archbishop sustained, for so many years, in connection with the National Board of Education, we should hold that Earl Grey, as the first minister of the crown dis-

pensing preferments in a State Church, in such a season of revolutionary ferment as the year 1831, must be held to have been most amply vindicated in his choice. Some serious theological objections might have been, and indeed were, by the Bishop of Exeter, taken to Dr. Whately's appointment. But it may be doubted whether any other man could have been found, intellectually and physically competent for the preferment, against whom objections as serious might not have been alleged. The Archbishopric of Dublin, at the time when Whately accepted it, was, in simple truth, incomparably the most difficult post to fill in the whole range of the ecclesiasticâl polity of Great Britain.

The spirit in which Dr. Whately accepted the appointment will be seen from the following extracts :—

"He had a short struggle," Mrs. Whately writes in her *Reminiscences*, "in making up his mind to accept an office which to him involved much personal sacrifice. He had to resign a mode of life to which he was much attached, with duties in which he took a great interest, and among friends whose society was both dear and agreeable to him ; while, on the other hand, great and painful responsibilities, duties as yet undefined, and difficulties little known, must inevitably meet him in Ireland. To balance all which, he did not possess even the ordinary love of place or desire of distinction, in the vulgar sense of the word. Nor did he want wealth, for we enjoyed a competence which met our wants and wishes. But the conviction that an important line of duty was opened to him, decided his acceptance."—Vol. i. p. 98.

"The words of his old friend the Bishop of Llandaff will further illustrate the spirit in which he entered on his new office. 'Dr. Whately,' writes the Bishop, 'accepted the arduous station proposed to him, purely, I believe, from public spirit and a sense of duty. Wealth, honour, and power, and title have no charms for him. He has great energy and intrepidity—a hardihood which sustains him against obloquy, when he knows he is discharging a duty, and he is generous and disinterested almost to a fault. His enlarged views, his sincerity, and his freedom from prejudice, are more than a compensation for his want of conciliating manners. When his character is understood, he will, I think, acquire more influence with the Irish than he would with the English.'"

"A similar tribute was given to his character by his friend Dr. Arnold, some time later :—'In Church matters they (the Government) have got Whately, and a signal blessing it is that they have him and listen to him ; a man so good and so great that no folly or wickedness of the most vile of factions will move him from his own purposes, or provoke him in disgust to forsake the defence of the Temple.'"—Vol. i. pp. 101, 102.



We have said that Whately was not in any sense a mere party man, neither Tory nor yet a mere Whig; still less a Radical. In a letter to his friend Senior, dated in 1849, he says: "Will it not be necessary for the Whigs and Tories to combine against their common enemies, the Radicals?" And he had been too much behind the scenes to put any trust in professedly Whig statesmen, merely as such.

"After all," he says in his private note-book, "Lord Melbourne's plan was to let everything alone, good or bad, till forced to make a change. He was the highest Conservative I ever knew. For he was not like many so called, who have really persuaded themselves that such and such alleged abuses are really good; he saw in many cases, and has often pointed out to me, the evils of such and such institutions; adding, however, that he was very sorry they should ever have been meddled with: 'I say, Archbishop, all this reforming gives a deuced deal of trouble, eh? eh? I wish they'd let it all alone.' . . . . He differed from the Whigs in deprecating all changes, good or bad; he differed from the (other) Tories in conceding readily what he saw to be inevitable. Yet this man will probably go down to posterity as a zealous Reformer! A monument to Sir R. Peel and the Duke as the authors of Catholic Emancipation, and Free Trade, and the Maynooth Grant; and to Lord Melbourne as the friend to Parliamentary Reform, to the Irish Temporalities Act, and the Abolition of Slavery; these should certainly stand side by side, and a most laughable pair they would be. 'I say, Archbishop, what do you think I'd have done about this slavery business, if I had had my own way? I'd have done nothing at all! I'd have let it alone. It's all a pack of nonsense. Always have been slaves in all the most civilised countries; the Greeks and Romans had slaves; however, they *would* have their fancy, and so we've abolished slavery; but it's great folly, &c.' And this was the general tone of his conversation, and a specimen of his political views."—Vol. ii. p. 452—3.

Mr. Merivale remarks, with unquestionable truth, that

"Generally speaking, Whately occupied an intermediate position through life, between the high dogmatic school in the Church, and the school which refines away dogma into mere sentiment. Neither suited his positive turn of mind; the first, because most of their doctrines seemed to him to rest on mere assumptions; the second, because a religion without distinct doctrines was in his view impossible. The articles of his creed were therefore few, but they were adhered to with great steadiness."—Vol. i., p. 105.

There were, as we have intimated once and again, legitimate and not unimportant objections, on theological grounds, to Whately's preferment. Nevertheless, whatever might be his mistakes, here and there, in interpreting it, his reliance

on Scripture was absolute. In a letter to Lady Osborne, relating to the Romish Practice of Invocation of Saints, he says, "I ask for Scripture proof." "I always cast anchor on the Scriptures, "which is common-ground to both parties."\* In another letter (dated 1841) he says to an episcopal correspondent:—

"You are quite right in what you say of the Tractites. 'The horse is not quite escaped which drags his halter.' Our Church, in breaking loose from Romish corruption, carried off a piece of the halter. Their object is to get hold of the end of the halter, so as to lead off the horse captive, not back to his own stable, but to one of their own—much like it—in which he is to be hoodwinked and grind in their mill. . . . I have not seen the notice of the Bishop of Winchester's charge. The ———† has been much lauded by some for one of his, in which he censures No. 90, yet says that tradition is the appointed interpreter of Scripture. I don't know what the Tractites would desire more, for they will take good care to make themselves the judges of what is tradition.

"How much more just to say that the *Christian Scriptures* were the appointed *interpreter of tradition*; coming *after* it, the books were written *from* the very Churches which had already embraced Christianity on oral teaching, and designed to clear up what was doubtful in it, to supply what was deficient, and to guard against error which might creep in, 'that they might know the certainty of those things wherein they *had been instructed*.'"—Vol. i. pp. 490, 491.

"The Archbishop," says "a Friend," "had a deep reverence for the Scriptures, and the doubts by which he lived to see them assailed were very painful to him, even to hear of. 'Have you ever read any of ———'s books?' he asked me one day, mentioning one of the leaders of the 'doubting school.' I replied that I had not. 'Then do not read them,' he added. 'If I were ———, I would deny the whole Bible at once; that would be much less trouble than picking it to pieces as he is doing.'"—Vol. ii. p. 438.

In a valuable letter, addressed to Mrs. Arnold, and dated 1849, he criticises with much acuteness, F. Newman, J. H. Newman, and Coleridge, and others who deny or disparage the external evidence on behalf of Christianity.

Of Maurice's writing he says:—

"It reminds me of a Chinese painting, in which each single object is drawn with great accuracy, but the whole landscape, for want of perspective, is what no one can make head or tail of."—Vol. ii. p. 302.

In short, Whately was a devout Christian and a most intelligent and thorough Protestant; he was equally opposed

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\* Vol. ii. pp. 192, 193.

† This blank should no doubt be supplied by *Primate*, meaning the *Irish Primate*.

to Rationalism and to Romanism. His insight into the essential character of Romanist error was very keen. Writing to Dr. Dickinson (at that time his chaplain) from Milan, he says :—

“The cathedral is the most gigantic idolatrous temple I ever saw. It is a pain to me to visit such places. The chief idol is the Virgin and Babe. I marvel at those persons who admire the devotion of Roman Catholics, and their stepping in at any hour of any day to say their private prayers in the churches, which are always open. It is the very essence of their error, in making a temple of a Christian synagogue.”—Vol. i. p. 432.

It is well understood now—indeed, Mr. Palmer, in his well-known “Narrative,” did not scruple to avow it—that the real secret of the bitter animosity of the Tractarian party against Dr. Hampden, on his nomination to his professorship in 1836, was not the doubtful or latitudinarian character of his theology as to certain points, but the fact that he had broached and was prepared to support the idea of admitting Dissenters to the University. Nothing could exceed Dr. Whately’s indignation at the tactics employed in this case by Newman and his friends. But his antipathy against the “Tractites,” their principles, their fashions, their manner and spirit, was altogether most intense.

Writing to Mrs. Arnold in October, 1842, he says :—

“Never, surely, did the world more need the warning against ‘false prophets in sheep’s clothing ;’ though the fleece is so very thin it is a matter of wonder that intelligent men should so generally fail to see the wolf beneath it. So very simple a contrivance as that of using words in new senses generally the very opposite of the old, seems to answer the purpose.

“‘Humble-minded’ men are especially to be guarded against ; the word means what used to be called arrogant and insolent ; on the other hand, the worship of God only, and a deference for Him and His Word, beyond what is paid to any mortal man, is, now-a-days, ‘profaneness and self-conceit ;’ a ‘pure and holy man’ is one who fasts twice a week, but ‘neglects the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and justice, and mercy.’ I think the ‘holy men’ who garbled and distorted Hampden’s *Bampton Lectures* with the deliberate design of holding him up to the hatred and persecution of unthinking bigots, are the genuine descendants of those Roman emperors who dressed up the early Christians in the skins of beasts, and then set dogs at them to worry them to death.”—Vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.

In all things Whately was one of the manliest of men. Nor could anything vex him more than to see any fashion of unmanliness spreading, whether in the church or in society.

How strongly the earnest, self-reliant man, who had, unfriended and single-handed, made his own way in the world, speaks out in the pithy and pointed letter we are about to quote!

“ April 7th, 1846.

“ My dear Mrs. Arnold,—I am half provoked when I hear people talk of a dry study by which a young man is to obtain a comfortable and respectable subsistence. If this is to be the general tone of ‘ Young England ; ’ if they think to live in Lubberland, where pigs run about ready-roasted, and the streets are paved with plum-pudding, we shall have some Young Englanders of the humbler classes telling us that driving a plough is dry work, and that they would rather employ themselves in bird-nesting.

“ Why there is Senior, a man of the highest talents and most varied tastes and acquirements, who drudged at conveyancing for his livelihood; and, I may add, had leisure hours for the study of political economy and literary criticism, which as a barrister he would have had no chance of.

“ Who, except a man of fortune, has a right to say he will only follow his own tastes and inclinations?

“ In haste, yours affectionately,

“ R. WHATELY.”

“ P. S.—Give my regards to my grafts and buds at Foxhow.”—  
Vol. ii. p. 93.

But we have far overpassed our due limits, and now must bring this article to a close. We have, indeed, for some pages past, been giving a few fragments out of material which we had looked out for the preparation of a sketch of the Archbishop's life during his residence, for more than thirty years, at Dublin. We had intended to give some view of Irish parties and Irish society at the time he went to Dublin; to show how piercing was the Archbishop's insight into the character of the people and parties around him; to describe his home, his study, and his garden-life (to a large extent his garden was his study, whilst he seemed to be only and leisurely intent on digging, trimming, pruning, grafting, and practising curious experiments on his plants); to show how immensely the National System of Education was indebted to him, as a faithful and impartial administrator, as composer of admirable elementary Lessons, as a liberal but faithful Protestant, and on what grounds he at length, in his character of Protestant representative, retired from the Board of Direction. We had marked for quotation passages explanatory of the effects of the National System, as administered in his time,

on the Irish mind; and of the various causes which some years ago, before the setting in of the late access and exasperation of Romish bigotry, under the instigation of Paul Cullen, contributed to a manifest improvement in the character of Irish Romanism, and to produce a considerable number of real conversions from Popery to Protestantism. The Archbishop's enlightened zeal for the founding of a "divinity college" or "theological seminary," although, through political and ecclesiastical prejudices, after years of labour on his part, and notwithstanding his own generous offers for its endowment, it was, on the very eve of apparent success, doomed to be most painfully disappointed, would yet have claimed a conspicuous place in our sketch. In this, as in so many other matters, Whately was before his age. What he had so set his heart upon for Dublin, is now being extensively carried out in various dioceses, English and Irish.

The Irish famine, especially in connection with the Archbishop's own untiring exertions and princely munificence, would have claimed more than a passing notice. The episode of his unhappy friend, Blanco White, which, with the letters from the Archbishop relating thereto, occupies a large space in these volumes, should have been given in outline.

If we had been able to give so far complete a sketch, we should also have felt it necessary to note the serious administrative error into which he was led, as we cannot but think, in inhibiting the Rev. R. Kyle from officiating as a curate in his diocese, because of his connection with the Evangelical Alliance.

At the same time, it would have been pleasant to show how liberal, frank, and generous, he was in his relations with his clergy in general; and to have sketched those monthly dinners at which, in the freest and heartiest manner, he was accustomed to receive them.

What he was, during the last thirty years, as an ecclesiastical politician and member of the House of Peers, will not, even in these hurried times, have been altogether forgotten by general readers. He was throughout—as on his Church and State principles, which, in general respects, were antagonistic to those of his dear friend Arnold, he could not but be—a supporter of the measures for removing Jewish Disabilities. He took a chief part in the correspondence, the private proposals and discussions, and the parliamentary action and debates, which had for their results the Irish Tithes and Church Temporalities Acts. The strong reasons which determined his course in these measures are set forth

at length in the letters now published. On all the particulars, indeed, which we have indicated, as well as on many more which we have not been able to refer to in this article, these two volumes contain letters or memoranda of the highest interest.

But we must leave all this. Nor can we even find space for any extracts from the touching record of his final decline and his last days, which is here given. Let us note only that whereas, sad to say, his habitual "veil of reserve," to use his daughter's words, "had hitherto made the 'inner life' a mystery, hid even from those nearest to him," in the notes furnished by those who attended on him in his latest days, we see "the veil somewhat lifted," and are shown "how the same simple trust in Christ as the only Saviour, which has smoothed so many an humble death-bed, was to be the stay and the staff of the mighty thinker and writer while crossing the 'valley of the shadow of death.'"<sup>\*</sup> When Mr. Dickinson read to him 2 Corinthians, chap. iv., "he followed the chapter with tears and silent prayer, and at the end pronounced an emphatic Amen." The eighth chapter of Romans seems to have been his favourite chapter in his final pains and mortal weakness. He died on the 8th of October, 1868, aged seventy-six years.

Thus passed away, in the fulness of age and of honour, one of the ablest and most upright men of the past age. With all his defects of manner and of judgment, he was a wise, a great, and a Christian man. He was also a praying man, and one who valued prayer increasingly as he grew older. It is notable when such a man, so strong, so naturally proud, so self-reliant, comes to ask for the prayers of others on his own behalf. So did Whately again and again long before his last years. His faith in God, his reliance on Scripture, his trust in Christ, were absolute. Verily, "a prince and a great man" he was in Israel, and "a mighty man of valour."

In conclusion, we venture to suggest that from these volumes, from his unpublished correspondence, Mr. Fitzgerald's memorials, and public sources, Miss Whately or some intimate and competent friend, such as Mr. Merivale, should prepare a real biography of the Archbishop, illustrated by letters and extracts of letters. There are a thousand points of interest and importance connected with the life of Whately about which no direct information at all is given in these volumes.

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<sup>\*</sup> Vol. ii. p. 413.



If such a thorough biography of this great man were written, not a little of the fillings in of the letters here given, interesting as they all are, might be spared, the quintessence of them having been extracted, and the life would become a standard work for all students of English history, and all lovers of English worthies. As it is, we must end by repeating what we said at the opening of the article, that to the ordinary reader, to all in fact who do not read up elsewhere for the occasion, much of the interest and instruction of these volumes must be lost. This is the greater pity, because we know of no volumes of modern biography so rich as these in the materials of interest and instruction.

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## BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

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**An English, Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon and Concordance to the more correct understanding of the English Translation of the Old Testament by reference to the Original Hebrew. By William Wilson, D.D., Canon of Winchester. Second Edition, carefully revised. Macmillan: London. 1866.**

DR. JOHNSON or Wesley would clap his hands for joy at the sight of this volume. And a crowd of living students of English, Hebrew, and the Scriptures, especially those of them to whom the three are one, will be ready to do the same, when they become acquainted with the contents of Dr. Wilson's elegant and most useful work. The handy, handsome quarto, bearing the title given at length above, must henceforth be considered the book of the class to which it belongs. Both Messrs. Bagster's very valuable "Englishman's Hebrew Concordance," and the former edition of Dr. Wilson's own work, must now yield the palm to the "English, Hebrew, and Chaldee Lexicon and Concordance," as it here presents itself for the benefit of all Bible-reading Englishmen at home and abroad. It is often matter of interest to the mere philologist to know what Hebrew or Chaldee term or terms stand for any particular word in the Authorised Version of the Old Testament, or, *vice versâ*, how any particular word in the original has been represented in English by the authors of our version. For the intelligent reader of the Word of God, and especially for the preacher, this knowledge, never to be despised, may throw open world beyond world of doctrine and thought, which would otherwise lie quite unrevealed, and so may serve to further most directly and effectually the highest ends of Christian life and instruction. Dr. Wilson's book is framed for the purpose of answering the questions just indicated; and within the limits which he found it needful to prescribe for himself—limits which, we think, he has wisely drawn—he has done this with great precision and exhaustiveness. The only literary equipment which an educated Englishman will need for the profitable use of the work is ability to read the Hebrew characters, and such an acquaintance with the general constitution of the Old Testament languages as may be obtained by two or three days' study of a brief section of Dr. Wilson's book, in which the requisite information is all made ready to his hand. So provided, the English reader of the Old Testament will find in Dr.

Wilson's book a mine of most curious, interesting, suggestive, and useful information. Let such a reader desire, for example, to ascertain what word in the Hebrew is represented by the term, "sacrifice" occurring in Exodus iii. 18. Let him, further, be disposed to inquire whether the same English is uniformly employed in our version as the exponent of the same Hebrew original; or whether on the one hand "sacrifice" is used as the translation of more than a single Hebrew word, while on the other this or that Hebrew word is rendered now by "sacrifice," now by some other English equivalent. Dr. Wilson supplies the answers, and more than the answers, to all these questions. He tells us not merely what Hebrew word stands in our passage for "sacrifice," but likewise in what grammatical form it appears, and what is its strict and proper value as determined by the best critical authorities. Moreover he gives a complete list of the instances in which this English expression, whether noun or verb, is used in the Authorised Version as the counterpart of this same Hebrew. Not only so. He informs us that eight other Hebrew words are translated "sacrifice" in the version. He distinguishes the meanings of these several words. And he furnishes exact catalogues of the places in which they may be found. Last of all, he explains, whether the Hebrew terms in question are invariably represented in the English by the word "sacrifice," or whether other terms are employed to denote them, and if so, what terms, and in how many cases they are used. This will serve as an index to the general character of Dr. Wilson's work. Pronouns and particles are excluded from his plan for reasons which are obvious. The introduction of them would rarely have answered any good purpose; and they would have swelled the volume to inconvenient dimensions. We could wish that the author had brought the proper names of the Old Testament within his scheme. An English-Hebrew and Hebrew-English Concordance of the Old Testament proper names on the plan of Dr. Wilson's work is a great desideratum for English readers of Scripture. The absence of the proper names from Fuerst's Hebrew Concordance is a serious drawback upon the value of that otherwise most valuable work. Dr. Wilson has our best thanks.

**Ruth: an Historical Poem in Four Cantos, illustrative of the Sacred Narrative.** By William Mackenzie, M.A., author of "French Concordance to the Holy Scriptures," &c. Edinburgh: Inglis and Jack. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.

In all spheres there is some one thing the best of its kind. The various states of human society—pastoral, agricultural, industrial—have been exhibited in different circumstances of climate and surrounding influences, by races of dissimilar aptitudes, at various ages of civilisation, and some have exemplified more faithfully than others the type to which they belong. It is natural that we should look to the

Holy Land, rather than rude Arcadia, or corrupt and wretched Italy, for the brightest and happiest ideal of rural life in the ancient world. The divinely ordained institutions of Israel made them for more than a thousand years the most exclusively agricultural and pastoral people that ever existed. Every family was rooted to the same modest inheritance, handed down from generation to generation, and inalienable so long as the lineage was not extinct. It was only to be expected that the position and configuration of the divinely chosen land, its relation to surrounding countries, its soil and climate, would be found to work along with the purpose conveyed in such institutions, and that all combined would bring about a state of society presenting fortunes as nearly equal as possible, manners simple and cordial, redolent of traditional piety, all ranks enjoying an open-air life of healthy labour, the highest conceivable hopes for their country, and for the whole world shedding a dignity unknown elsewhere upon the most ordinary occupations, and teaching the very humblest the self-respect that should accompany the consciousness of a noble origin.

The Book of Ruth gives us a glimpse of such a state of things, deliciously suggestive as it is of the piety, simplicity, modest virtues, and domestic affections, that doubtless developed themselves among the wooded hills, and highland pastures, and vine-clad slopes of Palestine, as they could not in idolatrous lands. The first verse shows that it was written under the monarchy, and as it carries down the genealogy of Pharez no further than David, it was probably written under him or his successor. Moreover there is a fulness and a freshness in the narrative that forbids its being considered as a very old tradition. David more than once alludes to his mother as one who had consecrated him to God from his birth. She can have seen Ruth, his husband's grandmother, and heard from her own lips the tale that we may suppose to have often charmed the ear of the future psalmist when he fed his flock in the fields, where Ruth had gleaned after the reapers of Boaz ; and, by the bye, when David sat upon the throne he was not ashamed of his lowly ancestors rich in faith.

The purpose of the writer seems to have been to explain how the blood of a Moabitish woman came to be mingled with that of Judah in the veins of the king of Israel, and to illustrate by her history the blessing that under the theocracy was sure to follow devotion to the service of the true God. Ruth makes her election for widowhood, poverty, and loneliness, with the fear of God, and she has all unconsciously chosen domestic happiness, wealth, honour, and the sympathies of a pious population. Naomi wishes to be called Mara in the bitterness of her soul, but the Almighty in His providence vindicates her title to the more auspicious name, and the neighbours give the name of Obed (servant) to the little child that lies on her bosom, because he is the minister of God to cheer and comfort her old age. The tale begins with famine in the land of promise, and with the heaviest domestic afflictions ; it ends in joy, and that the preparation for wider and more lasting blessing. The great theme of the Bible as a whole

is repeated and reflected even in temporal things, and woven into all the parts and fragments of the Bible.

It has been observed that in ages of luxury and splendour refined minds are wont to seek relief in the contrast presented by pastoral scenes: Theocritus flourished under the Ptolemies, and Virgil found admirers in the age of Augustus. We cannot but think that the author of this exquisite little narrative expatiates upon rural scenes and customs with the more fondness, and reckons upon meeting with sympathising readers the more surely, because he had before his eyes the glory of Solomon, the chariots of Egypt, the productions of India, the throne of ivory, the cedar palace and the guards with shields of gold. It is surprising that such an idyl of real life, and that connected with the ancestry of the Son of Man, and with those fields where the anthem of angels was yet to be heard by mortal ears, has not been oftener celebrated by the religious poets of England. The author of the little volume before us has undertaken to atone for this neglect, and he, at least, has most thoroughly entered into the spirit of his subject. Mr. Mackenzie follows the sacred text as closely as possible; the four cantos correspond to the four chapters, and only amplify them to the degree necessary to fill up the picture of which the outlines are given. The few subordinate personages introduced, one or two elders and matrons of Israel, and an ill-natured gossip of Bethlehem, serve to draw out the real historical characters more distinctly, and to distribute the lights and shadows of the various scenes. The aspect of the land of Judah in early harvest, the arrival of the way-worn pilgrims at the well of the little town, the cordial reception given to the widow and her interesting proselyte, the greetings interchanged between the hearty landowner and the reapers, with the whole picture of the habits of a substantial agriculturist on the table-land of Judah, the keen observation—the silent and motherly foresight of Naomi, the chaste confidence of Ruth, the love of the generous and high-minded Boaz, all the deeper for having been kindled in the autumn of life, the nuptial feast, the sympathy of her neighbours with Naomi's joy—the whole succession of bright scenes, graceful usages, gushing feelings, and symbols full of meaning, are made to pass before us in poetic array by one who feels—and helps the reader to feel—their beauty.

Mr. Mackenzie is evidently thoroughly conversant with Jewish archæology, and with the geography of the Holy Land. Without dryness and pedantry he is always true to the local colour, to the ways and the thoughts of the period in which the scenes are laid. The introduction of a Sabbath at Bethlehem, and the description of the way in which he supposes it was observed, are of a happy effect. He has also judiciously interrupted the monotony of the metre by short lyrical pieces: the song of the Labourers at the far-famed Well, Jotham, the Shepherd's Morning Hymn, the choruses at the Wedding, and the prophetic song at the circumcision of Obed.

Our author represents Boaz as feeling a growing attachment to Ruth even before his formal assertion of her claim upon him as a near

kinsman. This does not appear to us a mere romantic interpolation in deference to European ideas, and in order to make the story more interesting; it is justified by the sacred narrative itself if due allowance be made for the objective character it exhibits in common with all writings of extreme antiquity. The author of the Book of Ruth confines himself to facts. He leaves us to gather the feelings of Boaz from what he did or said, without attempting to describe them or to trace out their origin and progress like the modern subjective historian or novel writer; but the acts of the rich kinsman were of a kind to embolden Naomi to make Ruth take a step she would not probably have thought of otherwise, and the event that justified her sagacity is also the justification of the way in which the modern English poet conceives the story.

**The English and their Origin. A Prologue to Authentic English History. By L. O Pike, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Longmans.**

WITH considerable argumentative skill, in a winning—because a modest and tentative—manner, and with an unmistakeable air of careful research and earnest conviction, Mr. Pike has written this book to prove that the preconceived ideas of most Englishmen as to their origin and race, are totally at variance with their history, with their physical and psychical characteristics, and scarcely to be reconciled even with their language and grammar. Mr. Pike thinks that historically, physically, and psychically we are proved to be, not Teutonic as in our humility we have vainly imagined, but Cymric well-nigh every inch; and being Cymric, then philology steps in to demonstrate an intimate connection between our own and the grand old Hellenic race.

Criticism on the philological part of his thesis is earnestly, and we think wisely, deprecated by the author. He regards philology as a guide whose directions are only to be valued as suggesting possibilities, not as indicating certain solutions of historic difficulties. A theory that accords to us an affinity with a race to whom we have been accustomed to attribute many of the highest physical, mental, and moral virtues, is undoubtedly flattering to our national pride; but our calm judgment will require more convincing proofs than all the verbal coincidences—derived, perhaps, through widely divergent channels, from a common Aryan stock—that are here enticingly presented to us.

In his historical section, Mr. Pike has made good use of his excellent powers of analysis, by showing us on what meagre and untrustworthy evidence is based the generally-received notion of an overwhelming Teutonic element in the English nation. We think that he has not been equally successful in his attempt to construct a new theory on the ruins of the old, with a Cymric origin and development as its basis and essential constituent. Granting the accuracy of his estimate of



the comparative credibility and value of the conflicting evidence, we can still allow only this much—that as far as regards the testimony of history, the disciples of the Teutonic and Cymric theories respectively have very nearly equal claims to our belief and respect; or rather, that they appear to suffer, the one school as much as the other, from the hopeless obscurity and perplexing contradictions of the only extant authorities.

In his chapters on the physical and psychical evidence, Mr. Pike again indulges in a gush of national self-gratulation. The ideal Englishman is the personification of Aristotle's *ὁ σπουδαῖος*, attaining the happy mean of perfection in every physical, mental, or moral quality; and, as such, is constituted the *κατὸν καὶ μέτρον* of every excellence of race. The ideal German character is shown to fall either into excess or into defect, also in every category, very far beyond the corresponding deflexion of the High-Celtic or Cymric standard; that is, the latter approaches much more nearly to our own excellence, consequently our nature must be more akin to the Cymric nature than to the Teutonic. These positions can only be fairly attacked in detail; we must be content if, in this place, we have suggested a line of exhaustive analysis that will lead to a discovery of their weakness.

We are not convinced by Mr. Pike's arguments; at the same time we cannot but allow that they are well and clearly stated, and urged with energy and tact. His book furnishes material for much useful and interesting study.

**Le Confesseur.** Par L'Abbé \* \* \*, auteur du Maudit. 1866.

THIS is the fifth of this instructive series of religious tales. The author has announced a sixth, "The Parish Priest." Indeed he seems determined to go from beginning to end of the Church system, and to show that his plan of reform is everywhere applicable, and that the evils against which he has been protesting are not of the essence of the faith. This is, of course, the question for whom it concerns. Is there any real substructure of truth in Popery, or have the outgrowths of ages (like some destructive kind of ivy) so eaten into the old fabric that it is wholly perished—that nothing, in fact, is left except the extraneous additions? As a priest in the Romish Church, the Abbé \* \* \*, of course, takes the former view. He holds that a return to the pure faith and practice of early days is not only possible, but that it is the only way of preventing a thorough break up of religion in all Romanist countries. Ultramontanism and the nineteenth century cannot go on together. Either Popery must cease to be Ultramontane, or (having already ceased to influence the man to any great extent) it will before long become utterly powerless beyond the narrow circle of a few fanatics. The mischief is that the extreme party will not see this. They are clinging more and more to their "idols," they are multiplying forms, erecting doubtful tenets into dogmas, talking of confession, for instance, as the most powerful engine for influencing

society, at the very time that among the men the practice of confession has almost wholly ceased. Confession, however, of the auricular kind is still (as the story before us shows), though powerless on society at large, exceedingly effective in bringing money into the pockets of the religious orders. It is the fashion just now in Paris among the old noblesse to be thoroughly good church. Every great lady has her "director"—a very different person from the parish priest whom her mother thought competent to hear her confession, and to whom she herself used probably to go till "the noble faubourg" became so suddenly Ultramontane. As in the days of St. Francis de Sales, your monkish "director" only cares for the rich and great. Ordinary folks may get what they can from the parish priest; but those who have leisure to follow up the "consels de perfection" deserve the patient care of a man who has had the special scholastic training which enables him to analyse the feelings, and to hunt the sin through all the hiding places which modesty and reserve would fain provide for it. Of course with most people this "direction" is a mere matter of fashion. It hinders neither their business nor their pleasures. A marchioness boasts she takes the sacrament twice and confesses once a week, and yet goes to every ball and has her box at the opera just like other folks. Her "director" is a Jesuit, and "the good fathers are wonderfully kind in managing these matters. They know very well that one must according to one's station." The Jesuits, by the way, are said to be the great match-makers among the "best families" in France. You have a scamp of a son, who (you think) ought *de ranger*; but how can you get him a suitable match when he has spent every farthing of his money? Tell your trouble to your "director: " he'll send the young gentleman to fight "on the right side" at Castel Fidardo, and when he returns will so brag of his heroism that half the heiresses in France will fall in love with the mere description of him. Match-making is the grand subject of the present novel. A Dominican father, Jérôme, has preached himself into popularity, and has got two or three highly aristocratic souls to superintend. A retired banker's wife, coming to settle in Paris, wishes to get into the best society. She is told that the very first thing is for her to get the right sort of "director." She comes to Jérôme, "simply dressed as one ought to dress in a church." He is scarcely civil to her. But when she comes in rich and highly fashionable attire, with a letter from the marchioness, her cousin, he knows not how to be gracious enough, and secretly makes up his mind to get one of her daughters for a *protégé* of his, Hector de Chantonnay, who has been steadily writing up the Dominicans, and who proposes with what money he gets to set up a newspaper in the Dominican interest—a rival to that *Monde* which has been so useful to the Jesuit party. He easily manages to get Madame Deville, the mother, under his entire control. Poor woman, she had been for twenty years a good wife and mother, and had never suspected, till the "way of perfection" was pointed out to her, how many had been her shortcomings. Good woman as she

was, she was very weak-minded ; letting her husband lead her from a sense of duty. Under the monk's guidance, she learns that a higher duty sets aside a husband's authority, and soon gets rather to revel in her newly acquired freedom. Then Jérôme plays on her fears about her soul. Unless she breaks off her eldest daughter's engagement and leaves her free for De Chantonnay, she is told that her hope of salvation is quite gone ; and by working on this selfish feeling of self-preservation, Jérôme so terrifies her that she goes into wild hysterics, under the influence of which she so terrifies her poor child as to make her promise to give up her affianced lover. The monk seems now to have the game in his own hands, when suddenly his *protégé*, De Chantonnay, spoils everything by really falling in love with Laurence, the eldest daughter, and determining not to let her be trapped into an engagement with him. This somewhat prosy individual, who is for ever making soliloquies, calling Sire de Chantonnay, and consoling himself under the discomforts of hack authorship by a reference to the old glories of his race, determines to act on the principle, "noblesse oblige." His Dominican friend has disgusted him by pooh-poohing very coarsely all ideas of affection as a necessary element of marriage, and by telling him that its sole end is to secure money for pious uses and to breed children who shall be sound in the faith. In fact, Father Jérôme has grown insolent with success. He has had a zealous ally in Marie Deville, the younger daughter, a wild, enthusiastic girl, who even goes beyond him in her fanatical efforts after "perfection." When he takes the opportunity of M. Deville's absence to force his way into the library, and to weed it of all "dangerous books," Marie applauds him. But there is a certain young Count de Lavinières staying at the house, a cousin of the Marchioness, who has fallen in love with Marie—likes her all the better for her impulsive ways—but determines to get her away from Jérôme's control. So he proposes to burn the bad books, as they would have done "in the ages of faith ;" Jérôme and Marie are delighted, and (in spite of Madame Deville's timid protests) there is a grand *auto-da-fé*, Bossuet and the other Gallican heroes being as ruthlessly condemned as Gresset's *Vert-Vert* or Boileau's *Lutrin*. By and by, however, Marie thinks about this affair, and her thoughts are not altogether favourable to her Dominican "spiritual father." Just then, too, De Chantonnay acts up to his resolve. He finds Laurence Deville does not love him, rather despises him as a fortune-hunter, and "not on such terms can he consent to be made happy ;" so he stops the letter which the poor girl had written to discard her lover in dread that her mother would go mad, and telegraphs to the lover to come with all speed. There is a grand scene. De Chantonnay says (very justly), "There ; I think I know a little more of what self-sacrifice means than Father Jérôme does." Laurence is to be married in a month, and every one is delighted except Madame Deville, who is haunted by a vague fear of what the monk will say. He, of course, is imperious, and writes her such a letter that the poor woman goes stark mad, leaps into the water, and is pulled out a hopeless lunatic. Jérôme's letter is

picked up; and when Marie has read it, she willingly agrees to marry the Count in spite of his warning that "a wife of his shall never go to confession." "The wretch," says she, "he has killed my faith just as he has destroyed my mother's mind." This is the moral of the book, and indeed of all our author's novels. The "sect," those "Pharisees of Catholicism" (as he calls them, claiming true Catholicity for himself), are ruining the cause of religion, while they fancy they are doing it a service. How convenient, by the way, on this boasting about an Ultramontane, to find that, by their own confession, the men of every class have slipped away from them, and the women only follow them for fashion's sake, and (in many cases) to make their directors serve their worldly ends. Count de Lavinières is a sincere Christian when the story opens; Marie might (under anything like decent training) have become a veritable saint. They are both so shaken in the very foundations of their belief, that it will need all the efforts of M. Deville, and of the inevitable liberal Churchman, who comes in here as in all the Abbé's novels, to show them that there is such a thing as true godliness apart from the miserable mummeries and vile chicanery which make up Father Jérôme's religion. Yet Jérôme is no hypocrite. He is not a whit like the wicked, sensual monk whom so many writers have delighted to draw; he is all the more dangerous because of his "honesty of purpose," if we may use the term, to represent a thorough conviction that he has the truth, and that all means are not only justifiable but commendable when employed to set forward the interests of his order. Beginning his monkish career with selfish desire for his own personal advancement, he ends by being so utterly self-deceived that the grossest frauds, the sheerest extortion seem to him merely matters of course, if discrimination can possibly be thereby enriched. Naturally the system is open to other dangers. All men have not Jérôme's cold temperament; and the "erratic theology" of which our Abbé gives us, perhaps, rather too many examples, but which he admirably illustrates in its effect on Jeannette (Madame Deville's country-bred maid) of course leads to fearful evils in other directions. Besides the chapters illustrative of the practice of the confessional, our Abbé gives a very lively sketch of its history. He shows how the old system of public declaratory absolution gradually gave way to the "fuller absolution" (the *ego te absolvo* instead of *deus te absolvat*), which comes after private confession. There were several reactions against such a plain inroad of priestly tyranny. Under St. Chrysostom's predecessor (for instance), it was abolished, owing to a gross scandal. But it was too precious a power to be given up; and the coming in of the barbarians (to which our Abbé traces so much of the evils of mediævalism) enabled the clergy to push their claims, though auricular confession was not made compulsory till the thirteenth century. Such is our author's book — an endeavour to show that one of the many outgrowths of the dark ages is not an essential of Christianity. Why, then, does not the Abbé \* \* \* turn Protestant? we may ask, especially

when we find him regretting that "the Church failed to learn the lesson of the Reformation, and that the reaction which followed it in Catholic countries kept the masses in the bond of ignorance, and, therefore, did the Church no real good. All he says about Protestantism is this: "Y a eu dans le premier effervescence du Protestantisme des éliminations trop radicales, que regrettent maintenant les esprits sages chez nos frères séparés." He is not referring, we must remember, to Dr. Pusey and his *Eirenicon*; the Reformed Romanist Church to which he looks forward is something which would scarcely satisfy our Unionists. In one direction he is liberal to the verge of laxness; on the other hand, he clings to the title of Catholic, repudiates Protestantism as unsuitable to the genius of the southern nations, and says that the indispensable reform, to be of any real value, must come from within. How this is to be, when the influence of the extreme party over the clergy seems growing, and their suicidal blindness increasing along with it, it is hard for us outsiders to determine. *Index non viget in Gallia* always was (we are reminded) the proud motto of the Gallican Church, and yet, we are told, that, except the Paris clergy (under their liberal archbishop) and the Sulpicians (who are hated and plotted against by the Jesuits), there is not a priest in France who dares open his mouth against any innovation or tyranny on the part of the Ultramontanes. Our Abbé, no doubt, has grounds for his hopes of reform; yet even he is clearly awake to the importance of the crisis. "Now or never," is his appeal to the religious feeling of France. "If you don't give up monkery and its childish yet wicked absurdities now, you will surely see the whole fabric of religion crumble hopelessly before your eyes." Undoubtedly a great change is imminent in Romanist Europe. How it will be wrought, whether in the Abbé's way of internal reform and self-purification, or by a thorough break up, followed by re-construction, He only knows who will surely turn even the fierceness of man to His praise. One thing is clear—French people know very little (compared with the same class of people among ourselves) about even the historical part of religion. Papists and infidels have alike kept them from the Bible. When Madame Deville (in this novel) talks of reading up the Gospel, the monk reminds her that, "whatever parish priests may say, none of the 'regular clergy' ever advise the reading of that dangerous book." Our course, then, is plain. Let us do what we can to spread God's Word, and let us leave the result to Him.

1. The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1866.
2. Ritualism in the English Church in its Relation to Scripture, Piety, and Law. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1866.

THE plot for Romanising the Church of England, which was laid in Oxford thirty years ago, has brought forth abundant fruit, and has

indeed been successful far beyond what could have been thought possible at the time when the voice of authority stayed the pen of the author of *Tract XC.*, and the hand of discipline was laid weightily on Dr. Pusey, because of his doctrine of the Eucharist. The volume of essays entitled *The Church and the World* has come already to a second edition; and a second series of essays, a supplementary volume, in which the views of Anglican Romanism are to be still more fully and variously developed, is announced by Messrs. Longmans; that great house having been selected as the publishers of this ill-omened combination, for consummating the ruin and disgrace of the Church of England, and for Romanising this once Protestant realm.

The reception given to the volume already published has been so favourable on the part of High Anglicans, while the opposition which it has called forth has been so moderate, so little vehement in its tone, and so far from universal or overwhelming, that it is little wonder if the party are encouraged to publish a supplementary manifesto, and to proceed to even greater lengths. And yet, strange to say, the views even thus far developed in *The Church and the World* are very far in advance of anything which Newman ever ventured to broach in the *Tracts for the Times*. All England, five-and-twenty years ago, was at a white heat of indignation, was in a long-sustained tempest of Protestant wrath and terror, because of the discovery at Oxford of a conspiracy for de-Protestantising the National Church and its formularies. Now the sappers and miners trained by the pioneers of the Romeward movement have made their way up to daylight, and are openly at work breaching the defences of our Protestantism, and tampering with the defenders. And yet no shout is raised against them; scarcely a shot is fired from the garrison; the chief opposition to the party in the trenches being from certain irregular auxiliaries of the besieged outside the walls. Nay, from the manner in which the leaders of the enemy go coolly in and out, it would seem that some of the sentinels have been corrupted, and probably also that some of the superior officers of the garrison are in understanding with the besiegers. We had hoped it might not have been necessary to notice this volume of essays. But now that the supplementary volume is announced, and that a second edition of this book has appeared, we find we must have something to say respecting it, and had better get it said before the supplement comes out. We are less unwilling to do so because of Dr. Vaughan's excellent little volume, to which we can refer all who wish to understand the merits of the ritualistic movement, and to be furnished with an adequate criticism and reply.

Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon*, and in a subsequent special publication, has endorsed and adopted most fully all that is taught in *Tract XC.*: but he has in his *Eirenicon* done more than this; he has developed a system of doctrinal accommodation as to all the points which he deems to be essential in the determinations of the Council of Trent, for the special and express purpose of facilitating the Romanisation of the Church of England, and such as is in advance of anything which Newman taught



whilst still at Oxford. He has also, administratively, by his connection, during many years past, as Confessor, with certain Anglican monastic Sisterhoods, and by the spirit of unyielding monkery, in which he has acted as Confessor, steadfastly and most powerfully promoted the spread of that supplementary code and gospel of celibacy, which is one of the master-evils, which is so foul a curse, in Popery. *The Church and the World* may be said, in a word, to be an embodiment of Dr. Pusey's theology as given in outline argumentatively in the *Eirenicon*, and as practically supplemented by his example and his official relation as father-confessor of celibate sisterhoods, gathered and secluded under the seal of a vow.

Of the eighteen essays in the volume, indeed, there are five which can hardly be said to bear a part in the teaching of such a doctrinal system as we have indicated. These are—the first, on “University Reform,” by Professor Rogers, of Oxford, the advanced Liberal, the co-worker with Mr. Goldwin Smith and Professor Fawcett, the admirer and defender of Mr. Bright, whom it is really surprising to meet, although he may be a High Churchman, on the threshold of such a fabric of anti-English mediævalism as the bulk of this volume; one on the “Eucharist,” by Mr. Medd, which must have found its way into this volume by an oversight of the editor, since, though in a sense High Church, and advocating a stately and significant ritual, it teaches the universal priesthood of believers, repudiates the thought that the Eucharist is in any just sense a sacrifice, or the officiating clergyman a sacrificing priest, or that there can be any iteration or renewal of the one Sacrifice of the Cross, offered once for all by the one Priestly Mediator, Jesus Christ, and, in fact, teaches no higher doctrine of the Eucharist and its spiritual efficacy than is taught in two fine hymns of Charles Wesley, which Mr. Medd quotes at large; and three others, relating respectively to Church Architecture, Science and Prayer, and Positivism, which seem to us to be of no special significance whatever, out of place in this volume, and hardly worth printing anywhere. But the other thirteen essays are all of one sort, all hang well together, and, in combination, present such a *tout ensemble* of doctrine as we have indicated.

Supernatural priestly power in sacramental consecration, in confession and absolution, in confirmation and ordination; and celibacy, as proper, they hardly as yet dare to say necessary, for the priesthood, as an advantageous discipline for all devoted servants of the Church, whether men or women, and as a “counsel of perfection” for all; these are the constituent elements of the doctrine contained in this volume; to which, of course, must be understood as appertaining such views in regard to the schismatic state of all Protestants, and such pitiful shifts and advances towards “reunion,” as it is phrased, with the Greek and Latin Churches, as the public is familiar with.

The argument as to supernatural priestly power has been pretty well discussed, and is familiar to most well-informed Protestants; although, in truth, the extent to which the theurgic claims of Anglican

priests are allowed is very surprising, and implies an amount of ignorance respecting this cardinal point of the controversy existing between Protestantism and Popery, among people supposed to be well-informed, which could hardly have been anticipated, and which makes one feel as if a modern Chillingworth would be a great blessing to these times. But we anticipate that the point of celibacy is that which the Romanising party are now about to push with all their energy and appliances. No fewer than five of the essays in this volume bear directly on this subject. Some plausible things are said in favour of priestly celibacy, and for monastic orders of preaching friars; while all that can be urged on behalf of sisterhoods, bound by a vow, even a life-vow of celibacy, is stealthily and cunningly insinuated. "S. G. O.," indeed, has shown very clearly in his late famous letters to the *Times*, that such a supramundane character of sacro-sanct authority and power as that which is claimed by the professed hierophants and priests of this theurgic mysticism, which calls itself Catholicism, can only be accredited and sustained by such a renunciation of the world and all its common-places, its ordinary interests and ties, as belongs to the separate training, the celibate life, the seeming abstraction from the world, which give character to the Romish priesthood.

Dr. Vaughan has done well in publishing this volume on Ritualism. As respects one branch of the subject represented by the High Church volume, it is an admirable digest, brief, comprehensive, conclusive. Here the lawyers may find valuable help towards disentangling the legal quibbles and sophisms, and finding their way through the misrepresentations of such writers as the essayist on the *Reasonable Limits of Lawful Ritualism*; while the Bible Christian will find the principles of Scripture admirably brought to bear on the controversy. Here, too, with a calm insight and fine impartiality such as well become a Nonconformist leader like Dr. Vaughan, at his time of life, and after a life devoted to historical, ecclesiastical, and philosophical studies, pursued in the spirit of a Christian minister and divine, the Anti-Ritualist shows us where the strength of the Ritualist party lies, what have been their merits, and how it is that bishops find it scarcely possible to take any positive dealing with them. Let Dr. Vaughan now give us a companion volume on the subject of celibacy, and he will have supplied all that is needful on the most pressing and alarming question of the present day.

*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* The Anti-Ritualist may strengthen himself by the testimony of the Ritualist; the "Dissenter" and the "Methodist," to whom Mr. Baring-Gould so often refers, will be foolish not to avail themselves of the concessions and evidence yielded by this "Mission-Priest" in his essay on the *Revival of Religious Confraternities*, and by his brother Littledale in his essay on *Ritualism*. What these two witnesses unite to teach with much variety and fulness of piquant illustration, is, that there are two styles and methods of religious teaching and indoctrination which are "popular," which tell upon the poor and homely and unlettered, and which may serve the

purposes of missionary zeal and propagandism, that of the Romanising Ritualist and that of the plain, fervent, unembarrassed and unritualising, *extempore* preacher, whether Methodist itinerant, or Dissenting layman, or Romanist friar; and that there is another, and in a sense an intermediate sort and style of religious service, which does not attract, but repels, the rude and as yet unevangelised population, which is and can be prized and relished only by those who are already possessed of some culture and refinement, and have come under some preliminary Christian training, and this is the stately and beautiful, but staid and intricate, liturgical service of the Church of England. Non-conformists will be much to blame if they do not learn a seasonable lesson from the vivid and truthful picture given by Mr. Baring-Gould of the northern countryman's first attendance at Church-prayers.

**Temporal Prosperity and Spiritual Decline ; or, Free Thoughts on some Aspects of Modern Methodism.** By a Wesleyan Minister. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1866.

We think this book would have been better unwritten. The author's motive is unquestionably good, and he says many things that are wise and true, and worth pondering; but he writes under an insensible bias. You know from the outset exactly how he will pronounce on all the points to which his argument is directed. He deals with the real or supposed evils of his denomination in the manner best fitted to confirm prejudice without producing conviction. The very worst champion that truth can set to fight her battles, in times like the present, is an oracular religious dogmatism, armed with a feeble logic, and capable of seeing over but a narrow area of contemporary feeling and thought. We like what the author hints and insinuates even less than some of the doctrines which he lays down in words. Altogether, this work is neither very strong nor very judicious.

**The Primitives of the Greek Tongue, compared with the Hebrew Roots, or Parallel Hebrew Words.** By Rev. James Prosser, M.A. London: W. Macintosh. 1865.

How far the literary dial goes back in this work we do not care to say. It is a curious example of the retrogression which is possible, where there is only weakness enough to ignore or repudiate the surest deductions of reason, and to attempt to galvanise into life the dead bones of the past. Mr. Prosser's book is a hotch-potch of truths stated without discrimination, of empiricisms dating from before the birth of science, and of boundless blundering and dogmatism, where the first demand of common sense was caution and exactness. We advise all who wish to make acquaintance with the "Primitives of the Greek Tongue" to eschew most carefully the guidance of this hallow and misleading book.

**The Bible Word Book: A Glossary of Old English Bible Words.** By J. Eastward, M.A., and W. Aldis Wright, M.A. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

INTELLIGENT students of the English Bible, whether ministers or others, will thank us if they are led by our recommendation to purchase this cheap, handsome, and very useful book. Its object is "to explain and illustrate all such words, phrases, and constructions in the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, and in the Book of Common Prayer, as are obsolete or archaic." It is not the first time that a work of this sort has been published, but we know of none that will compare with Messrs. Eastward and Wright's volume for exact learning, for judicious treatment, and for simple and effective presentation of its manifold particulars. It is scholarly without being pedantic; it is full without overcrowding. The illustrations are taken chiefly from writers of the sixteenth century. Mr. Wright justly observes, that, "in considering the language of our English Bible, we must bear in mind that it has become what it is by a growth of eighty-six years—from the publication of Tyndale's New Testament in 1525, to that of the Authorised Version in 1611. Further, it must be remembered, that our translators founded their works upon the previous versions, retaining whatever in them could be retained, and amending what was faulty. The result was therefore of necessity a kind of mosaic, and the English of the Authorised Version represents, not the language of 1611 in its integrity, but the language which prevailed from time to time during the previous century." Accordingly the golden age of our English literature is made to give forth its lights, and the result is an illumination of a multitude of dark places of the English Scriptures, such as will be gratefully welcomed by a crowd of struggling readers. Mr. Eastward is beyond the reach of human thanks, but he will live in the labours which his well-known colleague has so ably supplemented and enlarged.

**The Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon: with Introduction and Notes, and an Essay on the Traces of Foreign Elements in the Theology of these Epistles.** By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

"Nec nil neque omnia hæc sunt quæ dicit."

WE might take exception to Mr. Davies's title-page; we certainly do not agree with him, at all points, in his general conception of St. Paul's teaching, much less in his views of particular expressions and passages, and we miss, throughout his work, anything like a distinct recognition of the Divine *afflatus* under which the New Testament was written. Mr. Davies's theology, in fact, neither better nor worse than

that of Mr. Maurice. But there are many true and beautiful things in his book, and if we cannot recommend it as an eminent example of the caution, judgment, and thoroughness, which ought to characterise Christian commentary, we are bound to acknowledge the volume, as well as the ability with which the author has laboured to disentangle the knots of his great subject. The errors and questionable positions of Mr. Davies's book are coupled with abundance of very valuable and suggestive matter. In some cases he is assuredly right, and can hold his own, where prejudice would thrust him away as an innovator, and there are other cases in which it is not easy to say where he is wrong, though our Christian instincts rebel against his doctrine. A wise reader may reap much good fruit from the study of this remarkable piece of critical exegesis.

**The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races.** By the Rev. Wm. C. Holden. With a Map and Illustrations. Published for the Author. Sold at 66, Paternoster Row, London. 1866.

As a Wesleyan Missionary of twenty-seven years' standing in the Cape Colony and Natal, Mr. Holden is entitled to speak with authority respecting the Kaffir races. He has evidently taken up the subject *con amore*, and has spared neither labour nor pains to render his work thorough and complete. It is a useful, thorough, unpretending, contribution to the science of ethnology, and a not less valuable contribution towards the just settlement of the vexed questions which affect the relations between the natives and the colonists, whilst it constitutes a temperate and able vindication of Christian Missions. The book is divided into three parts. The first treats of the History of the Kaffirs; the second of their manners and customs; the third of the means needful for their preservation and improvement. Each part contains a mass of carefully collected facts, which will be read with great interest; but the last, which treats of the duties of the government, the colonists, and the Church respectively, is, in our judgment, the most able and valuable by far.

With all existing theories respecting the origin of the Kaffir races Mr. Holden is dissatisfied; but whether the one by which he replaces them will be deemed more satisfactory by the reader, we seriously doubt. We will give his own words, that we may do him no injustice. He believes that they came originally "from the neighbourhood of the Tigris or Euphrates." "After deep and long-continued inquiry and investigation," he says, "my opinion is that the entrance of the different races into Africa is much more remote than any attempted to be assigned to it in relation to either Abraham or Ishmael. I am much more disposed to place it in connection with the dispersion at the confusion of tongues, when "the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." I also think that, if no previous great differences of physical conformation existed, God at that

time added to the confusion of languages, distinctions of colour, size, and other family characteristics." This theory is not likely to gain much favour, we apprehend, among scientific men.

The history consists mainly of a record of the warlike career of Utshaka, Udingaan, and Umpanda, great Amazulu chiefs, with whose names the English public are not altogether unacquainted. It is a striking picture of savage life, and especially of the horrors of their warfare. Their wars are not wars of conquest merely, but of utter and merciless extermination. The history of the Amazulus as here presented shows an almost unbroken succession of deeds of treachery, cruelty, and bloodshed.

The second part enters very minutely into the manners and customs of the Kaffirs, and necessarily embraces a great number and variety of particulars respecting the birth and management of children, circumcision, marriage customs, domestic habits, amusements, religion, superstition, &c. Upon all these topics much valuable information is supplied, which, being the result of long and careful personal observation, may be relied upon.

The Kaffirs are described as a superior race both physically and mentally. "The physical conformation of the body is fine; the men ordinarily stand about five feet ten inches to six feet high, slenderly built, but compact and wiry." Of their mental capacities Mr. Holden also speaks favourably. The women are, in both respects, considerably inferior to the men, and are kept in the most degraded position. The moral character of both male and female is painted throughout the book in the darkest colours. Among the greatest offences, in the estimation of the Kaffir, is cattle-stealing: among the least are adultery and murder.

It is the belief of Mr. Holden that the Kaffirs, as an independent people, are doomed. "The stream of colonisation will go on, and overspread Kaffirland, and he is the true philanthropist who would seek so to guide and control it as to make it fertilising to European and Kaffir alike."

Again, he says, "From long experience, and careful observation, my settled conviction is, that he is not the true friend of the Kaffir who would try to keep him isolated and independent; but he who, as changes take place, would secure for him and his children ample lands in perpetuity." The chapters on the Native Land Question, and those on the Province and Duty of the Government, the Colonists, and the Church, will amply repay a careful perusal. To the law of entail, as advocated at page 412, we should decidedly object, as a dangerous restriction upon the operation of natural laws. But, as a whole, the views of Mr. Holden respecting the best means of saving the Kaffir races from extinction, appear to us just and wise. We observe that, on page 2, it is stated that Dr. Barth penetrated interior Africa from the west, whereas he started from Tunis. And on page 7, Abantwana is called the nephew of Utshaka, when, in fact, he was his *uncle*. These errata will need correction in another edition, which we hope



may soon be called for. The map is very full, careful, and satisfactory, and the illustrations are numerous and particularly good.

In concluding, we feel bound to note that Mr. Holden's volume has no rival as respects its subject and its scope. It is full of interest alike to the statesman, the missionary, the ethnologist, and the philanthropist, and no ethnological or missionary library can be complete without it. We hope it may receive due attention from the authorities at the Colonial Office.

**Handy Book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates.** By John J. Bond. London: Bell and Daldy.

CHRONOLOGY has been called one of the eyes of history; and yet there is scarcely any other science of equal importance that has been so much neglected, or about which popular ideas are so much confused. Of the work before us it is not too high praise to say that it is the most important contribution to a thorough knowledge of mediæval and modern chronology that has appeared for many years past. The excellent system of methodical arrangement, the obvious clearness of the tabular forms, and the lucid simplicity of the rules and explanatory statements, combine to render this "handbook" valuable not only as a book of reference for the verification of dates, but also as a manual and text-book for the historical student and the antiquary.

Amongst other points of interest we find here a "Perpetual Calendar"—showing by means of the Dominical or (as it is here called) the Year Letter, on what day of the week any day in the year falls during the Christian era, and as far beyond the present time as may be desired. The most extensive table, and one that well-nigh exhausts the subject of English conquest to the present time, is that of the regnal years of the sovereigns of England within those limits. This table gives the leading dates with the days of the week, &c., in each year; double dates being given from the year 1155 to the year 1751, to show both the English legal year and the Julian year, for days from January 1st to March 24th. The inestimable value of such tables as these, to all who have anything to do with imperfectly dated documents, or who are interested in the study of a period of obscure chronology, cannot be questioned; whilst the prefatory remarks, the rules and explanations, and the history of chronology to be derived from the introductions to many of the sections, must be interesting to every educated person.

**Views and Opinions.** By Matthew Browne. London: Strahan. 1866.

THE author of this book says: "It is nearly always with reluctance that I write or print; so overwhelming is the sense which pursues me—as it does other men and women with eyes—of the instant *work* to be done in the world." How the world would have fared if Mr.

Browne had worked instead of writing his views and opinions, we do not know, but we cannot congratulate him upon his having for once overcome his repugnance to authorship. Mr. Browne hates dogmas, especially religious and moral ones; and he fights them with other dogmas. He will have none of your conventional paradoxes, and he crushes them under the weight of more fresh paradoxes of his own, which are not conventional. "Cant" is his especial detestation, and his volume ends with the following passage on the future of human civilisation:—"I apprehend that what I have called the Bacchantic tendency—which neither religion, nor science, nor polity, scarcely art, now touches with but a little finger, and which now simply spots our borders with vice—should some day take on unity and volume, and wake us from our dreams of order and security with a splendid rebellion, for which our economy of crowds has had no thought; for which civilisation leaves no space; but in which God will speak out of His whirlwind again, in tones which will not be understood till they are passed into retreating thunder on the skirts of the skies, and men listen for the echo rather than for the voice." Is this philosophy, or is it—to use a word of the author's—*countercant*? Mr. Browne has published a smart and clever book, full of slang and conceit, which begins in nothing, and ends where it began.

**Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism.** Chapters on the Palatines, Philip Embury and Mrs. Heck, and other Irish Emigrants, who instrumentally laid the Foundation of the Methodist Church in the United States of America, in Canada, and Eastern British America. By the Rev. William Crook. London: Hamilton; E. Stock; and sold at 66, Paternoster Row. 1866.

Our extended notice of this volume cannot, it appears, be inserted in our present publication. In the few lines now remaining at our disposal all we can do is to commend Mr. Crook's beautiful book to our readers as one of rare attractions on a subject of almost matchless interest. The beginnings of American Methodism, itself the most wonderful instance of Church development which the world's history has yet shown, are all connected with Ireland; and in this volume are set forth with a vivid and fascinating freshness and tenderness of colouring.

**Sermons Preached in Manchester.** By Alexander Maclaren. Second Edition. London: Macmillan. 1865.

THE author of these volumes is, we believe, minister of a Baptist church in Manchester. Whatever his denomination, he is not a chance man, as the sermons sufficiently show. The sneer of weakness, so often thrown at evangelism, will find no target here. The great

doctrines of the Gospel are the soul of Mr. Maclaren's volume ; but the flesh which embodies them is not weak. Intellectual force and fire, coupled with much that is delicate in sentiment and nobly tender in feeling, characterise the discourses throughout. The writer's sermon is almost too intense for us sometimes ; but his sympathies have nothing in common with the grotesqueness and flippancy of a well-known school of modern preaching. Mr. Maclaren is too manly and too serious to play at pulpit fireworks ; and we only lament, that preachers of his moral and mental texture are so few among the churches.

1. *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament.* By C. F. Keil, D.D. and F. Delitzsch, D.D. Vol. IV., Joshua, Judges, Ruth. Translated from the German by Rev. J. Marten, B.A. Edinburgh : Clark. 1866.
2. *Biblical Commentary on the Books of Samuel.* By C. F. Keil, D.D. and F. Delitzsch, D.D. Translated by Rev. J. Marten, of Nottingham. Edinburgh : Clark. 1866.
3. *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job.* By F. Delitzsch, D.D. Translated from the German by the Rev. F. Bolton, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh : Clark. 1866.
4. *Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.* From the German of Sechler and Gerok. Vol. II. Edited by D. Lange. Translated by Rev. P. J. Gloag. Edinburgh : Clark. 1866.

We have already given with some copiousness our views of the general character of these expositions. They are learned, reverent, and orthodox ; and, on the Old Testament, especially, do much towards filling up a void in English theological literature, which has been long complained of. The student of Scripture cannot habitually consult them without great advantage. Even the polemics, in which they may be thought to indulge sometimes too freely, have their use, in bringing before the reader's mind the subtleties of modern Rationalist criticism, with, generally speaking, their adequate antidote. Vol. IV. is a work of very great interest, being remarkably fresh and exhaustive. The work on Job is a laborious exhibition of the history of opinion, as well as a good commentary. The New Testament books are treated in rather a different style ; the practical and homiletic elements are perhaps rather disproportionate, and not altogether in harmony with English tastes. But even these furnish many a valuable hint ; while the critical notes are for the most part the condensed result of much reading and discriminating care. We are glad the series is so popular as it seems to be, and heartily recommend them to all young students.

END OF VOL. LIV.

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